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THE

MODERN PART

OF AN

Universal History,

FROM THE

Earliest Accounts to the Present Time.

Compiled from

ORIGINAL AUTHORS.

By the AUTHORS of the ANCIENT PART.

VOL. XXXIII.

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THIRTY-THIRD VOLUME.

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THE

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CHAP. XCIV. *Continued.*

The History of the Duchy of Mecklenburg.

SECT. II.

From the Accession of Dukes Adolphus II. and John Albert II. to the Accession of Adolphus Frederick IV.

Adolphus II. and John Albert II. dukes of Mecklenburg.

DUKE Ulric dying without male issue, the government of Mecklenburg devolved upon his brother John Albert's grandsons, Adolphus Frederic and John Albert II. the eldest having for his portion the duchy of Schwerin, and the other that of Gustrow. John Albert, as soon as he came of age, married his cousin Margaret Elizabeth, daughter to the bishop of Ratzeburg; but, upon her death, in 1616, he married Elizabeth, daughter of Maurice, landgrave of Hesse. Adolphus Frederic, whom we are to call the duke of Mecklenburg Schwerin, in 1622, married Anna Maria, the daughter of Enno, prince of East Friesland. Here it is necessary, for the sake of connection, to resume part of the history of Europe, so far as religion is concerned in it.

It was provided by the peace of Augsburg, in 1555, that a toleration should be granted to the Protestants, who were

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Enter into a confederacy with the king of Denmark.

to retain all the church-lands they were in poſſeſſion of; and this proviſion kept Germany peaceable for ſeveral years after; but ſome freſh broils happening, two new parties were formed; one of the Proteſtant princes, under the term of the Evangelical Union, and the other of the Roman Catholic powers, under that of the Catholic League. The Proteſtants of Bohemia, had offered their crown to the Elector Palatine, who was married to the daughter of James I. of Great Britain, whoſe grandmother, as we have ſeen, was a princeſs of the houſe of Mecklenburg. Frederic, the count Palatine, was raſh enough to accept the proffered royalty, not doubting of being effectually ſupported by his father-in-law and the Proteſtant intereſt in Germany: how he was diſappointed in both, may be ſeen in former parts of this hiſtory. It is ſufficient here to ſay, that he was utterly defeated at Weiſſenburg by the imperialiſts, and forced to fly towards Sileſia; and afterwards, with all his adherents, he was put to the ban of the empire. As to his dominions, they were partitioned out by the emperor to the two princes of the empire who had been the moſt inſtrumental in his defeat, the duke of Bavaria and the elector of Saxony. From Sileſia the elector Palatine was obliged to fly to Denmark, where he met with a moſt affectionate reception from king Chriſtiern IV. and a confederacy was entered into by the proteſtant princes, the duke of Mecklenburg, among others, to reſtore him to his electoral dominions. Before they proceeded to force, his Daniſh majeſty, in imitation of what king James had done, tried the ſucceſs of negotiation, and ſent a moſt magnificent embaſſy to Vienna, remonſtrating upon the irregularity of having put the elector Palatine to the ban of the empire, and exhorting the emperor to reſtore him to his dominions. This application proving ineffectual, though the elector Palatine offered to make all the ſubmiſſion and ſatisfaction that could reaſonably be required of him, the confederate powers reſolved to take the field, and Chriſtiern was choſen for their captain-general. He had ſome pretence for taking upon him this title, becauſe he was one of the principal members of the circle of Lower Saxony, which was, at this time, deſolated by the imperial forces under count Tilly.

Operations of the war.

About this time, Adolphus Frederic of Mecklenburg, married for his ſecond wife Mary Catharine, daughter of Erneſt, duke of Brunſwick; and his brother John Albert took for his third wife Leonora Mary, daughter to Chriſtiern, prince of Anhalt Dernburgh. It is, therefore, reaſonable to ſuppoſe, that the two dukes had but little time

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to ſpare for warlike operations; nor do we in fact perceive that they were very active during the firſt year of the confederacy. The truth is, his Daniſh majeſty was ſenſible that his troops were raw, and by no means to be compared to thoſe under Tilly, who was one of the moſt accompliſhed generals in Europe; and, therefore, the firſt campaign paſſed without much action. The king induſtriouſly avoided coming to a battle, and employed himſelf and his officers in diſciplining his ſoldiers, a practice, which, though well intended, and judicious in itſelf, ſerved to intimidate and diſpirit them. In the year 1626, the king of Denmark, having divided his army into three parts, headed one diviſion himſelf, and penetrated into the biſhoprick of Hildersheim. The duke of Saxe-Weymar acted in Weſtphalia at the head of the ſecond diviſion; and the third paſſed the Elbe, under count Mansfeld, in his march to Sileſia. It had been reſolved by the princes of the confederacy, that the duke ſhould be joined by the contingency of the dukes of Mecklenburg, conſiſting of nine thouſand men, who had been actually raiſed and were ready for that purpoſe; but Mansfeld being himſelf a ſoldier of fortune, gave but little attention to the diſcipline of his troops on their march, for wherever they came, they equally plundered friends as enemies. In ſhort, the open country, and all the duchy of Mecklenburg, was threatened to be ruined by their rapines. This altered the plan of the two dukes. Inſtead of joining the count with their nine thouſand men, they employed them in ſtrengthening the garriſons of their fortified places, into which they ordered their ſubjects of the open country to retire with their effects; but, at the ſame time, they gave orders, that the count's army ſhould be plentifully ſupplied with forage and proviſions. Thoſe wiſe diſpoſitions, though they prevented the duchy from being plundered, weakened the army of the count, which chiefly conſiſted of Low-country troops, who had little affection for the Germans; and he was defeated by Wallenſtein, at the bridge of Deſſau. The count, after his defeat, retired into Brandenburg, where he was joined by the army of Mecklenburg, and ſome troops ſent him by the king of Denmark; who, after various operations, was entirely defeated by count Tilly, and all that the king could do, was to repaſs the Elbe with ſome of his cavalry.

Notwithſtanding this misfortune, the death of Mansfeld, and the diſſipation of his army, Chriſtiern was ſo active, that he raiſed a new army conſiſting of thirty-ſix thouſand men, among whom was a large body of Mecklenburghers. Before the king took the field, he publiſhed orders, that no

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officer or soldier should, on pain of death and confiscation of goods, molest the peasants or farmers, or any one concerned in agriculture; a precaution the more necessary, on account of the misfortunes that had befallen the common cause from neglecting it. He then marched to the relief of Menburg, which had been long besieged by Tilly, and had the good fortune not only to oblige that general to raise the siege, but to do considerable execution upon his army in their retreat. But to counterbalance this advantage, the imperialists, under the count of Frustenburg, much about the same time, made themselves masters of Northeim, after a most obstinate resistance.

The dukes of Mecklenburg put to the ban of the empire, and their dominions granted to Wallenstein.

While Germany became thus the theatre of a bloody war, the two dukes of Mecklenburg were put under the ban of the empire, and their dominions given to Wallenstein, who immediately assumed the title; and thereby, with the accession of his other estates, he became, under the emperor, the most powerful prince of the empire. Upon his accession to the duchy of Mecklenburg, he convoked an assembly of the nobles, and affected great moderation, which was the more suspected, as it was well-known to be very foreign from his nature. He promised to maintain all the members of the states of Mecklenburg in their rights and privileges, and offered to grant them all the favours they could desire. But, at this time, he was become too powerful for a subject, and appeared abroad with a pomp superior to that of most of the sovereign princes in Europe, being attended by a body of six hundred horse-guards in rich uniforms. Notwithstanding the grant which had been made to Wallenstein, the Mecklenburgers made a very noble resistance to the imperialists; but it proved only fatal to themselves. His Danish majesty, though he was sincerely attached to the two dukes, and though his troops were superior in number to those of Tilly, could not be prevailed upon to hazard a general action for their relief. Instead of that, he took up strong camps all along the Elbe, raised fortifications in convenient places, all which he never failed to abandon to Tilly, upon his approach; so that the whole duchy of Mecklenburg came into the quiet possession of Wallenstein. As to his Danish majesty, he retired gradually into Holstein, where he endeavoured to shelter himself by laying part of the country under water. Notwithstanding this, Tilly and Wallenstein having united their forces, took possession of almost all Holstein, excepting Gluckstadt and Rensburg, and Christiern was obliged even to abandon them, after setting fire to the houses, and throwing his artillery into the sea, to prevent its falling into

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into the hands of the imperialists, who soon after penetrated into Jutland, and even threatened the conquest of all Denmark.

It was no wonder if this deplorable state of the protestant interest in Germany and the North, cooled the zeal of many of its patrons. The example of the dukes of Mecklenburg, who were now obliged to follow the distressed fortunes of his Danish majesty, terrified the elector of Brandenburg; and he published an edict, commanding all his subjects to quit the king of Denmak's service; and the marquis of Baden Dourlach, another of the confederates, privately made his terms with the emperor. All that his Danish majesty could do, was to have recourse to the regency of Bremen, and the other Hanse Towns, requiring them on account of their neighbourhood, and ancient treaties, as well as for the good of the protestant cause, to raise troops for the relief of Mecklenburg; but they were so far from complying, that they drove out of their cities all the English and other protestant agents, who concerned themselves in favour of the dukes. In the meanwhile, the states of Denmark assembled, and took upon them to write to the emperor in a very pressing manner, that he would give peace to Denmark, by ordering a cessation of arms to take effect in Jutland, and to appoint a place for treating of peace; promising, that Christiern should comply with any reasonable terms to be required of him. Christiern, to give the greater force to this proposal, or to break it off entirely, equipped a fleet of forty-seven ships of war, with which he destroyed a squadron of eighteen ships belonging to his enemies, and retook the island of Femeren, and some other places. After that, he brought his fleet against Kiel in Holstein, which he endeavoured to retake, but he failed in the attempt. He then proceeded to Stade, which was besieged by the imperialists, and bravely defended by an English garrison under colonel Morgan; but the king finding it impracticable to relieve the place, abandoned that enterprize likewise, and Morgan was obliged to accept of an honourable capitulation from Tilly, who received him without the gates of the town, and openly expressed his admiration of his courage, and that of his garrison, which was conducted to Bremen. All this while, negotiations for a general peace were going forward in different parts of the empire; but all without effect, through the insincerity of the emperor. At last, the four catholic electors interested themselves so far for the restoration of public tranquillity, that the emperor consented to send ambassadors to Lubec, under their mediation; and

Distresses of Denmark.

Negotiations for peace.

the electors of Saxony and Brandenburg not only sent their own plenipotentaries thither likewise, but were joined by those of his Danish majesty. The truth is, Christiern had suffered so much in the war, that he seems to have been secretly determined to sacrifice the interests of the Mecklenburg dukes to the recovery of his own dominions. On the other hand, Wallenstein, who had now a decisive influence over the emperor's counsels, as well as a command over his armies, was indifferent about the terms of pacification, provided he could secure to himself the possession of Mecklenburgh; so that on whatever quarter the two dukes threw their eyes, their situation was truly deplorable.

Peace concluded.

Wallenstein was then at Gustrow, in Mecklenburg, where he received the proposals of the protestant electors, which tended chiefly to the restitution of the king of Denmark's estates, without any particular notice being taken of those of Mecklenburg. The emperor's demands, on the other hand, were thought to be so exorbitant, that the protestant plenipotentaries threatened to break up the congress, which occasioned those of the emperor to repair to Gustrow, there to consult with Wallenstein. That general, in pursuance of the plan he had adopted, favoured the demands of the Danes, and drew up such terms as were agreeable to his Danish majesty, and to all the other parties; but such as left him in absolute possession of Mecklenburg. His Danish majesty, however, either to save appearances, or out of friendship to the two dukes, or both, published strong manifestoes, and wrote the most pressing addresses to the emperor in their favour; but Wallenstein having represented the duchy of Mecklenburg as being the only barrier between the emperor and the Northern powers, and that by its returning to its former possessors, it would always be a ready inlet for the Danes to invade Germany, his imperial majesty rejected all proposals in behalf of the two dukes. At last, the very means that had been made use of for their destruction, operated towards their preservation.

Gustavus Adolphus befriends the dukes of Mecklenburg.

The famous Gustavus Adolphus, then king of Sweden, had reasons which are foreign to this history to be dissatisfied with the house of Austria, which had now extended its arms over the Elbe and to the Baltic, and the dukes of Mecklenburg now laid their distresses before him, imploring his protection and friendship. The king convoked the diet of his kingdom, and in consulting the members upon the expediency of a war with the house of Austria, he plainly intimated that he himself was for it, while, at the same time, he most pathetically expatiated upon the misfortunes of

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of the two dukes of Mecklenburg, and the injustice that had been done them. The other cause which operated towards the relief of the two dukes, was the insolence and arrogance of Wallenstein, which was as odious to the princes of the empire as his power and credit appeared dangerous to the emperor. He had even obtained a patent, constituting him admiral of the Baltic, after making himself master of Rostock and Wismar, both which cities had possessed some rights independent of the dukes of Mecklenburg, ever since the year 1621[b]. This ridiculous patent was no obscure intimation of Wallenstein's ambition, especially as he soon after besieged Stralsund; but he was obliged by Gustavus to abandon his enterprize. Gustavus being now throughly determined upon a war with the house of Austria, and to comply with the earnest requests of the German protestant princes, published a manifesto, in which he declared the restitution of the Mecklenburg princes to be one of the capital reasons for his taking up arms. He had before this time sent ambassadors to the congress at Lubec, demanding this restitution in the strongest terms; and it had not only been refused, but his ministers were treated in a most opprobrious manner. The above mentioned manifesto was published in 1630, at the time when the diet of Ratisbon was sitting, and the princes of the empire were unanimously preferring complaints against the insolence and power of Wallenstein. The emperor, who was of himself sufficiently jealous of his authority, and had many reasons for managing the princes of the empire, at first endeavoured to soothe Wallenstein into a compliance with their demands; but finding him intractable, and that the Roman catholic as well as the protestant princes were his enemies, publicly required him to renounce the investiture which he had obtained of the duchy of Mecklenburg; and Wallestein not complying, he was dismissed from his command in the army.

Invades Germany.

We shall not here repeat the progress made by Gustavus in Germany, farther than as it relates to the history of Mecklenburg. His first step was to secure to himself possession of Stetin, then belonging to the duke of Pomerania, with whom he entered into a treaty; and then he took Wolgast, with some other places, by which he opened to himself a passage into the duchy of Mecklenburg. Nothing could contribute more to the success of the Swedish arms than the part which Gustavus acted

[b] Busching's Geography, vol. vi. p. 386.

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towards the two dukes. They were pitied by all Europe for their sufferings in the cause of the protestant religion, and their attachment to their kinsman the king of Denmark; and Gustavus could not do his cause any service so effectual as to begin his operations in Germany with restoring them to their dominions. The two dukes had behaved with a most wonderful prudence. After being put under the ban of the empire, they had retired to Lubec, that they might give no offence to the emperor; they there lived in a private manner, and took no farther concern in public affairs than by their most humble solicitations that they might be reinstated in their dominions; nor was it till all other expedients had failed them, that they applied to the king of Sweden. The duchy of Mecklenburg being now the theatre of war, the command of the imperial army there was committed to an Italian, Torquato di Conti. He had under him one Quinti Aligheri, an Italian likewise; and by a collusion between them, it was agreed, that Aligheri should make a sham desertion to Gustavus, who gave him a considerable post in his army, and admitted him into his confidence. One day, Aligheri knowing that his majesty was to reconnoitre a post at a considerable distance from his army, he privately repaired to Torquato's camp, and receiving the command of five hundred cuirassiers, he ambushed them by detached ways near a spot which he knew his Swedish majesty must pass in his return. Nothing but the wonderful intrepidity of Gustavus could have saved him at this time. He defended himself at the head of his little party till his horse being shot under him, he was, for some minutes, a prisoner in the hands of his enemies, but rescued by the valour of his attendants, most of whom were cut in pieces; when a Swedish officer at an out-post, being uneasy at the king's long stay, came up to his assistance, and saved him just as he was sinking under the superiority of his enemies.

Gustavus restitutes them in their dominions.

After this, Gustavus took Bart, Damgarten, and Ribnitz, all of them depending on Mecklenburg. He then entered the duchy itself, where he was received by the inhabitants as their guardian-angel and deliverer; and published manifestoes, requiring the inhabitants to expel their Austrian tyrants, and to return to their allegiance under their lawful dukes. They were easily persuaded to this, as they had never laid aside their loyalty; but Gustavus being obliged to march into Pomerania, where he reduced some places, they were for some time deprived of his protection. It was partly supplied by the spirit of the inhabitants. One Melk, a native Mecklenburgher, though no more originally than

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than a common soldier, was distinguished on this occasion. By the surprising proofs he gave of his personal conduct and courage, he raised himself to the command of three hundred foot and about thirty-six horse, with which he resolved to attempt the reduction of Malchin, which was a strong fort upon the Pene, and garrisoned by two companies of dragoons. He made his dispositions in the dark, and furnishing each of his men with two lighted matches, the better to deceive the garrison as to their numbers, he advanced to the gates of the fort, which he summoned to surrender instantly, under the pain of the garrison being all put to the sword, with which they complied, on the supposition that his numbers were formidable. When the day-light undeceived them as to Melk's numbers, rather that to risk the punishment they expected from their generals for their precipitate surrender, the two companies of dragoons enlisted under the dukes of Mecklenburg.

The latter, not to be wanting to themselves, had, by this time, assembled a body of their faithful subjects, and partly by force, but much more through the affections which their subjects still bore towards them, they reduced great part of the duchy to their obedience. In the mean while, his Swedish majesty was making a most rapid progress. He laid siege to Damin, which is situated between Mecklenburg and Pomerania, and took both the town and its citadel by storm, the garrison of the latter enlisting in his armies. The garrison of the town was commanded by Savelli, an Italian, who made a very gallant defence; but being obliged to capitulate, the king forced the commandant to sign an obligation, by which he engaged himself not to serve against Sweden, or her allies, for three months. He afterwards reduced Frankfort on the Oder, by the assistance of the Scots who served in his army; and obliged Landsburg, though it contained a very strong garrison, to capitulate. His successes every where, great as they were, must have been far more considerable, had it not been that the protestant princes in the interior part of the empire, partly intimidated by the power of the house of Austria, and partly jealous of Gustavus, did not give him that cordial assistance that might have been expected from princes of the same religion, and in the same interest. Duke Adolphus, of Mecklenburg was more hearty, as well as more grateful. He accompanied Gustavus to Berlin, and was a main instrument in persuading the elector of Brandenburg to join in the common cause, though he could not be brought to be hearty in it. The elector of Saxony, the other great protestant prince of the empire, was still more averse to the

Defection of the protestant princes.

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the cause he ought to have befriended; for all that either Gustavus or duke Adolphus could obtain of him, was not to obstruct any provisions that might be sent to the relief of Magdeburg, a place of the utmost importance, at that time besieged by Tilly. But when, at the request of that elector, the protestant princes, or their deputies, assembled at Leipsic, all they did was to agree upon certain ineffectual remonstrances, that were to be presented to the emperor, as head of the house of Austria. The consequence was, that Magdeburg was taken by Tilly, and that the imperialists exercised cruelties upon the garrison and the inhabitants, that would have disgraced the greatest barbarian.

Gustavus returns to Mecklenburg.

About this time, Gustavus, after he had reduced Gripswald in Pomerania, returned to the duchy of Mecklenburg, which, before this, had entirely submitted to its dukes, excepting the towns of Rostock, Wismar, and Dæmits. It was then thought proper, for many wise reasons, that the two dukes, who had been so long proscribed from their sovereignty, should be re-inaugurated. The ceremony was performed in a most edifying manner. The elder duke, as if mourning for the sufferings of his country, appeared in black, and led the procession, which was, in other respects, magnificent; he being attended by eight hundred of the senators, clergy, and nobility. The king of Sweden assisted in it on horseback, as did Ulric, the prince of Denmark, third son to that king, with all the princes and princesses of the house of Mecklenburg; the cavalcade being closed by a hundred and thirty coaches, and one thousand eight hundred horsemen, well armed, and mounted on excellent horses. The procession arriving at the great church, the people who were assembled there for that purpose, received their dukes with transports of loyalty and affection; and this joyful event was so agreeable to Gustavus, that he recommended it as an indispensable duty to the people, that they should inculcate upon their children the warmest principles of gratitude to Providence, for the signal restoration of their dukes, and their deliverance from the popish and Austrian tyrants.

His successes.

The victories of Gustavus, far from making the imperial court more tractable, seemed to increase its insolence; which, at last, awakened the protestant princes of Germany to a due sense of their danger. The elector of Saxony and the landgrave of Hesse now cordially fell in with the interest of Gustavus, and not only joined him with their forces, but agreed to admit his garrisons into their towns, which were to be evacuated at the end of the war. The battle of Leipsic succeeded, in which Gustavus completely beat

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beat the imperialists under Tilly, and that was followed by the surrender of Leipsic itself, and a most rapid course of victories, which extended the conquests of Gustavus from the Baltic to the frontiers of Lorrain; while the elector of Saxony penetrated into Bohemia, and took Prague. All this time, the blockade of Rostock, which had been formed by Gustavus, was continued by the dukes of Mecklenburg, who, after the battle of Leipsic, again became masters of it, by granting to the inhabitants an honourable capitulation. Their first care was to resettle the government of that city, and they then applied themselves to raise a body of troops for the service of the common cause. This done, they penetrated into Lower Saxony, where they were joined by a strong detachment from Gustavus; and their appearance there gave so much protection and encouragement to the protestant princes, that they immediately declared themselves against the house of Austria, as did the free towns.

An event happened, at this time, which may naturally be supposed to have given the dukes of Mecklenburg great disquiet; for Tilly growing too cautious by his late defeat at Leipsic, the imperial ministers persuaded their master to recall Wallenstein to the command of his armies. Deputies were accordingly sent to that general, who, ever since his disgrace, had retired to a private life, where he rejoiced over the misfortunes of the imperialists, and he was reinvested in the command of the army, with powers superior to any that ever had been granted to any European general; while Tilly was employed in defending the river Lech against Gustavus, whose progress was irresistible. Tilly was defeated, and died of his wounds, and Augsburg surrendered to Gustavus. He had hitherto only acted in the quality of the deliverer of Germany from the tyranny of the house of Austria, and, as such, he had been joined by the protestant princes, and several of the Roman Catholics. But upon the reduction of Augsburg, he not only established by his own authority, the protestant religion, but obliged the Augsburgers to take an oath of allegiance to himself; which act of sovereignty over a free imperial city, and one of the greatest in Germany, raised, among his best friends, very disadvantageous suspicions that his views were different from his professions. Gustavus after this besieged Ingolstadt, but in vain; and took Munich, which was redeemed from plunder and devastation by the inhabitants, at the expence of three hundred thousand rixdollars. Wallenstein, meanwhile, shewed himself worthy of the command

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which he had extorted from his master, by retaking Bavaria, and checking the progress of the Swedish arms.

Death of Gustavus.

The battle of Lutzen delivered the house of Austria from the greatest scourge it ever had known, by the death of the brave Gustavus, who was killed upon that plain in the arms of victory. The protestant cause, for some time, was nobly supported in Germany by Bernard, duke of Saxe-Weymar; but the principle of union being gone, the protestant princes were dispirited and disunited; nor could all the efforts of the Swedish chancellor Oxenstiern, who directed the administration of that kingdom, reconcile them so as to act vigorously for the common cause, though the Swedish arms continued to be for some time successful. The Swedish general Horn defeated an army of Italians, then in Germany under the duke of Feria, who had been sent for to counterbalance the now dangerous power of Wallenstein. That general, ever since he had been stripped of the duchy of Mecklenburg, had been meditating new schemes of ambition, and thought that nothing less than the crown of Bohemia, and the possession of Moravia, could indemnify him for his loss. With this view he had established a kind of an independent command over the army, and formed an association among his officers, to stand by him upon every occasion. This was soon known at the imperial court, where Wallenstein, who still retained the title of duke of Mecklenburg, was again disgraced. It is said, that to facilitate his ambitious schemes, he resumed the thoughts of conquering Mecklenburg; and this was one of the charges brought against him by the imperial court. This accusation is, however, not very probable, after we reflect that some time before his death, he actually had offered to put himself at the head of the Protestants in Germany, if they would consent to assist him in his views upon the crown of Bohemia. It is not, therefore, likely, that he had any design against the dukes of Mecklenburg, whose cause was espoused by all the Protestants, and even patronized by the court of Vienna. But, be that as it will, he rendered himself so obnoxious to the emperor, that he was put to the ban of the empire, and soon after killed by three Scotch officers in his own tent.

War continues between the Swedes and the imperialists.

After various fortunes of war between the Swedes and the protestant Germans on the one side, and the imperialists on the other, the treaty of Prague was concluded, and signed on the 30th of May by all parties, and among others, by the dukes of Mecklenburg, whose rights to their dominions were thereby acknowleged by the emperor. The Swedes considered this treaty as a defection from the common

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mon cause, and accused the protestant princes, who had brought it about, of perfidy and ingratitude. The elector of Saxony, on this occasion, declared himself on the side of the emperor, and Mecklenburg again became the seat of war. That duchy had never been evacuated by the Swedes, who still kept possession of its most important towns; nor could all the efforts of its dukes, who offered themselves as mediators, effect a reconciliation between the Saxons and the Swedes. Such was the state of affairs when John Albert, one of the dukes of Mecklenburg, died, in the forty-fifth year of his age. By the princess his wife, he had two sons, who died infants, and two daughters, Sophia Elizabeth, and Christina Margaret. The former was married to Augustus, duke of Wolfenbuttel, the treaty of marriage having been far advanced in the father's life-time. The second wife of duke John Albert, was Elizabeth, daughter to the landgrave of Hesse, by whom he had no issue. His third wife was Eleonora Mary, daughter to Christiern, prince of Anhalt Dernburg, by whom he had a daughter, Anna Sophia, and a son, to whom, in gratitude to his great benefactor, he gave the name of Gustavus Adolphus, who was but three years of age at the time of his father's death.

As duke Adolphus Frederic was still alive, he claimed the guardianship of his nephew young Gustavus, which was disputed with him by the mother, who applied to the emperor, who adjudged to her the guardianship of her own son. Though this decree was both just and natural, yet it was far from corresponding with the views of Adolphus Frederic, who suspected that the mother would educate her son in the Roman Catholic religion. He therefore had recourse to arms, that he might assert his right, as being the nearest male relation, and even forced the infant from his mother's tutelage, without the emperor interfering in the matter. When young Gustavus was brought to his uncle's court, he was educated a Lutheran. The Swedes still kept their footing in Mecklenburg, which was no longer able to supply them with provisions; for the duke of Saxony entered it, at this time, with another army, but was forced by the Swedish general Bannier, who had been reinforced by twelve thousand of the elector of Brandenburg's troops, to retreat. The elector of Saxony then marched into Pomerania, to join the imperialists in that province; and though he was beaten out of it by the Swedes, yet being reinforced by a body of Austrians, he laid siege to and took Magdeburg and Tangermund, and then pushed Bannier back to the duchy of Mecklenburg, where Maracini, one of his generals, took Stargard, before which he had been formerly repulsed, and

Duke Adolphus Frederic obtains the guardianship of his nephew.

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and plundered it. The subjects of the duchy of Mecklenburg, though they had regained their ancient sovereigns, were, at this time, in a woeful condition, by having two powerful armies lying in their country. The Saxons avoided a battle, and nothing decisive being done, increased the distresses of the Mecklenburghers, who suffered equally from both parties. Bannier, at last, attacked the fortified posts of the Saxons, whom he utterly defeated, and took the fortress of Werben, in Pomerania, the garrison of which enlisted in the Swedish army. Bannier then passed the Elbe near that place, and pursued the imperialists through Hesse into Westphalia.

Continuation of the war.

Notwithstanding these losses, the imperialists, under general Galas, indemnified themselves in Lorrain, where they took Kaisar-Laiter, which was an immense los to the duke of Weymar, and put all the garrison to the sword. Galas then laid siege to Deux-Ponts, and count Mansfeld, another imperial general, blockaded Mentz. But a French army of eighteen thousand men, marching into Germany, under cardinal La Vallette, Mentz was re-victualled, and the siege of Deux-Ponts was raised. The duke of Mecklenburg, during those and a vast number of other military transactions which were then desolating his country, was busied in his negociations for an accommodation between the Swedes and the Saxons, who now acted in the imperial interest. The chief impediment of his success lay in the convenient situation of his duchy for both parties. The possession of it secured to the Swedes a safe retreat into Jutland, which the imperialists were equally eager to cut off; while the duke, partly through inability, and partly in commiseration of his subjects, acted no other part than that of a mediator. He was encouraged by the consideration that both the powers, by which his duchy suffered, were Protestants. But he was disappointed; for ambition and interest took place of all other motives; and the Swedes were so much exasperated by the defection, as they called it, of the princes who had invited Gustavus into Germany, that nothing gave them equal delight, than, without regard to any religion, to multiply the miseries of the empire.

Successes of the duke of Saxe-Weymar and Bannier.

The treaty between the French king and duke Bernard of Saxe-Weymar, who was thereby constituted general of all the troops in alliance with France, increased the duke of Mecklenburg's perplexities, as it was a kind of declaration of the continuance of the war. In the mean while, the emperor had convoked a diet at Ratisbon, previous to the election of his son to be king of the Romans; a measure which he had greatly at heart. The protestant deputies at the

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the diet laid hold of this opportunity to insist upon the pacification of Germany, and refused to concur in the election till that could be effected. They were so firm in this refusal, that an assembly was called at Cologne, and another at Hamburg, to which the protestant princes repaired; but though a king of the Romans was elected, the deliverance of Germany from the miseries of war was still at a great distance. The courage and successes of Bannier and the duke of Saxe-Weymar, the protestant generals, served only to contribute to the unhappiness of Mecklenburg, where both armies, every winter, took up their quarters. The imperialists, though often routed, were gaining upon the main, by means of the vast resources they had in men, money, and provisions; and the death of the landgrave of Hesse seemed to leave the Mecklenburghers without all hope of relief; for the imperial court, which had been always haughty, became then untractable, and rejected all proposals for an accommodation; so that the dukes of Mecklenburgh, to their great mortification, saw the confederacy between France and Sweden renewed for three years.

Count Galas, in the year 1638, commanded the imperialists in Mecklenburg, where a famine raged, through the subsistence which the inhabitants were obliged to furnish for so many armies. Galas was attacked by Bannier, in Mecklenburg, and was obliged to pass the Elbe with the loss of three thousand men, while the duke of Saxe-Weymar continued his operations through all the winter. This was the more necessary, as the constancy of the protestant princes had been greatly shaken by the death of the landgrave of Hesse. Passing the Rhine, he took several towns, and besieged Rhinsfeld; but it was relieved by the imperialists, who were afterwards completely defeated by the duke, and then Rhinfeld submitted of course. Neuburg, Rottelen, and Brisgaw followed the example of Rhinfeld; and then the duke of Saxe-Weymar laid siege to Brisac, which the duke of Lorrain endeavoured, but in vain, to relieve. The campaign was carried on with less success in other parts of Germany, where the prince Palatine, and his brother prince Rupert, were defeated in their retreat to Minden; but in the year 1639, the duke of Saxe-Weymar and Bannier agreed upon a joint irruption into the emperor's hereditary territories, as the only means of disposing him to peace. in their march, Bannier cut in pieces seven imperial regiments, and four Saxon battalions, and then laid siege to Friburg. Understanding that Hatsfeld, the imperial general, was marching to the relief of the place, and that he was to be joined by a great body of Saxons, he raised the

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the siege, and totally defeated the imperialists. He then broke into Bohemia, attacked and defeated Hofkirck, another imperial general, killed two thousand of his men, and made him and Montecuculi prisoners. But though Bannier was thus victorious, he was unsuccessful upon the whole. He had no resources of men or money to supply the waste of war, nor could he garrison the places which he took. He was in hopes, however, of being joined by the duke of Saxe-Weymar, and of making the emperor's hereditary dominions of Bohemia and Silesia defray the expence of the war; but all his schemes were blasted by his receiving news of the death of the duke of Saxe-Weymar, which was reported to have been effected by poison, administered to him by the French, because he was too much in the interest of the Protestants, and had refused to deliver up to them Brisac.

Death of that duke.

The duke of Saxe-Weymar's death was an irreparable blow to the protestant interest in Germany. The French arrested the prince Palatine, who pretended to succeed him in the command of his army, which now accepted of a French general, the duke of Longueville, and gave up all Weymar's conquests to the Most Christian king. The duchy of Mecklenburg continued all this while to be torn in pieces by the Swedes, whom Bannier had left there under the command of Oxel Cili, and the imperialists who wanted to drive the Swedes out of Germany. All that the duke of Mecklenburg could obtain from either party, was a permission for some of his towns and territories to remain neutral; and he thereby gained so much respite, that, in 1640, he was present at the nuptials of his niece Christina Margaret, daughter to duke John Albert, with Francis Albert, duke of Saxe-Lawenburg.

The protestant army in Germany then continued to be commanded by marshal Bannier, and the duke de Longueville, who acted together, but with very different views; while Picolomini was general of the imperialists, and lay on the frontiers of Bavaria, to prevent Bannier from penetrating into that duchy. Upon this, Bannier resumed his old plan, and required the duke de Longueville to join him with his army, that they might force Picolomini to a battle. The duke would have gladly avoided the junction, had he not been apprehensive of the consequences, Bannier having declared, that if he did not join him, he would no longer look upon the French as the allies of Sweden, but provide for the safety of his army and himself. The imperial court endeavoured to improve this misunderstanding, by offering to Bannier, that if he would detach himself from his French and

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and German allies, he should be recompensed with two rich duchies in Silesia. Longueville, though he could no longer defer his junction with Bannier, entered into intrigues to thwart him in all their councils of war. They had, by this time, been joined by the troops of Hesse Cassel, Brunswick, and Lunenburg, and they marched to Saltzfeld to fight Picolomini. That cautious Italian knew the temper and views of his enemies too well, not to be sensible that they could not act long in concert together, and therefore he cautiously avoided a battle, to which all the arts and power of the confederates could not force him; so that the campaign was spent in fatiguing marches and counter-marches till both armies went into winter-quarters.

Next year the active Bannier must have surprised the emperor at Ratisbon, had not his project been disconcerted by a sudden thaw. A diet had been convoked for the often-mentioned purpose of restoring peace to Germany, and the emperor furnished passports to the ministers of the powers at war, that they might repair to it; but the French were to treat at Cologne, and the Swedes at Hamburgh. The negociations met with great difficulties, and the only thing concluded on was, that there should be a congress for a general peace to be held at Munster, where the French plenipotentiaries were to meet, and at Osnabrug, which was assigned to those of Sweden. The emperor refused to ratify those preliminaries, which, as he alleged, were derogatory to his honour; and thus the war broke out with greater fury than ever. Bannier penetrated into Bohemia, while Picolomini besieged and took Newmarck. After this, Picolomini joining his troops with those of Gleen, another imperial general, the whole formed an army vastly superior to that of Bannier, whom they pursued across the Bohemian forest; but he had the good forture to escape to the river Pleiss, over which he transported his army in boats, when the imperialists appeared upon the opposite bank. That river, however, did not stop the pursuit, for the Austrian horse forded the river, and Bannier was now shut up in such a manner between the Pleiss and the Moldaw, that his ruin was, by all Europe, looked upon as inevitable. Nothing but the utmost efforts of generalship could have prevented it. He made so judicious a disposition of some troops at a pass near a mill, and defended it so bravely, that the Austrians were kept in play till his army, baggage, and artillery, reached Zuickaw on the Moldaw, where he was joined by Guebriant the French general. This retreat was one of the best conducted that ever was made, and an equal honour to the judgment and

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the courage of Bannier, but it proved fatal to him; for though he had youth and a robuſt conſtitution on his ſide, he ſunk under the fatigues he had undergone, and died at Halberſtadt, in the forty-firſt year of his age.

Death of Bannier.

Notwithſtanding the death of this great man, who was as amiable in his perſon as he was great in his military capacity, the war was carried on by the Swedes with the utmoſt ſpirit and intrepidity under Torſtenſon, who ſucceeded Bannier in his command, and, like him, was a great and able general, and did wonders in Germany againſt the Auſtrians, though he could not bring Guebriant to act in conjunction with him, and though the war which then broke out between Denmark and Sweden retarded his ſupplies. He made his winter-quarters, however, good in Bohemia; he ravaged Germany, and, in 1645, he narrowly miſſed ſurpriſing the emperor and his ſon, the archduke Leopold, at Prague; and completely defeated their army in a general engagement. In ſhort, it was thought, not without reaſon, that had Torſtenſon been properly ſupported, he muſt have put an end to the greatneſs of the houſe of Auſtria: but we muſt refer our readers for particulars to the foregoing parts of this hiſtory.

Treaty of Munſter concluded.

Little occurs, during this period, that particularly relates to the affairs of Mecklenburg. That duchy and the ducal family participated of the common calamities of Germany. Manufactures, trade, and agriculture, were forgotten in the profeſſion of arms, and all civil ſubordination was laid aſide, the inhabitants having been ſo long enured to military cuſtoms. It is true the dukes were at peace with both the parties that were harraſſing their dominions; but even that conſideration brought them little relief; for their duchy was, upon all occaſions, treated as a conquered country, and if one party granted to a place, or a ſtate, a neutrality, the other party obliged the inhabitants to break it. Happily for the repoſe of Germany, the negociations for a general peace were all this while going on at Munſter and Oſnabrug; and at laſt the ſame took place in 1648, while the Swedes were on the point of conquering all Bohemia, under the duke of Deux Ponts. By this peace, which now commonly goes by the name of that of Weſtphalia, the Palatine family were re-inſtated in part of their dominions; the proteſtant princes received additional ſecurities for their religion and properties; and the duke of Mecklenburg was re-inſtated in the peaceable poſſeſſion of all his dominions, excepting the town and port of Wiſmar, which were granted to Sweden, together with the bailliwicks of Pohl and Neukloſter.

Wiſmar

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Wismar was formerly a Hanse Town, and a place of great trade, enjoying even the privilege of coining; nor is it at present inconsiderable. It is situated on a bay of the Baltic, and has a good harbour. So far back as the year 1261, it was annexed to the duchy of Schwerin, by which it came into the possession of the dukes of Mecklenburg. In 1627 the imperialists seized upon it, but were dispossessed by the Swedes in 1632. It lay so conveniently for the Swedes, to whom it served as an inlet into Germany, that their plenipoientiary offered to put the duke in possession of the bishoprick of Minden in exchange for it; but the Mecklenburg envoy having no instructions to treat on that head, the proposal was dropped. The bailliwick of Pohl, which was ceded at the same time to Sweden, is an island, about a German mile distant from the mouth of the harbour of Wismar. and contains several towns and farms; as does the bailliwick of Neukloster, which is now farmed for seven thousand six hundred and ninety rixdollars. *Account of the cessions made by the duke.*

In compensation for those cessions, the emperor gave the dukes of Mecklenburg the several towns and districts which had formerly belonged to the bishopricks of Schwerin and Ratzeburg, which were now secularized, together with Miro and Nemero, two bailliwicks in the duchy of Mecklenburg, formerly commanderies of the order of St. John, and belonging to the Sonneburg grand-mastership; but with a proviso of paying the responsgelder, which is a kind of tribute to the order. Some other secularized benefices were likewise ceded to the dukes at the same time. Sweden, besides the acquisition of Wismar, obtained by the peace of Westphalia in property the duchies of Bremen and Verden, which they acknowleged to be fiefs of the empire; but the mode of this cession was so indeterminate, that it afterwards created great disputes. They likewise obtained the isle of Rugen, and all the Upper Pomerania, with five millions of crowns to indemnify them for the expences of the war, and Brisac and Alsace were ceded to France. *His acquisitions.*

Such were the northern arrangements of Germany made by the treaty of Westphalia, when duke Adolphus Frederic of Mecklenburg re-entered into the peaceable possession of his dominions, which, as we have already observed, he found in a most deplorable condition. His first attention was turned towards securing his subjects in their possessions, in restoring boundaries and land-marks; in re-establishing manufactures; but, above all, in restoring agriculture. At the same time courts of justice began to resume their usual functions, as did the ministers of religion; so that *Tranquillity restored to Mecklenburg.*

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the people were soon reconciled to that subordination which is so requisite in a civil government. The duke, in 1647, had given his daughter, Anna Maria, in marriage to Augustus, duke of Weissenfels; and, in 1649, his niece, Anna Sophia was married to Lewis, duke of Leignitz. Next year his daughter, Sophia Agnes, was contracted in marriage to Augustus, margrave of Brandenburg Bayrent; but the bridegroom dying before the marriage was consummated, the princess renounced all farther concern with the world, and retired to a religious life. The same year Christian, the eldest son of Adolphus Frederic, married his cousin, Christiana Margaret, widow of the duke of Saxe Lawenburg, who had been killed in the late wars between the Swedes and the imperialists.

Administration of duke Adolphus Frederic.

The cares of duke Adolphus Frederic were not confined to his own family and dominions, but extended to those of his nephew Gustavus Adolphus, duke of Mecklenburg Gustrow, who, when he came to be of adult age, entered upon the possession of a fine, and, considering the times, of a flourishing estate. This young prince married Magdalen Sibylla, the daughter of his near neighbour the duke of Holstein Gottorp. In the year 1658 died Adolphus Frederic, in the 90th year of his age. The great equanimity with which this prince bore a long train of misfortunes, his patience, prudence, and piety, and the paternal care he always exercised towards his subjects, cannot be sufficiently admired; and his virtues were at last rewarded by his uncommon length of life, and by his being enabled to restore to his country order, tranquillity, and affluence.

His issue.

His first wife was Anna Maria, princess of East Friesland, by whom he had Christian, his eldest son and successor in his government, and three other sons, Charles, John George, and Gustavus Rodolphus; with two daughters, Sophia Agnes and Anna Maria, whose marriage we have already mentioned. His second wife Catherine was of the house of Brunswick, and by her he had Fredric, to whom he left the district of Grabow; with five daughters, Juliana, Sibylla, Christina, Mary Elizabeth, and Anna Sophia. Seven months after his death his duchess was delivered of a posthumous son, to whom he had eventually bequeathed the district of Strelitz, which now goes by the name of the duchy of Mecklenburg Strelitz.

History and character of his eldest son Christian.

Christian, duke of Mecklenburg, son to Adolphus Frederic, was one of the most extraordinary characters of his age. He was giddy, capricious, and voluptuous, unthinking, improvident, immoral, and irreligious. With those bad qualities he was polite, generous, and obliging to the last

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last degree. He had a most pleasing turn of conversation, and he made up the want of deep erudition by his being master of that kind of learning that is agreeable, striking, and entertaining, and he was possessed of a fund of wit that rendered him the delight of all who approached him. With all those accomplishments and blemishes, he was reckoned to be in his person the handsomest prince of his age; and this perhaps was a main source of the irregularities and misfortunes into which he fell; as it was difficult for any woman, if not armed with the severest virtue, when he paid his addresses to her, to look upon him with an eye of indifference. The excellent condition in which the duchy of Mecklenburg Schwerin was when Christian succeeded his father, rendered it easy for him to gratify his passions to the full; the first effect of which was the ruin of his domestic felicity. His wife, who passionately loved him, could not bear his open infidelity to her bed; nor could he bear her continual bitter reproaches on that head, till at last she was exasperated into resentment, and he into hatred, which made a state of separation the most eligible for both; but political, as well as domestic reasons, contributed to Christian's unhappiness.

His father had succeeded in reducing the common people of his duchy to regularity and subordination; but, during the late war, the nobility had been so little sensible of the ducal power, that they had not only acquired a taste for independence, but they refused to pay their duke the common dues and fines, and even encroached upon his prerogative as sovereign. Mutual recriminations passed between them, the nobility being unanimous in their refusal to pay the sums demanded, and at last the cause was brought before the emperor, who was the only judge in such a case. It may be easily imagined that, during this dispute, the duke must pass his time very indifferently in his court, where he was deserted by all his nobility, and entertained only by the upbraidings of his wife. To put an end to so disagreeable a situation he named a regency, composed of his counsellors, and came to a resolution of travelling to France, in hopes that the gaieties of that court would dispel his inquietudes. While he was there he fell in love with Isabella Angelica de Montmorenci, widow to the duke of Chatillon, and sister to the marshal Montmorenci. But the duke's first wife being still alive, no expedient could be thought of to complete their union by marriage, but his renouncing his religion; a sacrifice which was easy for a man of his principles and disposition to make; and cardinal Barterini, after having received, by the pope's orders,

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the duke's abjuration of Lutheranism, baptized him anew by the name of Lewis.

It does not appear that the execrable purpose of this abjuration was publicly owned by the duke at the time of his abjuration. He was highly caressed by his name-father, Lewis XIV. and by him presented with the order of the Holy Ghost; but a short time fully cleared up the motives of his conversion. Under the ridiculous pretexts of his former marriage having been contracted within the degree of consanguinity prohibited by the canons of the church, and of his not having received the papal dispensation, it was declared to be invalid by the same cardinal, and soon after he was married to the duchess of Chatillon. It was not long before he found his domestic situation more disagreeable than ever. His new wife, without having the same affection for his person as his first had, was extravagant in her resentment of his irregularities, and persecuted him even to a degree of fury. Under those unhappy circumstances he had recourse to philosophy, and sought to divert his uneasiness by the conversation of learned men; but that soon proving ineffectual, he took a most extravagant resolution, but well suited to a man of his volatile temper, which was that of travelling incognito to Rome, to see the famous Kircher. This Jesuit was, in his time, the mountebank of learning. He possessed an inexhaustible fund of erudition, but it was of the abstruse kind; and not having a proportionable share of critical knowlege, he was vain, credulous, and ostentatious, though his works were entertaining and amusing, and carried with them great marks of authenticity, particularly in his researches into the Chinese and Egyptian learning; and, in short, of antiquity in general. The duke did not find in Kircher either the entertainment or improvement he expected. He was disgusted with the father's dry pedantic manner; nor could he conceal his chagrin at being disappointed in his purpose; and when he took his leave, they were equally dissatisfied with each other.

While Christian was thus pursuing either his pleasures or his disappointments in France and Italy, his duchy of Mecklenburg was once more rendered the seat of war by the hostilities which again broke out between France and Germany. The Swedes, as usual, took part with the former, and invaded the dominions of the elector of Brandenburg, who forced them to retreat into Mecklenburg. The usual plea of necessity superseded all other considerations, for though that duchy was equally in alliance with both the belligerent powers, yet it enjoyed no benefit from its neu-

reality

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trality, and the inhabitants were treated with the ſame ſeverity as if they had been enemies to both. The duke, whoſe reſidence upon his own dominions might have been alleviated, if not prevented, the calamities of his country, received a farther mortification, by the emperor intimating to him, his diſpleaſure at ſeeing ſo conſiderable a member of the Germanic body reſiding at the court of a prince who was the public enemy of the empire. His abjuration of Proteſtantiſm, and his treatment of his firſt wife who was ſtill alive, and whoſe brother was the reigning duke of Guſtrow, his differences with his ſubjects, and many other cauſes, continued to diſſuade him from returning to Mecklenburg; but as the emperor could have no objection to his living in Holland, he went to the Hague, where he ſpent the remainder of his days, and died in the ſixty-ninth year of his age, in the year 1692, without leaving any lawful iſſue.

He dies in Holland.

Account of the line of Mecklenburg, and the diſputes about the ſucceſſion.

Frederic, duke of Mecklenburg Grabow, brother to Chriſtian, had been four years dead at this time, and had left by his wife, who was daughter to the landgrave of Heſſe, three ſons; Frederic William, Charles Leopold, and Chriſtian Lewis; and a daughter, Sophia Louiſa. The eldeſt of thoſe ſons, Frederic William, claimed the ſucceſſion to the late duke, as being ſon of the elder brother; but his title was diſputed by Adolphus Frederic of Strelitz, Chriſtian's poſthumous brother, as being next in blood to the deceaſed. The difference was referred to the arbitration of the elector of Brandenburg, who adjudged the ſucceſſion to the nephew Frederic William, and that too, upon very juſt principles: ſcarcely was this affair ſettled, when Guſtavus Adolphus, the duke of Guſtrow, died likewiſe. By his wife, Magdalen Sibylla, daughter of Frederic, duke of Holſtein Gottorp, he had eight daughters; Mary, who was wife to Adolphus Frederic II duke of Mecklenburg Strelitz; Magdalene, who died unmarried; Sophia, who was wife to Chriſtian Ulric, duke of Wirtemberg Benſtadt; Chriſtina, married to Chriſtian Lewis, count of Stolberg; Hedwiga, the wife of Auguſtus, duke of Saxe Merſburg; Louiſa, married to the king of Denmark; Elizabeth, to Henry, duke of Saxe-Merſburg; and Auguſta, who died ſingle, beſides ſeveral other children, who died either in their infancy or without iſſue. Guſtavus Adolphus, duke of Guſtrow, before his death, had fixed the marriage between the king of Denmark and his daughter Louiſa, who, after his death, was received in a moſt magnificent manner at Copenhagen, and married to his Daniſh majeſty, in preſence of his ſiſter, the ducheſs

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of Strelitz, and the chief nobility of Denmark and Mecklenburg.

The death of Guſtavus Adolphus renewed the diſputes between the duke of Mecklenburg Strelitz and his nephew, the duke of Mecklenburg Schwerin. This, and the former diſpute, reſted on the ſame principles; the duke of Strelitz claimed from proximity of blood; the duke of Schwerin, by priority of deſcent, which was ſtrengthened by his having married the eldeſt daughter of the late duke of Guſtrow. The ſucceſſion was too conſiderable to be decided by any other arbitration than that of arms. The duke of of Schwerin being more powerful than his uncle, the latter put himſelf under the protection of the Swedes, who, glad of a freſh pretext to get footing in Germany, invaded Mecklenburg, and took Guſtrow. Nothing could be more diſagreeable to the court of Vienna than this invaſion; and the emperor was ſo much alarmed at it, that he ordered the princes of the circle of Lower Saxony to be aſſembled; and, by repreſenting the danger to which the Germanic body was expoſed by this irruption of the Swedes, they conſented that the duchy of Guſtrow ſhould be ſequeſtrated till the ſucceſſion to it ſhould be determined in a legal manner by the emperor. The cauſe was accordingly heard, and the right of ſucceſſion was formally adjudged to the duke of Schwerin.

The Swedes invade Mecklenburg.

This deciſion, impartial as it was, was not, it ſeems, agreeable to the modes of ſucceſſion which generally prevailed in the Lower Saxony, and which are regulated by proximity of blood, and not priority of ſucceſſion; and, therefore, the emperor's deciſion was univerſally diſliked. But beſides the hereditary right, pleaded by the duke of Schwerin, we find that ſo far [d] back as the year 1523, the nobility and commons of the duchies of Schwerin and Guſtrow entered into an indiſſoluble compact of union, which conſiſted in a conjunction of the provinces as well as of the ſtates of which each is compoſed. The duke of Strelitz readily agreed to the vote of ſequeſtration upon the duchy of Guſtrow; but his acquieſcence proved inſignificant, for the Swedes were in poſſeſſion of the city, and refuſed to give it up, or any of the places in Mecklenburg which they were poſſeſſed of. They agreed, however, that the matter ſhould be referred to arbitration, and that the arbitrators ſhould meet at Hamburgh, which they accordingly did in 1701, after Mecklenburg had been for four or five years deſolated by a foreign invaſion. The award pro-

The diſputes accommodated by a family compact.

[d] Buſchin, vol. vi. p. 369.

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nounced at Hamburgh was, that duke Frederic William of Schwerin should hold the principality of Gustrow, with that of Schwerin; but that Adolphus Frederic should, besides his duchy of Strelitz, hold the principality of Ratzeburg, with the lordship of Stargard, and the commanderies of Miro and Nemero, with a yearly pension of nine thousand dollars in specie, out of the Boitzenburg toll [e]. This compact was accepted of by both parties, and ratified by the emperor Leopold, who likewise settled a right of primogenitute and lineal succession in both houses.

From this decisive compact, the division between the lines of Schwerin and Strelitz, in the duchy of Mecklenburg, took place, and the titles of both dukes [f] now are, duke of Mecklenburg, prince of Wenden, Schwerin, and Ratzeburg, count of Schwerin, and the country of Rostock, and lord of Stargard. Duke Frederic William was a wise and a moderate prince, and made the good of his subjects the only object of his administration; but the dispute between his predecessor Gustavus Adolphus and the nobility of Gustrow, though suspended, had never been decided, and it was revived upon his succession. The nobility required of the duke a formal renunciation of his uncle's claims; but the affair was of too great consequence to his posterity for him to give them up, so that his moderation led him to accept of a stated revenue till the difference could be legally decided. This point being settled, he married, in 1704, Sophia Charlotte, daughter to the landgrave of Hesse Cassel. But, notwithstanding all his attention to the ease and happiness of his subjects, the situation of his country brought it under inexpressible difficulties. When Charles XII. of Sweden, undertook to dethrone Augustus, king of Poland, Mecklenburg became once more the seat of war, notwithstanding the most strenuous efforts made by the duke to preserve a neutrality. In short, all the strong places of Mecklenburg were seized by one or other of the parties, and the country itself laid desolate. Strelitz having little or no defence, was again plundered by both; and, in 1708, Adolphus Frederic II. duke of Strelitz, died. His first wife was Mary, daughter to the last duke of Gustrow, by whom he had a son, who succeeded to his dominions, by the name of Adolphus Frederic III. and a daughter, Gustava Carolina, whose husband was Christian Lewis, administrator of the duchy of Mecklenburg Schwerin. The second wife of Adolphus Frederic was Joanna, consort to Frederic, duke of Saxe-Gotha;

Marriages of Adolphus Frederic.

[e] Busching, vol. vi. p. 372. [f] Ibid.

and

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and his third wife was Christiana Amelia Antonia, daughter to the prince of Schwartzburg Sanderhausen, and by her he had Sophia Christina Louisa, who died an infant, and Charles Lewis Frederic, who was but three months old when his father died.

Marriages of Charles Leopold.

Charles Leopold, duke of Mecklenburg Schwerin. married Sophia Hedwiga, daughter of Henry Casimir Nassau, hereditary stadtholder of West Friesland; but some disputes happening in their conjugal state, their marriage was annulled by consent of both parties, after they had submitted their differences to the university of Gripswalde. The ducal house of Mecklenburg, in the year 1709, was low, as duke Frederic William had no children, which, perhaps, was an inducement to Frederic I. king of Prussia, to desire his sister Sophia Louisa in marriage, on condition that the duchies of Schwerin and Strelitz, in the event of their having no male issue, should be settled upon his family. The duke consented to this condition, that he might see his beloved sister a queen. The marriage, however, proved unhappy; the cause was attributed to her capricious temper, and a separation ensued. The duchy of Mecklenburg, all this while, was suffering the most cruel devastations from the troops of the princes who were at war in Germany; and their miseries so much affected Frederic William, who most tenderly loved his subjects, that he fell into a consumptive disorder. He consulted an ignorant physician, who improperly prescribed to him the waters of Stagenback, which finished his life at Mentz, in the thirty-ninth year of his age, most sincerely lamented by his subjects, in the year 1713. He was succeeded by his brother Charles Leopold.

His differences with his nobility.

The reader may remember, that the quarrel which had been begun between Charles Lewis and his nobility, though compromised, had never been thoroughly ended; and length of time gave them a pretext to add prescription to the other reasons of their opposition. The duke was most unhappily situated in this dispute. The emperor, as head of the Germanic body, pretended to be the sole arbiter of all the differences between him and his nobility. The states of the Lower Saxony joined the nobility against their duke, and the city of Rostock, upon whom he had the like demands, declared against him likewise. It happened, at this time, that, very critically for the duke of Mecklenburg, the system of affairs in the North took a very unexpected turn. The czar, Peter the Great, of Russia, from the experience he had in his late wars, was encouraged to think, that it would be no difficult matter for him to obtain a footing in the empire;

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empire; and for reaſons that may be found in other parts of this hiſtory, he had entered into a moſt unnatural alliance with his perpetual enemy the king of Sweden; and as George I. king of Great Britain, was the greateſt obſtacle to the ambition of both, they formed a ſcheme for placing the Pretender on the Britiſh throne. His Swediſh majeſty being killed, and his miniſtry ruined, the execution of this plan reſted upon the czar alone. Duke Charles Leopold of Mecklenburg, perceiving that all the German powers either remained neutral, or took part with his nobility, threw his eyes towards Ruſſia; and, by the czar's conſent, he married Catherine, daughter to the czar John, elder brother to Peter the Great, whoſe aſſiſtance he implored againſt his nobility, and his enemies in the empire.

His connections with the czar, whoſe niece he marries.

Nothing could be more fortunate than the ſituation of Mecklenburg was for the views of the czar, who, of all things, wanted the poſſeſſion of Wiſmar to give him footing in the empire. From the moment that the match was concluded between his niece and the duke of Mecklenburg, he abandoned all thoughts of aſſiſting the Pretender, and was entirely employed upon effectuating his German ſyſtem. This was no ſecret to the court of Great Britain, and it determined king George I. to take part with the Mecklenburg nobility. The czar, on the other hand, in the year 1716, made diſpoſitions for becoming maſter of Wiſmar, which being in the hands of Sweden, was cloſely beſieged by the Northern allies, as they were called. With this view, he ordered three Ruſſian regiments to march into Mecklenburg, on pretext of aſſiſting the duke againſt his rebellious nobility, but in reality to get poſſeſſion of Wiſmar; which, while they were upon their march, ſurrendered to the allies in April, 1716, notwithſtanding all the efforts the duke made, not only by the Ruſſian troops, but by large pecuniary offers to get poſſeſſion of it for the czar. Soon after, the whole Ruſſian army marched into Mecklenburg, the czar pretending, that his intention was to make a deſcent upon Schonen; which, by the event, it is plain, he never intended, and that his real deſign was, that his army ſhould take up its winter-quarters in Mecklenburg and its neighbourhood. Little doubt can be made, that, in all this proceeding, the intereſt of the duke of Mecklenburg was but his ſecondary view; for his real intention was to poſſeſs himſelf of that duchy, and thereby to acquire a firm footing in Germany. For this purpoſe, he even went ſo far as to propoſe to give the duke all his part of

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of Livonia, if he would relinquish Mecklenburg. In 1717, king George, after presenting the strongest remonstrances, both at the imperial and Danish courts, pressing them to use their interest with the czar to evacuate Mecklenburg, returned from Germany to London, while the czar's real intentions became every day more and more apparent. He had erected Rostock into a place of arms, and the flower of his troops, particularly his own regiment, without which he never undertook any expedition in person, was quartered upon the Mecklenburg nobility.

Affairs of the North.

His arms were seconded by memorials, in which he pretended, that the affair of Mecklenburg was an object entirely foreign to a British ministry, and that his Britannic majesty, through the whole dispute, had artfully blended his character as king with that of elector; and that he could not regularly, in either capacity, become a party against the duke in favour of his stubborn rebellious nobility. Those were plausible allegations, but destitute of truth; and the czar's hopes received a severe blow, by the Northern allies blowing up and razing the fortifications of Wismar, in the beginning of the year 1718. By this time, all the princes of Germany interested themselves in the quarrel, and became parties against the czar, and, consequently, against the duke of Mecklenburg; and this drove the czar into closer connections than ever with Sweden, through the agency of the famous baron Goertz. It was agreed between them, that king Staniflaus should be replaced on the throne of Poland; and with regard to his Britannic majesty and the duke of Mecklenburg, the following stipulations, as published by the court of London, were concluded.

"The czar promises and engages to act with all his troops, to compel the king of England, as elector, not only to restore Bremen and Verden to the king of Sweden, but also to give him due satisfaction for the damages he has sustained; and if it happens that the crown of England should oppose this, the two contracting parties promise to unite all their forces against it, and not to lay down their arms till that restitution and satisfaction be really obtained from Hanover.

"However, in case the king of Sweden should chuse, before the exchange of the ratifications, to excuse the czar from this obligation; his czarish majesty promises, and takes upon himself, to dispose the duke of Mecklenburg to yield up voluntarily, and for ever, to the king and crown of Sweden, the duchy of Mecklenburg and its dependencies for a proper

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proper equivalent, which the czar promises to procure for that duke; and as such equivalent cannot be found but on the side of Poland, the king of Sweden shall engage to assist in getting it.

And in this case, the agreements about the succession of families, which are subsisting between the house of Prussia and Mecklenburg, shall take place with respect to the equivalent to be given to the duke of that name."

The Russians occupy Mecklenburg.

Upon the whole it appears, that the duke of Mecklenburg, besides Livonia, was to have been indemnified with part of Esthonia, Carelia, and Ingria; and in the plan of execution laid down by baron Goertz it was stipulated, that the czar should furnish twenty-five thousand men to be sent to Mecklenburg, and to be actually there before the arrival of the transports from Sweden. The death of his Swedish majesty put an end to all those ambitious schemes, and was followed by the execution of baron Goertz, their chief planner. The duke of Mecklenburg was the chief sufferer by this catastrophe. He had quartered the three thousand Russians lent him by the czar upon his nobility, and his conduct in calling into Germany foreign troops, had rendered him excessively unpopular in the empire. The king of Great Britain was his professed enemy, as being a member of the Lower Saxony, and the regent of France was connected with George. The new government of Sweden adopted a plan entirely different from that of the late king; and the czar, notwithstanding his recent family connection with the duke, became very cold in his cause. To complete his misfortunes, the emperor took upon him finally to decide the long depending cause between the duke and his nobility in favour of the latter, and committed the execution of his sentence to the king of Great Britain, as elector of Hanover. At the same time, Christian Lewis, the younger brother of duke Charles Leopold, was made administrator of the duchy, a scanty part of its revenues being allotted for the maintenance of duke Charles Leopold. This prince had a spirit too great to submit to his fortune, which was thus, perhaps, unjustly depressed. Unhappily for him, his resentment was now chiefly directed against his wife's uncle, Peter the Great, of Muscovy, who he thought had betrayed him, by not sufficiently supporting him against his nobility. His complaints were far from being ill-founded; for it is certain, that Peter had led him into those measures that rendered all the empire his enemies, and then withdrew from his assistance. The duke could not bring his spirit to submit so far as even to crave his protection, or aid, to recover his dominions; but he loudly accused

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accuſed Peter, for having moſt ſcandalouſly with-held from him the portion which had been ſtipulated for his wife when he married her; and which Peter ungenerouſly alleged he had already paid, by the aſſiſtance he had afforded him againſt his ſubjects. Theſe altercations with a prince of Peter's power, ſerved but the more to depreſs Leopold, who being now, in a manner, an exile from his own dominions, lived with a ſplendor little ſuitable to his income, ſometimes at Dantzic, and ſometimes at Wiſmar. In the mean while, his brother, the adminiſtrator, was ſupported by the Hanoverian troops, who acted as an army of execution; and the duke, ſoured by his repeated misfortunes, comprehended even his wife in the averſion he had conceived for the Ruſſians, by openly mal-treating and abuſing her. Upon the death of Peter II. of Ruſſia, great doubts aroſe concerning the ſucceſſion to that empire.

Misfortunes of the duke.

Succeſſion of the Ruſſian empire ſettled in the princeſs of Mecklenburg.

The eldeſt daughter of the empreſs Catharine, by czar Peter the Great, was ducheſs of Holſtein; and had the ſucceſſion been limited for the ſatisfaction of the Ruſſians to the poſterity of Peter, ſhe had, undoubtedly, the prior right of ſucceſſion; but ſhe was then dead, and her ſon no more than ten years of age: a circumſtance which rendered his government incompatible with the good of Ruſſia, and therefore he was for that time ſet aſide, and the Ruſſian nobility threw their eyes back towards the poſterity of czar John, Peter's elder brother. It is evident, that, upon this occaſion, the Ruſſians had not the ſmalleſt regard to hereditary right, provided they were governed by any one of the imperial blood. Some of them were for forming their empire into a republic, but all of them agreed in ſetting aſide the ſucceſſion of the ducheſs of Mecklenburg, though ſhe was the eldeſt daughter of czar John, and raiſing to their throne her younger ſiſter Anne Iwanowna, ducheſs of Courland. Their true reaſon for this was, the averſion they had to all foreign connections, and their dread of being involved in the duke of Mecklenburg's affairs in Germany. To colour the injuſtice done to the ducheſs of Mecklenburg, it was given out, that the late emperor, Peter II. who was inveſted with the power of nominating his own ſucceſſor, had paſſed by the ducheſs of Mecklenburg in favour of her younger ſiſter.

The ducheſs of Mecklenburg, though ſhe was ſenſible of, and proteſted againſt, the wrong that was done her, was deſtitute of all the means to aſſert her right; and ſhe was forced quietly to ſubmit to ſee her younger ſiſter mount the throne of Ruſſia. The Ruſſian nobility and ſenate, upon this occaſion, diſcovered the ſtrongeſt diſpoſitions to limit the

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the imperial authority; and before the empress took possession of her new dignity, they obliged her to sign a kind of a capitulation, which, in fact, threw the government into their own hands. The empress herself, being a woman of sense and spirit, knew the invalidity of her own title, as well as of the senate's proceedings; but she wisely dissembled both. With regard to the latter, it soon appeared that the new modelled government was no better than an aristocracy, which was likely to prove more oppressive to the people than the power of the crown itself had ever been. Such of the nobility as had been excluded by the new capitulation from the government, readily joined with the empress in annulling the capitulation; and all the measures she took for that purpose were so prudent and so vigorous, that in a few days after her succession, she became as absolute as any of her predecessors had been.

She next applied herself towards supplying the defects of her own title; but this she found to be a difficult and hazardous attempt. The Russians hated the Germans beyond any other people, and of all the Germans none was so disagreeable to them as duke Leopold of Mecklenburg. Though he lived upon very bad terms with his wife, yet he began now to consider himself as a very powerful prince in her right. The czarina was no stranger to his bad treatment of her sister, and the aversion the Russians had to his person; notwithstanding which, she resolved to declare the duke's daughter, the only child he had by his duchess, her successor in the empire. Many reasons of state, however, concurred for excluding the duke from all benefit that could arise from this high destination of his daughter. It was easy to foresee, that if the duke should once obtain a footing in Russia, he could soon raise a party that might give great trouble to the government. To prevent so undesirable an event, the empress privately communicated to her sister, the duchess, her intentions; which were, that her niece, the princess of Mecklenburg, should be educated at her court, that the Russians might be accustomed to look upon her as her successor in the empire; and that, if the duchess possibly could escape from her husband, she should accompany her daughter to Petersburg. The duchess, who was thoroughly dissatisfied with the treatment she met with from her husband, agreed to this proposal; and she and her daughter effected their escape from the duke into Russia, where they were received with all the honours due to their rank, and the affection borne to them by the empress.

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The latter, though a wife and great princefs, had her weakneffes; and her chief one was, an unmeafurable affection fhe bore towards one Biren, a man of mean original, whom fhe had preferred to be duke of Courland. This ridiculous partiality was by her carried to fuch a height, that it influenced all her actions; and it was thought, that could fhe have done it with any degree of decency or profpect of fuccefs, fhe would have made him her fucceffor in the empire. She, however, ftretched, or rather overftrained, her power to ferve him; and thereby undid all that fhe had been fo long labouring to effect. The ducheſs of Mecklenburg had the uncommon fatisfaction of feeing her daughter treated as the prefumptive heir of a mighty empire for three years before her death. Her husband, the duke, though fenfible how unwelcome his prefence muft be in Ruffia, could not refift the impulfes of curiofity, and it is faid, that he put himfelf in the train of an embaffy, which he fent to Peterfburg, that he might have the fatisfaction of beholding the high marks of diftinction paid by the empreſs to his daughter. In 1739, the czarina gave her niece in marriage to Antony Ulric, prince of Brunfwic Wolfenbuttle. This match was far from being agreeable to fome of the greateft fubjects of the Ruffian empire, who oppofed it, as tending to introduce a German government into their country; but the power of the empreſs was by this time fo well eftabliſhed, that their oppofition was fatal only to themfelves. In the event, the match was found to be a political contrivance between the empreſs and Biren; for the princeſs of Brunfwic, who was in her own perfon, in the courfe of defcent, preferable to her iffue in the fucceffion, being brought to bed of a fon, whofe name was Iwan, or John, the empreſs Anne, who furvived the marriage but about twelve months, appointed Biren to be regent of the empire during the minority of the young prince, whofe father and mother had no other fhare in the government than the charge of his education, and that of the other children who might be born of the marriage; and who, in cafe of John's death, were to fucceed in courfe to the empire.

This deftination, though unjuft and abfurd in itfelf, was ftrengthened with all the precautions that human policy could fuggeft to render it permanent. Baron Oſterman, high chancellor of Ruffia, was appointed to be firft miniſter; count Munich, one of the greateft generals of his time, was to command the army; and a council, the members of which were entirely in Biren's intereft, was appointed

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pointed during the minority. Thoſe arrangements were far from being pleaſing to the princeſs of Mecklenburg; but her ſituation was very delicate. The validity of her ſon's nomination to the empire reſted entirely upon the will of the late empreſs, which ſhe could not pretend to ſet aſide, without endangering her own ſucceſſion. Though ſhe was entirely ſenſible of the injury that had been done to her, yet ſhe was forced to diſſemble. The right of the duke of Holſtein, grandſon to czar Peter the Great, was ſecretly abetted by many of the moſt powerful of the Ruſſian grandees. The princeſs Elizabeth, daughter of the ſame czar and the empreſs Catharine, was ſtill alive; nor was there in all the civil conſtitution of Ruſſia, a fundamental rule for ſucceſſion, excepting the nomination of their ſeveral ſovereigns, which had been again and again broken into. All that the princeſs of Mecklenburg, under ſuch circumſtances, could do, was to form a party to countermine Biren, who had no family intereſt in the empire, and who was hated by the great nobility. To counter-balance this unpopularity, he made uſe of his powers as regent to fill the moſt important poſts in the empire with his own creatures, and this ſerved only to haſten his ruin. They became eaſily ſenſible, that having no ſupport but the will of the late empreſs, which was growing every day more and more contemptible, they could have no ſure dependence upon him; and therefore they privately connected themſelves with the princeſs of Mecklenburg, who behaved with great prudence on this trying occaſion.

Death of the empreſs Anne. John proclaimed emperor.

Upon the death of the empreſs Anne, the young Iwan, though but two months old, was proclaimed emperor; and Biren's conduct ſoon gave the princeſs advantages which ſhe could not otherwiſe have hoped for. His upſtart quality rendered him odious to many of the chief nobility, who, becauſe they diſdained his favours, were by him ſentenced to baniſhment in Siberia. Even ſuch of the nobility as accepted them, were ſhocked at the thoughts of being obliged for their promotion to one who was ſo much inferior to themſelves. The princeſs of Mecklenburg omitted no opportunity of fomenting this general diſcontent; and Biren thought himſelf ſo ſecure, that he gave himſelf little trouble in prying into her conduct, by which ſhe had an opportunity of ſtrengthening her party, till her meaſures being ſettled, the great nobility of Ruſſia, in the night preceding the 17th of November, 1740, aſſembled in the palace of the princeſs of Mecklenburg, who then bore the title of great-ducheſs, and not only declared her regent of the empire, but gave orders for arreſting Biren as an uſurper

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and a tyrant, which was done accordingly. Soon after, he was legally tried, and sentenced to lose his head; but his sentence was by the great-duchess commuted into that of banishment to Siberia, together with all his family and adherents.

Duke of Courland condemned.

The exaltation of the great-duchess to the regency of the Russian empire, gave her father some weight in the affairs of the North, though it does not appear that she interested herself much in the re-establishment of his fortunes. When sentence passed against Biren, he was declared to have forfeited the duchy of Courland, a proceeding which, however, was afterwards adjudged to be irregular; and a new election being held, it went in favour of prince Antony of Brunswic, husband to the great-duchess, whose power was far from being so well secured as she imagined. The Swedes were particularly interested in resenting the injury that had been done to the duke of Holstein, and had likewise some territorial disputes with the Russians, upon which a war broke out in 1741, in Finland. This war was but poorly managed on the part of Sweden. Lascy, the Russian general, took Wilmanstra, and gained many signal advantages over the Swedes. The great-duchess, at the same time, shewed a moderation with which Russia was seldom acquainted. She gave orders, not only that the Swedish prisoners should be treated with all kind of humanity, but that all the subjects of that kingdom, residing in Russia, should have security for their persons and effects, and be permitted to reside in, or depart out of the empire as they should think proper; but the great-duchess herself was now on the eve of a revolution that was to strip her and her family of all their power.

Though her son was emperor by a priority of descent from the elder brother of czar Peter the Great, yet it was well known, that he filled the throne of Russia in direct violation of the testamentary dispositions of that prince, whose memory was adored by the Russians. The princess of Mecklenburg and her aunt, the empress Anne, were aware of this difficulty, and therefore they had a strict eye over the princess Elizabeth, the only surviving child of Peter the Great. This princess resembled her father in his person, was graceful, majestic, affable, and prudent; and she had, through all the revolutions of government, behaved with so much wisdom and decency, that nothing could be laid to her charge. Notwithstanding this, she was fully sensible of the wrong that had been done her, by being set aside from the succession; and she lived in the palace as a state prisoner surrounded by spies. This circumstance of con-

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conſinement awakened the compaſſion of the Ruſſians; nor could all the precautions of the court prevent her from having ſecret interviews with many noblemen and officers, who promiſed to ſtand by her, and aſſiſt her in mounting the throne. The difficulties, however, that ſhe had to encounter were ſo various, and ſeemingly ſo inſurmountable, that after the ſcheme of a conſpiracy was far advanced, her reſolution was ſtaggered at the thoughts of the danger to which ſhe expoſed her friends. As explanations, by diſcourſe or writings, were dangerous, one of the conſpirators, who underſtood drawing, ſketched her figure, with the head taken off by an executioner, himſelf lying ſtretched on the rack, and her other friends ſuffering the moſt horrible deaths. She comprehended the meaning of the drawing, and that it was far more ſafe for her and her party to advance than to recede. Matters, however, were not carried on with ſuch impenetrable ſecrecy, but that the great-ducheſs had an intimation of the conſpiracy going forward, and repaired in perſon to the apartments of the princeſs, who received her with ſo much ſerenity and compoſure, that her ſuſpicions vaniſhed, after queſtioning her upon the ſubject of her viſit, which the princeſs Elizabeth ſtrongly diſavowed.

Revolution in favour of the princeſs Elizabeth.

Upon the departure of the grand-ducheſs, in the night between the 5th and 6th of December, the conſpirators, perceiving their deſigns could be kept no longer ſecret, reſolved to proceed to immediate execution, and repaired to the apartments of the princeſs Elizabeth, who had already concerted the plan of the revolution. She was favoured by the univerſal defection of the Ruſſian army from the German government, as it was called; and their officers repairing to her lodging, ſhe gave orders for ſecuring all the German guards, and for preventing any alarm or noiſe from reaching the ear of the great-ducheſs. She then put herſelf at the head of a favourite regiment of guards, and marched to the principal apartments of the palace, where ſhe placed centinels over the great-ducheſs and all her chief domeſtics, and ſet guards upon the houſes of all her miniſters and officers of ſtate. All this was done with ſo much ſecrecy and regularity, that the great-ducheſs had no ſuſpicion of what had happened, till, awakening in the morning, ſhe found herſelf a priſoner; and in a few minutes ſhe underſtood that the princeſs Elizabeth had been proclaimed empreſs of the Ruſſians. Soon after, the new empreſs, who had by this time aſſumed all the ſpirit of her father, and who ſeemed to have loſt all her timidity with her private ſtation, entered the apartment of the great-

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ducheſs, and in perſon acquainted her with the cataſtrophe that had happened; exhorting her at the ſame time to ſubmit to her fate, which was, that ſhe and her ſon ſhould remove out of the palace to another houſe, from whence they were to be conducted to Germany.

The princeſs of Mecklenburg arreſted with her huſband and ſon.

It is to this day uncertain whether the new empreſs was ſincere in this declaration; it is moſt probable that ſhe was, but that ſhe was afterwards perſuaded of the danger that muſt attend the leaving ſuch powerful competitors for her crown at liberty. The great-ducheſs and her ſon, however, ſet out under a guard; and it was remarked that ſhe behaved with great equanimity. During her government, the princeſs Elizabeth had been treated with leſs ſeverity than under the preceding, and ſhe had ſuffered her to keep all the valuable jewels that had been preſented or left her by the late empreſs. The great-ducheſs had philoſophy enough not to repine at her reverſe of fortune. She had for ſome time been reconciled to her father, who had ſerved her faithfully at the northern courts, and whoſe experience had now rendered him a valuable friend; ſo that ſhe comforted herſelf with the proſpect of paſſing the remainder of her days with him and her ſon. But ſhe was diſappointed in thoſe pleaſing hopes: the new empreſs of the Ruſſias had iſſued a commiſſion for trying the heads of the late adminiſtration; and it was pretended that ſuch diſcoveries had been made as rendered it unſafe to truſt the great-ducheſs or her huſband with their liberty. Accordingly, in January, 1742, in their journey to Dantzic, they were arreſted and carried to Riga, where they were put under confinement. All Europe, eſpecially the courts of Germany, were ſurpriſed at this proceeding, as no crime or act of delinquency could be charged againſt the great-ducheſs, who had done no more than ſubmitted to the will of others, and that too in her own prejudice. The courts of Vienna and Berlin preſented memorials on this head; but all the anſwer they received from the empreſs Elizabeth was, that the princeſs of Mecklenburg ſhould be treated in her confinement with the regard due to her rank, till the ſtate of affairs could admit of her enlargement.

In the mean while, the ſame defect in the ſucceſſion took place now as had done in the time of the empreſs Anne, and the ſame remedy was applied: for as that empreſs reigned in prejudice of her elder ſiſter and her daughter, ſo the empreſs Elizabeth reigned in prejudice of her elder ſiſter's ſon, the duke of Holſtein, who was at the ſame time next in blood to the crown of Sweden. To prevent any bad conſequences from this prepoſterous order of ſucceſſion, the

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the new empress sent for the young duke of Holstein, adopted him as her successor in the empire, and married him in 1745 to the princess Catharine of Anhalt-Zerbst. His melancholy fate is well known; and his wife, who by birth is in no manner of degree related to the imperial blood of Russia, is now the sole sovereign of that empire. As to the princess of Mecklenburg, she died, after being about three years in confinement; and it is uncertain whether her son is now dead or alive; but if the latter, he is not at his liberty.

Succession of Mecklenburg.

Charles Leopold, the deprived duke of Mecklenburg, having no surviving issue of his own body, was succeeded, on his death in 1747, in his duchy by his brother Christian Lewis, the administrator of his estates. This prince, in 1755, new modelled the constitution of his state by a fundamental convention which he entered into with his nobility, and which we shall have occasion to mention hereafter. He died in 1756, and was succeeded by his son duke Frederic, whose mother was Gustava, one of the princesses of Strelitz. As the situation of Mecklenburg is peculiarly unhappy in all disputes that happen between the Germans and the Swedes, it became, during the late war between Prussia and Sweden, a theatre of the most dismal calamities. The duke had seen, in his own family, a melancholy example of disobedience to the head of the empire, and therefore could not be brought to take part against the house of Austria. The Swedes had no regard to his dominions, more than if they had been an enemy's country; and his Prussian majesty treated them with a severity that can scarcely be justified by the laws of war. He not only laid all Mecklenburg under the most cruel contributions, but obliged the duke's subjects to enlist in his armies, and to subsist his troops while they themselves were starving for want of bread. A representation of those miseries is said to have come to his Prussian majesty's hands, so feelingly and pathetically drawn, that it is said to have contributed to raise the author to be partner of the first throne in Europe.

Adolphus Frederic III. duke of Mecklenburg Strelitz, the year after he succeeded to his dominions, married Dorothy Sophia, daughter to John Adolphus, duke of Holstein-Ploen; but he died without having any issue. He was succeeded by Adolphus Frederic IV. the son of his younger brother Charles Lewis Frederic. Besides him, his father had by his wife, Albertina Elizabeth,

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daughter to Erneſt-Frederic, duke of Saxe-Hildburghauſen; Charles Lewis Frederic, born the 10th of December, 1741, who lately held a conſiderable poſt in the Hanoverian ſervice; Erneſt Gottlob Albert, born Auguſt the 27th, 1742; and George Auguſtus, born Auguſt the 3d, 1748: and two daughters, Chriſtina Sophia Albertina, born December the 6th, 1735; and Sophia Charlotte, born May the 16th, 1744, and married to his preſent Britannic majeſty, September the 8th, 1761. Here the hiſtory of Mecklenburg properly ends; and we ſhall now, as uſual, proceed to give ſome account of the duchy itſelf, and its conſtitution; which are well worthy attention.

Natural hiſtory of Mecklenburg.

Authors and geographers are divided with regard to the extent of this duchy. Beehrs, in his Reb. Mecl. (ſays Buſching, in his Geography) makes its length fifteen German miles, and its breadth twelve; whereas Frauke, in his Mecklenburg, gives it (and that too excluſive of the lordſhip of Stargard) a length of eighteen ſuch miles, but reduces its breadth to nine; and according to Cluver it is from twenty-four to thirty long, with a breadth of nine, ten, and eighteen. The laſt computation ſeems to approach neareſt to the truth; but till the exact meaſurement of the country be completed, and the reſult of it publiſhed in a map, no preciſe determination can be made. Within it alſo lie the principality of Schwerin, and the Swediſh town of Wiſmar, with its dependencies. As to the country itſelf, even the inhabitants are divided with regard to its fertility and produce; but the unfavourable repreſentations that have been publiſhed of it are juſtly to be ſuſpected, becauſe they were drawn up to move the commiſeration of the imperial court, in the diſpute between the duke and his ſubjects, by placing their circumſtances in the moſt diſadvantageous light. It is true, great part of the country is taken up with unprofitable lakes, and ſome of it is heathy and ſandy; but upon the whole it is fertile, and produces every thing neceſſary for human ſubſiſtence, its ſoil being equal to that of Holſtein and Pomerania, two of the fineſt corn countries in Europe. Its greateſt misfortune lies in its ſituation, which has ſo often within theſe two centuries rendered it the ſeat of war, that the inhabitants have not had leiſure to give their grounds the neceſſary culture. Even the ſandy parts of it, when tilled, produce excellent rye; when untilled they make good ſheep-walks; and when improved, they afford barley and wheat in great abundance. The country is as pleaſant as it is fertile, being

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ing interſperſed with hill and dale, woods, lakes, and rivers, which yield excellent game, fiſh, and great numbers of cattle for exportation; and even their marſhy grounds, when drained, are exceſſively profitable. Baron Luke, who had a conſiderable place in the adminiſtration of Mecklenburg in 1730, in a publication of his affirms, that in the year 1632, the nobility and land-holders of Mecklenburg eſtimated the collective value of their eſtates at ten million three hundred and twenty-three thouſand three hundred and ſeventeen guilders; but, at the time he wrote, he affirms, that their rents amounted to twenty-one millions of guilders; ſo that the whole duchy raiſes to its owners annually about a million ſterling.

About a century ago a bold project was formed for making a navigable canal to run ſouth from Wiſmar to the lake of Schwerin, and along the Stor and Elde, ſo as to open a navigation between the North Sea and the Baltic, and to avoid the paſſage of the Sound; but this project, which muſt have been ſo detrimental to the crown of Denmark, and other powers, was ſoon diſcontinued. Among other diſadvantages attending the ſituation of Mecklenburg, is the neglect of commerce; for though it might have three ſeparate harbours on the Baltic, it has but one, which is Roſtock. Towards the ſouth-weſt the duchy of Mecklenburg is waſhed by the Elbe, which is joined by the Elde, riſing out of the Plauer Lake. The river Reckenitz, ſo called from a village of that name, riſes in the principality of Wenden, and divides Mecklenburg from Pomerania, diſcharging itſelf at laſt into the Baltic on one ſide, as the Pene does on the other. Beſides theſe rivers, many others ariſe in Mecklenburg; the Havel particularly, which iſſues from the principality of Wenden, and runs into the Marche of Brandenburg.

Excluſive of Roſtock, are found in Mecklenburg forty-five cities and towns, great and ſmall, three convents, and five hundred and ninety-four manors, the peaſants of which are in the ſtate of old Engliſh villainage, their perſons being transferable with the land. It is remarkable, however, that the intereſt of the ſovereigns of Mecklenburg has been greatly reduced ſince the year 1628, at which time they poſſeſſed one thouſand farms, their nobility no more than ſeven hundred and twenty-ſeven, and the convents ſeven hundred and ſixty-eight. In the duchy are three capitals: Parchim, which is the metropolis of the Mecklenburg circle; Guſtrow, that of the principality of Wenden; and New Brandenburg, of the Stargard circle. Each *Its cities.*

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of thoſe capitals convokes the towns of its circle, and its magiſtrates precede in all public aſſemblies[f]. We have already mentioned the fundamental convention entered into by duke Chriſtian Lewis at Roſtock, on the 18th of April, 1755. By that it was agreed, that all and every eſtate or parcel of land belonging either to the nobility, the three convents of the country, the diſtrict of Roſtock, the dependencies of the municipal towns, and œconomies, ſhould be meaſured and reduced into hufs, one half of which, on performing the ſeveral ſervices reſerved in feudal and allodial patents, ſhould be exempt from the contribution; but the other half remain ſubject to it, and agreeably thereto pay the annual aſſeſſment.

The ſtates of Mecklenburg conſiſt of nobility and towns; and we have already mentioned the indiſſoluble contract of union entered into between the nobility and commons of the two duchies of Schwerin and Guſtrow in 1523: "This union (ſays Buſching) conſiſts as well in a conjunction of the provinces, as in that of the ſtates, of which each is compoſed. With reſpect to the former, it was agreed, that all the free ſettled inhabitants of both duchies, including the whole of the Stargard circle, ſhould enjoy an undiſturbed equality in rights, privileges, and immunities, in ſuch manner that theſe three circles ſhould be governed by the ſame laws, ordinances, and compacts; and that on ſuch an equality and communion, both in the civil and eccleſiaſtical governments, diets, contributions, and provincial convents, as was agreeable to the tenor of the ſaid union, and of courſe in all other rights, privileges. and immunities; and that in all caſes and exigencies they ſhould be duly aiding in council and action. The latter, or the conjunction of the nobility and towns, implies an irrevocable participation and community of all the rights and prerogatives appertaining to the nobility and ſtates; and conſequently that Roſtock and the other towns ſhould not be curtailed, detrimented, or excluded from their ſhare in the diets, courts of juſtice, leſſer committee, convents, and all other cuſtomary rights and duties. Farther, one ſtate ſhall not, without the knowlege or conſent of the other, make any contract relative to common rights; and all contracts ſo made are declared null and void. In another inſtrument, oppoſite to the former, the union of 1523 is not to be brought in plea, nor be of any validity, either directly or indirectly; nor ſhall the ſovereignty of the country be impaired or weakened thereby."

[f] Buſching.

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The buſineſs of the diets, all which are ſummoned by the duke, is to fix annual contributions; to iſſue proper directions with regard to the taxes paid to the empire or the circle; to ſettle the portions paid to the princeſſes; and to remedy grievances. The ſtates of the three circles are ſummoned to thoſe diets, which are alternately held at Sternberg and Enalchin, in autumn; but, upon extraordinary occaſions, the duke may aſſemble them at any time of the year, ſpecifying, four weeks before-hand, in the ſummons, the particular buſineſs upon which they are convened. When they meet, their propoſals are regularly ſent to the nobility and the ſtates, and they return their anſwers in a few days. Four provincial counſellors, properly qualified, are appointed for each of the two duchies of Schwerin and Guſtrow; and in caſe one of thoſe counſellors drops off, the duke names his ſucceſſor out of a liſt of three people, preſented to him by the nobility and ſtates of the duchy in which the vacancy happens. The preſident in each circle is an hereditary marſhal, who ranks with the colonels, as the provincial counſellors do with the duke's privy-counſellors,

The leſſer committee of the nobility and ſtates conſiſts of two provincial counſellors; that is to ſay, one from each duchy; with three deputies of the nobility, being one from each circle; one deputy of the town of Roſtock; and three from the vorderſtadte of Parchim, Guſtrow, and New Brandenburg; making in all nine perſons; but this number the nobility and ſtates may increaſe at their own expence. This committee is, by a royal edict, inveſted with the weight and rights of a college repreſentative of the whole body of the nobility and commons. The choice of the members is left entirely to the free will of the nobility and commons. With regard to ordinances relative to the whole country, the nobility and commons included, the opinion of the latter is firſt demanded, and nothing enacted in prejudice of their rights. The meetings of the nobility in the ſeveral bailiwicks are under no reſtrictions; but other aſſemblies, or landes-convente, as they were called, which may be thought neceſſary, muſt be convened by writ from the ſovereign.

With regard to the religion of the Mecklenburghers, the bulk of them are Lutherans, but intermingled with Calviniſts and Roman Catholics. Their religious affairs are in the hands of ſuperintendants, in the nature of biſhops, and under them are provoſts; moſt of their towns have grammar-ſchools, but Roſtock is an univerſity. The exports of the duchy of Mecklenburg conſiſt in corn, flax, hemp, hops,

[a] Buſching.

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wax, honey, cattle, butter, cheese, wool, and several kinds of wood [i]. But their manufactures of wool, leather, tobacco, and other trades, are too few and insufficient for the supply of the inhabitants. The duke of Mecklenburg Schwerin, as possessed of the two duchies of Schwerin and Gustrow, has two votes among the princes in the diet of the empire, and in the circle of the Lower Saxony. His assessment for his dukedoms, in the matricula of the empire, is forty horse, and sixty-seven foot, or seven hundred and forty-eight florins to a Roman month: but when the towns of Wismar, and the bailiwicks of Poll and Neukloster, were dismembered from the duchy, an abatement was made in this assessment, which was to be made up by the Swedes.

Government. The privy-council of the regency belonging to the dukes is the supreme college, but a demesne chamber manages the revenue. From the three law-courts at Shwerin, Rostock, and Strelitz, as likewise from the Rostock consistory, appeals lie to the high and provincial court of justice, some particular cases excepted, in which appeals are precluded, either absolutely or in part. Ever since the year 1701 this high and provincial court of justice assembles at Gustrow, holding its sessions four times a-year. This court is common not only to the two ducal lines, but the nobility and states likewise have a share in its administration. The presidents and vice-presidents, with four assessors, are nominated by the duke. The nobility sends to it four extraordinary assessors, and one ordinary; but the three other ordinary assessors come from the principality of Schwerin, the university of Rostock, and the town of Rostock. Processes, as far as comports with the privilege granted to the duke's de non appellando, may be removed from those courts to the high tribunals of the empire. The nobility and states continue unmolested in the jurisdiction granted them, together with their fiefs and estate, as likewise the magistrates in that appertaining to them in the towns, namely, of being invested with the first hearing of causes [k].

Revenues. As to the revenues of the Schwerin line, duke Frederic William publicly declared, that those arising from the demesne bailiwicks and regalia brought him in three hundred thousand rix-dollars a-year; so that, upon the whole, the income of the duchy cannot be estimated at less than a hundred thousand pounds sterling a-year. The public expenditures are either ordinary and annual, and ordinary or extraordinary. To the former the sovereign, for his de-

[i] Busching. [k] Ibid.

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meſnes, has engaged to furniſh the ſum of ſix thouſand rix-dollars, and a like ſum alſo for all his patrimonial towns collectively; but the nobility pay their proportion according to the number of their taxable hufs. The annual quota of the town of Roſtock is two thouſand rix-dollars. The extraordinary charges levied for the public ſafety and benefit, are defrayed by impoſts agreed on between the ſovereign, the nobility, and the ſtates; and of theſe the prince's demeſnes, as well as the eſtates of the nobility and towns, contribute all in common one third; whereas the expences which are levied for the convenience of one ſtate only, are defrayed out of its particular purſe [1].

With reſpect to the revenues of the dukes of the Mecklenburg Strelitz line, the Stargard circle, out of the land, and other taxes, produces annually between ſeventy and eighty thouſand rix-dollars. In the Hamburgh act of 1701, the revenues of the demeſne bailiwicks of this circle were eſtimated only at thirty-one thouſand rix-dollars; but under duke Adolphus Frederice IV. they are ſaid to have been improved to above twenty thouſand more. From the principality of Ratzeburg, and the Boitzenburg toll (out of which it levies nine thouſand dollars in ſpecie), the duke receives about forty-ſix thouſand rix-dollars; and conſequently in the whole about a hundred and twenty-ſix thouſand rix-dollars.

For the maintenance of the duke's troops no payment is required, either of the nobility or ſtates, the convents, or places in the diſtrict of Roſtock, the duke taking on him to defray all the expence of the military eſtabliſhment out of the annual contributions agreed on. The nobility and their vaſſals are alſo exempted from quartering and maintaining the militia, as the municipal towns are from quartering the horſe. Except alſo in urgent caſes, and ſuch as threaten the ſafety of the empire, circle, or country, the nobility and ſtates are exempt from furniſhing magazines, or ſummoning their vaſſals and dependents to work at any fortification, or to carry neceſſaries thither, or to pay money in lieu of ſuch ſervices. The towns, however, quarter the foot, and pay ſervice-money.

Great expence in executing the ban of the empire.

The two duchies are divided into three circles; the Mecklenburg, the Wenden, and the Stargard. The Mecklenburg circle properly conſiſts of the ancient duchy of Mecklenburg, but now comprehends the county of Schwerin, the weſtern part of the principality of Wenden, and part

[1] Buſching.

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of the lordship of Rostock. The head town of the circle is Parchim, which contains nothing remarkable. The Elde divides it into two towns, the Old and the New. It sends a deputy to the lesser committee of the states, and formerly it had a castle and a mint. Schwerin was the residence of the dukes of that line, and is situated on a fine lake, in which there is an island containing the duke's palace, which communicates with the town by a bridge. The situation, the gardens, and the paintings of this palace are very fine. We have already mentioned upon what occasion the bishoprick of Schwerin formed part of the duchy of Mecklenburg. The cathedral of the see was founded in 1170 by Henry the Lion, duke of Saxony and Bavaria, who gave the property of the county to Gunzelin, whose descendents held it for above two hundred years. This circle contains likewise Boitzenburg, which is chiefly remarkable for its antiquity and toll on the river Elbe, producing about forty thousand dollars yearly, nine thousand of which, as we have already observed, is part of the revenue of the duke of Mecklenburg Strelitz. The income of this toll, and of other bailiwicks, the whole amounting to sixty thousand rix-dollars a-year, were, in 1734, appropriated by the emperor to the house of Brunswick Lunenburg, in consideration of the great expences attending the executing the ban of the empire in 1732; of which the Brunswick share alone amounted to seven hundred eighty-nine thousand eight hundred and fifty-six rix-dollars, twelve cruitzers; the duke of Brunswick's to two hundred sixty-eight thousand seven hundred and fifty-five rix-dollars; and the sum total to one million eighteen thousand two hundred and seventy-two, exclusive of fifty thousand rix-dollars advanced by the elector of Brunswick for the Saltzburg troops, besides the charge incurred in quelling a tumult.

The reason of the same. It must be acknowleged, that this immense expence was too hastily liquidated by the emperor, who had at that time his reasons for obliging, to the utmost, the princes of the Brunswick line. Besides the above mentioned towns, this circle contains twenty bailiwicks, one of which is that of Mecklenburg, which some writers call Megapolis, or the Great Town. In 1058 a bishoprick was founded there; and at that time it contained three convents. In 1164 it was taken and burnt to the ground by Pribislaus II. the last king of the Abodrites; but, in the year 1170, it was rebuilt, though it never recovered its ancient lustre; and, since the building of Wismar, it has dwindled into a village. The bailiwick of Dobberan lies in the lordship of Rostock, about half a German mile from the Baltic. A famous

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famous Ciſtercian monaſtery formerly ſtood here, which, in 1179, was demoliſhed by the Wendi, but rebuilt in 1186. Its church is very large, and in it lie interred two kings of the Abodrites, with twelve lords of Werle, ſeveral princes of Mecklenburg, and other perſons of note. At preſent, the convent is converted into a hunting-ſeat; and out of the produce of its lands, and ſome ſalt-works at Lunenburg, which were bequeathed to the univerſity of Roſtock, the profeſſors were paid their ſalaries. Along the Baltic coaſt, in the neighbourhood of this bailiwick, runs the celebrated Heiligen Damm, being a natural wall of ſtones, of moſt beautiful imagery and colours [m].

The bailiwick of Eldena, in the principality of Wenden, was formed out of a Benedictine nunnery, founded in 1230; but that inſtitution has been diſcontinued ever ſince the Reformation took place in this duchy. The revenues of this bailiwick are mortgaged to the houſe of Brandenburg. It contains an alum-mine, and a ſalt-work; and a remarkable ſtrong caſtle ſtood within it in former times. Within this bailiwick lie a great number of noblemen's eſtates, which we ſhall forbear to particularize.

The Wenden circle contains the greateſt part of that principality, as well as of the duchy of Guſtrow, and the whole of the lordſhip of Roſtock. Guſtrow, the [n] capital of the circle, is ſituated in the principality of Wenden, on the little river Nebel; being one of the largeſt and moſt pleaſant towns in the whole country, as alſo the ſeat of the chief courts of judicature, and a ſuperintendency. In this town is a good palace of the prince's, and in the church belonging to it lies the vault of the ducal family. It contains likewiſe a cathedral, and one pariſh church. In 1220 it obtained the Schwerin right. This circle, beſides a great many other towns and bailiwicks, contains the town of Roſtock, anciently called Rotztock, which is the largeſt in both duchies, but, inſtead of forming one of the ſtates, it is reckoned only among the nobility; nor was it included in the partition made, in 1621, between the dukes Adolphus Frederic I. and John Albert II. its diſtrict remaining in common to both princes and duchies. Roſtock lies on the Warno, at the mouth of which it has a harbour named Warnemunde, and thus it enjoys alſo a convenient ſituation for trade. It conſiſts properly of three parts: The Aldſtadt, or Old Town, ſtands on an eminence towards the eaſt, and contains the churches of St. Nicolas, St. Peter, and St. Catharine. Of theſe, the two firſt are

The Wenden circle.

[m] Buſching, ubi ſupra. [n] Ibid.

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parochial. In 1677 the greateſt part of this place was deſtroyed by fire, but has been ſince rebuilt with greater regularity and conveniency. The Mittlereſtadt, or Middle Town, is ſeparated from the Aldtſtadt by a branch from the Warno. In it lies St. Mary's church, being a ſtately ſtructure, in which are preſerved the entrails of the celebrated Grotius, who died in 1645. In this part alſo is the church of St. John, containing a library, with the council-houſe. In the Neuſtadt, or New Town, lies St. James's church, which was formerly collegiate, and contained a library; together with that of the Holy Ghoſt, having a rich alms-houſe; the church of St. Michael, and that of the Holy Croſs, at the laſt of which is a convent for young ladies, natives of Roſtock. The town-prior of this church is choſen by the conventualiſts and burgher-maſters, and confirmed by the dukes. The univerſity lies likewiſe in the New Town. This was jointly founded by the dukes and the Town, in 1419, and privileged by pope Martin V. whoſe bull was afterwards confirmed by the emperor Ferdinand I. In 1437, the town falling under the ban both of the emperor and pope, the profeſſors removed to Griefswalde, from which place they returned not again till the year 1443. In 1487, a miſunderſtanding having ariſen between the dukes and the town, the univerſity was removed to Lubeck, but reſtored again in 1492. This place has not only ſuffered thrice, and that too very conſiderably, by the peſtilence, but at the beginning of the Reformation was almoſt entirely forſaken by its profeſſors and ſtudents; till, in 1530, Arnold Buren vigorouſly ſet about the reſtoration of it, and, in 1560, the emperor Ferdinand endowed it with a new charter. Purſuant to a convention made in 1563, between the dukes and the town, the former nominate and pay fifteen profeſſors, and the town nine. The ſenate of the academy conſiſts of nine ducal profeſſors, and the nine appointed by the magiſtracy. In the ſame convention it was agreed, that the dukes ſhould annually contribute the ſum of three thouſand florins, and the town five hundred, towards the ſalaries of the profeſſors. Here is alſo a public free grammar-ſchool. The twelve miniſters of the town, in conjunction with the ſuperintendant, form the conſiſtory, from which appeals lie to the two ſupreme courts of juſtice. The dukes are poſſeſſed of the manſion-houſe, which formerly belonged to the abbot of Dobberan; and, on account of their frequent reſidence in it, ſtyle Roſtock their reſidence-town. The magiſtracy conſiſts of three burgher-maſters, one ſyndic, twelve aldermen, one ſecretary, and a prothonotary. It is endowed,

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endowed with the right of coining copper, silver, and gold, and in consequence thereof has a mint. It sends a deputy to the lesser committee, and an extraordinary assessor to the two supreme courts of justice. Both the civil and criminal jurisdiction are vested in the magistracy, though with right of appeal to the two supreme courts of justice, or the magistracy, except in those cases where no appeal is allowed. The town enjoys other considerable privileges, yet is hereditarily subject to the dukes, to whom, as an acknowlegment of its subjection, it annually pays the sum of fifty-five rix-dollars, as an urbor (or *tributum originale)*; as likewise the sum of six hundred florins, in consideration of the grant of an excise. Of its contribution to the public expenditures mention has been made in the introduction. Rostock carries on a large trade. About the year 1030 it was erected into a town, and in 1160 enlarged and fortified out of the remains of the town of Kiszin, which once stood in its neighbourhood. In the year 1218 Lubec rights were conferred on it, and in the same century also it was admitted into the Hanseatic confederacy. About the same time too it had still its own lords. On the death of Nicolas, the last of those lords, it fell under the dominion of the margraves of Brandenburg; but eight years after it threw itself, on a disgust, under the protection of Eric, king of Denmark; from whom, about ten years after this event, that is to say, towards the middle of the fourteenth century, it likewise detached itself. This gave rise to a hot war, both with the Danes and Henry duke of Mecklenburg; during which the burghers, in a tumult, killed their magistracy, and chose others in their stead. But being besieged by duke Henry in 1314, they came to an accommodation with him, and acknowleged him for their sovereign. In 1323 duke Henry procured himself to be invested with the lordship of Rostock, by Christopher king of Denmark, and his son Eric. In 1428 they again deposed their magistracy; but for this being excommunicated, in 1437, by the council of Basil, and put under the ban by the emperor, they restored them two years after to their former dignity. In 1487 they again revolted against the dukes, which gave rise to a five years war. In the sixteenth century new animosities broke out between the town and the dukes; but in 1573, and 1584, these were composed by a perpetual convention. In 1620 a compact was concluded for the town-excise, strand-monies, and estates; and in 1715 another relating to the right of garrisoning, hunting, and excise[o].

[o] Busching.

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Description of the district of Rostock.

The district of Rostock consists of the lands belonging to the town, the alms-house, and the convents. Warnemund haven contains a church which belongs to Rostock; and when the trade of that district was in a more flourishing condition than it is at present, the Swedes levied a toll of two rix-dollars and an half on all shipping passing that way, which produced eighty thousand rix-dollars a-year; but, according to Busching, at present it scarce exceeds six thousand. This toll was imposed by Sweden in the thirty years war; and the toll-right in the ports of Pomerania and Mecklenburg having been granted to it at the peace of Westphalia, they retained this; and for the farther securing and levying of it, erected a fort here. This fort the dukes of Mecklenburg have complained of, alleging that the toll-right is to be understood only of the harbours of the towns, which were ceded to Sweden. That crown, however, has kept possession of it; but, about the year 1740, mortgaged it to the duke of Mecklenburg.

The three following Lutheran convents for ladies, appertaining to the nobility and states of both duchies, are by the reversalia of 1572, and the perpetual convention of 1755, to be maintained in their respective privileges. The nobles and states chuse, nominate, and change, at pleasure, the purveyors and other officers of these convents, though with the prince's confirmation; but if this be not done within a year and a day, such delay is deemed a confirmation. The accounts belonging to them are annually controlled by the sovereign and the several deputies of the nobility and states. The town's share in them, pursuant to the act of the nobility and states at the diet of Gustrow in 1737, and the perpetual agreement of 1755, consists herein; viz. that in the three places belonging to the convent of Dobbertin they raise the full sum, and in six other places one half; that is to say, two of each convent, each to be computed at sixty rix-dollars yearly, but nothing more, and thus of course neither dwelling nor provisions. The convents may not, without the joint consent of the prince, nobility, and states, purchase or acquire any parcel of land, though they are allowed to exchange, or with their savings to buy, whatever land they please out of the duchies. The jus primarium precum remains inviolable to the convents, by the solemn promises both of the dukes and their consorts. Both they and their states too are represented on all occasions by the nobility and states. Next follow the convents themselves; viz.

The convent of Dobbertin, situated on a small lake in the principality of Wenden, not far from the Goldberg. This

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This convent was founded by duke Henry I. as a monaſtery of Benedictine monks; but in 1222 was converted into a nunnery of that order. On the Reformation it was ſequeſtered; but in 1572 the dukes John Albert and Ulric transferred it to the ſtates. Belonging to it are twenty-eight villages.

The convent of Ribnitz, the town of which name is deſcribed above. This convent was founded in 1323, by duke Henry IV. In his palace in the ſaid town is a nunnery for ladies, of the order of St. Clare. In 1572 the ſovereigns transferred it to the ſtates. Under it are thirteen villages; and it is likewiſe poſſeſſed of the patronage of St. Mary's church in Ribnitz, as alſo of thoſe of Schwan, Darſo, Wuſtro, and Marlo. Lately alſo, with the ſovereign's conſent, it made a purchaſe of the Wulfſhagen eſtate.

The convent of Malcho, the town of which is deſcribed above. This convent was originally intended for a Dominican monaſtery; but its monks afterwards exchanged it with the Auguſtine nuns of Rabel. In 1572 the ſovereigns made a grant of it to the ſtates. Belonging to it are fourteen villages, together with the patronage of the town of Malcho, and likewiſe thoſe of Lexo and Gruſſo.

The circle of Stargard, which forms a part of the duchy of Guſtrow, conſiſts of the ancient lordſhip of Stargard. This country was the ſubject of long conteſts between the princes of Mecklenburg and the margraves of Brandenburg. In 1283 the margrave, Albert IV. gave it with his daughter Beatrix to duke Henry IV. who in 1303 ſtill paid an acknowlegment of five thouſand marks for it. In 1317 the elector Waldemar I. made a ſecond donation of it to duke Henry IV. and in 1349 a like ceſſion was made by the elector Lewis II. to the dukes Albert II. and John VIII. and laſtly, in the year 1377, the emperor Charles IV. annexed it for ever to the duchy of Mecklenburg. In 1621 it became a part of the duchy of Guſtrow. In 1701, at the convention of Hamburgh, it was transferred by Frederic William, duke of Mecklenburg Schwerin, to Adolphus Frederic II. duke of Mecklenburg Strelitz, "cum omni jure principum imperii," in ſuch manner that the ſaid duke ſhould, without reſerve, exerciſe in it the jura territorii et ſuperioritatis, in all cauſes and affairs, whether civil or eccleſiaſtical, and by whatever name diſtinguiſhed; as alſo, that as dominus feudi directus, all Mecklenburg vaſſals ſhould hold of him; but the ſtates in it were to remain in an indiſſoluble union with the whole body of the ſtates and nobility of Mecklenburg, to be continued in the enjoyment

Stargard.

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of their votes at the diets, and remain capable of being chosen for provincial counsellors, assessors in the high courts of justice, and administrators of certain convents. The nobility and towns of this circle are summoned to the diets and other assemblies by the duke of Mecklenburg Schwerin, who acquaints, however, the duke of Mecklenburg Strelitz of it, specifying also the articles to be laid before them; and he has likewise the power of sending a representative to inspect the several necessities of the circle. The taxes and collections levied in this circle, as agreed on in the general diets or meetings of the nobility and states, are remitted to the common treasury of the province; but the Stargard quota contribution is refunded. The courts of justice and the consistory are usually held in the duke of Schwerin's name; but in causes relating to the inhabitants of the Stargard circle, the citations, injunctions, and sentences, run in both titles, and the duke of Strelitz may appoint his assessor at the courts, and his superintendant of Stargard to sit in the consistory.

The chief towns in the circle of Stargard are, New Brandenburg, which is the capital of the circle, and contains two churches, with a grammar-school. Its streets are straight and broad, and its form circular. Old Stargard contains a palace, built by the princes of that title. Strelitz is a town situated in a marshy neighbourhood. This place was erected, in 1349, by Otho and Ulric, counts of Furstenburg. In 1575, and 1676, it was entirely destroyed by fire. Duke Adolphus Frederic chose the palace here for his residence; but on its being burnt down in 1712, that duke built another palace, a little way out of the town, at a place called Glienke; and in 1733 also founded a town adjoining to it, under the name of New-Strelitz, taking it for granted, that in time it would enlarge so as that Old and New Strelitz would become one place [p]. Furstenburg is a town which gives name to a county erected, in 1349, by the dukes of Mecklenburg, in favour of count Otho Dewitz; but that family siding with Pomerania in 1369, duke Albert reassumed it to himself. Wesenburg is a small town; but Pomel, which is part of its estate, is remarkably fertile. We have already mentioned the bailiwicks of Nemiro and Miro, which the dukes of Mecklenburg acquired by the cession of Wismar.

Wisma. Wismar, in ancient records, styled Wissemer and Wismer, is a town seated on a bay of the Baltic, with a good harbour. This is one of the best and largest places in all those

[p] Busching.

countries,

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countries, as, besides its six churches, it has also a particular consistory of its own, with a grammar-school under the direction of eight masters; and is the seat likewise of a Swedish court of justice erected in 1653, both for the district and Swedish Anterior Pomerania. This court consists of a president, a vice-president, and four assessors. Wismar still enjoys a middling trade. It was formerly also a Hanse Town, and possessed of the privilege of coining. Its annual contribution amounts to three thousand rix-dollars; the licent to about three thousand five hundred; and the rent of the ground here, which formerly composed a part of the works, with that lying in other places, produces six or seven thousand rix-dollars. The origin of this town is not known with any degree of certainty. In 1238 it was enlarged, and in 1266 obtained the Lubeck right. In 1261 it was annexed to the duchy of Schwerin. In 1627 the imperialists got possession of it, but in 1632 were driven out by the Swedes, to whom it was absolutely ceded at the peace of Westphalia in 1648. In 1675 the Danes took it, but in 1680 restored it; whereupon, between the years 1681 and 1711, its fortifications were increased. At the end of the year 1711 it was bombarded by the Danes. In 1715 it was blockaded, and in 1716 taken, by the northern confederates; who, from the winter of the year 1717 to 1718, blew up and razed the fortifications, particularly Walfisch fort, which stood on an island. In 1758 the Prussians raised large contributions here.

CHAP. XCV.

History of the Tuscan States.

SECT. I.

Containing a Description of Tuscany, including Florence, Pisa, Leghorn, Sienna, Stato de gli Presidii, Patrimony of the Church, Lucca, and the twelve ancient Tuscan Cities.

THE grand-duchy of Tuscany, as it is now called, excepting a few detached pieces lying in the territories of Modena, Genoa, and Lucca, extends from north to south about one hundred and sixteen miles, and about *Description of Tuscany.*

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eighty from east to west. It is bounded on the south and west, by the Mediterranean, or Tuscan Sea; on the north and east, by the duchy of Modena, the Bolognese, and other parts of the ecclesiastical state. It produces corn abundantly in some places, together with excellent oil, and wine of an agreeable flavour. The face of the country is beautifully variegated by hills and dales, and the soil so rich and fertile, that it requires but little culture.

Tuscany abounds in mines and minerals; but they are not worked to much advantage. Its salt-works, however, are in good order; and alabaster, sulphur, and chalcedony are found in many places [a]. Amethysts are found at Piombino; jaspers at Barga; black slate, iron ore, excellent marble, and cornelians, at Stezzena and Seravezza; quicksilver is found in the neighbourhood of Sevegliani; and even mines of silver have been discovered near Galena. Other places of this delightful country produce alum, manna, and honey, all excellent in their kinds. The hot springs of Tuscany were choaked up by the barbarians; about twenty years ago they were discovered at the foot of mount St. Guiliano, not far from Pisa, and being again rebuilt, they are at this time much frequented for their medicinal virtues. Other places of Tuscany are famous on the same account.

The Arno is the principal river in this country. It receives into it the Sieva, the Pesa, and the Elsa, and falls into the sea a little below Pisa.

Power and revenue of the great-duke.

Though modern Tuscany does not comprehend the whole of the ancient Etruria, yet its great-duke is a sovereign prince, and a powerful one too, especially in Italy. He is grand-master of the order of St. Stephen, the privileges of which somewhat resemble those of Malta: his ordinary income amounts to about three millions of piastres a-year.

Florence.

The chief district of Tuscany is that of Florence, where the excellent genius of the inhabitants for agriculture, notwithstanding the disadvantages they lie under in point of government and liberty, has rendered their country almost a garden. Florence itself, the capital of Tuscany, is delightfully situated in the midst of fertile well cultivated hills and vallies, and divided by the Arno, which has four stone bridges, into two unequal parts. The streets are paved with very broad stones, and are generally clean; though many of them are crooked, and so narrow as not to afford room for a carriage to pass. Florence contains seventeen market-

[a] English Translation of Busching's Geography, vol. iii. p. 118.

places,

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places, forty-four pariſh churches, thirty-ſeven hoſpitals and charitable foundations, twelve priories, fifty-four convents, and twenty-four eccleſiaſtical fraternities. The number of the inhabitants is computed at ſeventy thouſand. The preſent trade of Florence, beſides the produce of the ground, lies in its manufactures of woollen and ſilk ſtuffs, which are carried on by the principal citizens.

The city, next to Rome, is, with regard to antiquities and curioſities, the beſt worthy of a ſtranger's viſiting of any in Italy. Its cathedral is much larger than St. Paul's at London; and ſome of its palaces and public buildings are extremely magnificent. The chapel of San Lorenzo, though it makes no great appearance on the outſide, will, if ever it is finiſhed, be by far the fineſt in the world. The old ducal palace contains the greateſt and fineſt collection made by one family and within one roof, in the world, of ancient and modern ſculpture, painting, and curioſities of every kind, both natural and artificial. This palace contains likewiſe an immenſe quantity of plate and jewels, ancient and modern; and Florence is celebrated for ſeveral excellent libraries.

Piſa.

The territory of Piſa affords all the comforts of life, including plenty of corn and wine. The city of Piſa, like Florence, is divided by the Arno into two parts; but though very ſpacious and extenſive, it does not contain at preſent above ſixteen thouſand inhabitants, though formerly they were computed at one hundred and fifty thouſand. The Piſans, when free, were a commercial people, and extremely tenacious of their liberties. The form of their government was republican; and the wars between them and the Florentines, who at laſt ſubdued them, were long and bloody. Their neighbourhood to Leghorn, which is now the chief port in the Mediterranean, though formerly of little or no note for trade, has contributed greatly to the decay of Piſa, which, however, begins to lift up its head again, under the auſpices of the preſent grand-duke, who has made it his winter-reſidence. Between Piſa and Leghorn is a canal ſixteen Italian miles in length.

Leghorn.

Leghorn, or Livorno, lies within the ancient diſtrict of Piſa. It ſtands in a marſhy country, which, with the aſſiſtance of canals cut at a vaſt expence, is now cultivated, though the air is unwholſome, and water ſcarce. The city is well fortified, and contains forty thouſand inhabitants, one fourth part of whom are Jews, who, notwithſtanding the heavy taxes they pay, are rich, and carry on a vaſt trade. Leghorn is a free port, and to this freedom the greatneſs of its commerce is owing. Aqua and Vada likewiſe lie within

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the district of Pisa; but their soil and air is so unwholesome, that they are very thinly inhabited.

Pistora. Pistora, anciently Pistoria, stands in a fruitful plain on the river Stella, and was formerly the flourishing capital of an independent state. At present, it is greatly decayed and thinly inhabited, though it continues to be the see of a bishop.

Sienna. The district of Sienna is the third in Tuscany. The Siennese, like the other Tuscan states, were once free, and struggled hard for their liberties, but are now subject to the grand-duke. The city of Sienna is pleasantly situated in a wholesome air, of large circumference, though its inhabitants are not in number above seventeen thousand. They are, however, noted for their politeness and elegance, many of the Tuscan nobility chusing Sienna for their residence; and it is thought that the Italian tongue is spoken here in its greatest purity. It is an archiepiscopal see, and its Gothic cathedral is crusted within and without with marble. Its pavement is extremely curious, and well preserved; but the university, which was founded here by Charles V. is on the decay, though the Jesuits college contains a good number of students. The great dukes of Tuscany have indulged the inhabitants in retaining some forms of their republican constitution, though the spirit of it is abolished.

The district of Sienna is large, and great part of it, especially that which is called the Maremma di Sienna, running seventeen Italian miles along the sea-coast, is unhealthy and thinly inhabited. It contains however several bishopricks, and a considerable number of castles, forts, towns, and villages. Monte Pulciano, and Monte Alcino, though both bishopricks, are small places, but famous for their wines.

Stato de gli Presidii. The Stato de gli Presidii, lying on or near to the sea-coast, consists of a chain of forts, and formerly belonged to the Siennese; but is now subject to the grand-duke of Tuscany. The most considerable place it contains is Orbitello, which is strongly fortified, and has a good harbour. Piombino, which makes a figure in the following history, stands on a rock projecting into the sea; but though it has a citadel and a palace, it is now an inconsiderable place. Porto Longone, and Porto Ferraio, are fortified places on opposite sides of the island of Elba, belonging to Tuscany. The other fortified places in this district are Telamone, Monte Argentaro, Porto Ercole, Monte Filippo, and Porto St. Stefano. All which are mentioned in history, both ancient and modern.

Lucca

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Lucca is the only ſtate in Tuſcany that can be ſaid to have preſerved, or rather recovered its liberties; the bleſſings of freedom are diſcernible all over the republic. Though no more than thirty Italian miles in circumference, it contains, beſides the city of Lucca, one hundred and fifty villages. The number of inhabitants are computed at one hundred and twenty thouſand, and the ſoil is improved to the utmoſt. This little territory is bounded towards the ſouth-weſt by the Tuſcan Sea; and on the land ſide it is in a manner incloſed by the grand duchy of Tuſcany. *Lucca.*

The government of the republic is lodged in a gonfalonier, whoſe power is much the ſame with that of the doges of Venice and Genoa. He is aſſiſted by nine counſellors; but the power of all the ten continues but for two months, during which time they live in the ſtate palace, and at the public expence. They are choſen out of the great council, which conſiſts of two hundred and forty nobles; but even this council is changed by a new election every two years. The revenues of the republic are about four hundred thouſand ſcudi or crowns, out of which they maintain five hundred men by way of regular force, and ſeventy Swiſs as a guard to their acting magiſtrates.

The ſituation of the city of Lucca is in a plain, terminating in moſt delightful eminences, adorned with villas, ſummer-houſes, corn-fields, and plantations of every kind; ſo that nothing either for uſe or pleaſure is here wanting. The city, which is three Italian miles in circumference, has regular well-lined fortifications; and it ſtreets, though irregular, are wide, well paved, and full of handſome houſes. The number of its inhabitants are computed to be above forty thouſand; and they carry on large manufactures, chiefly of ſilk ſtuffs. Lucca has a biſhop, who enjoys ſeveral extraordinary privileges; and its cathedral is Gothic.

SECT. II.

Containing the Hiſtory of Florence; the Character of the Florentines, and the other Tuſcan States; and the Revolutions of the Florentine Government to the Year 1277.

THE Etrurians, or Tuſcans, of whoſe country Florence is now the capital, were the parents of the Roman religion, learning, and policy. *Obſervation.*

The ancient hiſtory of Florence is blended with that of Rome, nor know we of any author who has treated of it

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Festival instituted at Florence.

separately. We shall therefore commence this history from the year 408, when the Florentines instituted a festival-day in commemoration of the great overthrow given by Stilicho, the general of the emperor Honorius, to the Goths in the Fesulane mountains near Florence, which action delivered that city from those barbarians. The Goths, however, recruiting their strength about the year 414, Florence and its territory were again depopulated, and for some years after the Florentines bore their share in that general devastation which overspread all Italy; nor is the reader, in such indiscriminate scenes of ruin, to expect any particular history of this country. All we know is, that

First irruption of the Goths into Tuscany.

Alaric, the Gothic king or general, led a fresh body of those barbarians into Italy, and the emperor Honorius gave his consent that they should pass in a friendly manner to the confines of Gaul. The barbarians appear to have been Christians; for the imperial generals treacherously took advantage of their high veneration for Easter Sunday to attack them on that day, which the Goths esteemed sacred from blood, and suffered themselves at first to be cut in pieces rather than fight. At last, roused by the impiety of the imperialists, they fell upon them with such fury, that they gained a complete victory; and, instead of continuing their march towards Gaul, took possession of Tuscany. Stilicho was set against them; but, having himself an eye to the empire, he protracted the war, without driving the barbarians from their new habitations. That great general being taken off, through the jealousy of Honorius, the Goths spread themselves all over Italy, and

Succession of the barbarian kings.

plundered Rome itself. Upon the death of Alaric, they chose Athaulphus, his kinsman, for their leader; and having again plundered Rome, and ravaged Tuscany, they broke into Gaul. Athaulphus then married Placidia, the daughter of the emperor Theodosius, and sister of Arcadius and Honorius, whom the Goths in their first irruption into Rome had led away captive. On the death of Athaulphus, she was married to Constantius, by whom she had Valentinian, who succeeded to the Roman empire after the death of the emperor Honorius.

A. D. 447.

Irruption of the Huns, under Attila.

The next irruption of the barbarians into Italy was still more dreadful. They were commanded by the two brothers Attila and Bleda; but the former having slain the latter, he became a great and powerful monarch. The people he headed were called Huns. Their original habitations were near the Palus Mœotis; and their devastations were so inhuman and rapid, that Theodoric, king of the Goths in Italy, joined his forces with Ætius, the emperor Valentinian's general,

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neral. A battle enſued, in which one hundred and ſixty thouſand men on both ſides are ſaid to have been killed; among theſe was Theodoric, whoſe death ſo greatly diſpirited his ſubjects, that though Attila loſt the victory, he ſtill maintained his footing in Italy. Having recruited his army from Pannonia, he laid ſiege to Aquileia, and, after a ſiege of three years, took and levelled it to the ground. He then made himſelf maſter of Vicenza, Verona, Milan, and a great number of other cities; but was diverted by Leo, biſhop of Rome, from attacking that capital. Upon the death of Attila, the Vandals broke into Italy, and renewed all the ravages of the Goths and the Hunns, under their leader Genſeric. Odoacer was the fourth barbarian prince who made himſelf maſter of Italy and of Rome, and is ſaid to have been king of the Turalingi and the Heruli. The ſeat of the Roman empire was now at Conſtantinople; the emperor Zeno engaged Theodoric, king of the Goths in Italy, to march againſt Odoacer, whom he defeated and killed at Ravenna, and thereby Theodoric became king of Italy, which now ſuffered more than ever by the fury of the barbarians[a]. The chief ſcenes of their ravages being about Florence and in Tuſcany, whoſe particular hiſtory is ſwallowed up in that of their barbariſm; ſo that we know little of it till the time of the Longobards under their king Alboine, who made himſelf maſter of Tuſcany, and almoſt all Italy. Having killed Cunimund, king of the Gepidæ, another of thoſe barbarous nations that then ravaged all the continent of Europe, in a ſingle combat, he married Roſemond, Cunimund's beautiful daughter, and made a drinking-cup of her father's ſkull, out of which he forced his queen to drink. The queen diſſembled her indignation, but applied for revenge to two officers. One of them had been affronted by the king, and ſhe knew the other to be deeply enamoured of her perſon. Theſe ſhe admitted into the royal-bedchamber, where they murdered Alboine, and ſhe made her eſcape to Ravenna.

Attila beſieges Aquileia, and deſtroys it.

Irruption of the Vandals, and of the Heruli.

Death of Alboine.

A kind of anarchy ſucceeded amongſt the barbarians in Italy for about ten years. Each head of a tribe or family, ſeized the city or principality that was moſt convenient for him; nor does it appear, in hiſtory, to what particular barbarian the government of Tuſcany fell during that time. It is however certain, that the Longobards, or Lombards, were maſters of Italy, Rome and its territory excepted, for two hundred and four years, till they were diſplaced by Charlemagne, who is ſaid to have reſtored Florence, and

[a] Leonardi Aretini, Hiſt. Flor. p. 15.

Tuſcany

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The barbarians conquered by Charles the Great.

Tuscany in general, to a respectable condition, after they had suffered more than any country in Italy from the fury of the barbarians. Some writers have been of opinion, that, during the reign of barbarism in Italy, Florence was entirely levelled to the ground, and deserted by its inhabitants.

General remark.

The remains of antiquity, still extant at Florence, prove that it never was utterly demolished; nor is there any likelihood of its having been new-peopled. The legislation of the barbarians, as they are called (the Longobards in particular), was the wisest and the most civilized of any other people, and tended rather to population than devastation. The ravages they were obliged to commit, proceeded not so much from their own disposition as from the treachery, the folly, and ingratitude of the imperial court and officers. Though brave and warlike in the field, they knew little of the art of besieging; and the nobility and chief land-holders of Tuscany soon learned to immure themselves, their families, and attendants in castles and fortifications, by which they were commonly safe during the ravages of war. The natural fertility of the country sufficed for their subsistence, while the barbarians were generally at war amongst themselves. No sooner, however, did those ravages cease than the ancient inhabitants resumed their former habitations; and it is more than probable, that all that Charles did for Florence and Tuscany, was his giving their former inhabitants a farther security, by repairing the fortifications of their cities.

A. D. 773.

Institutions of Charles the Great in Italy.

Charlemagne, having been crowned and confirmed king of Italy by the pope, the governments of the several states, in that country, began to recover some degree of consistency. The original families of Italy, and the descendents of the various tribes of barbarians who had inhabited it, were now blended into one common mass; and the feodal laws, which which were of Gothic original, and then prevailed all over Italy, gave the leading men or magistrates of each state a degree of authority very little subordinate to that of supreme. All that Charles required were certain tributes, as marks of his sovereignty; and he left them, in other respects, to make the best of their situation and natural powers. Of those states, the most eminent were Pisa, Florence, Perugia, and Sienna. The Pisans applied themselves to sea affairs, being the only maritime city in Tuscany that was left standing. The Perugians turned their views to agriculture, to which they were encouraged by the fertility of their soil. The Siennese had a rich nobility, which maintained them in affluence: but the Florentines

Character of the Florentines, and the other Tuscan states.

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tines were distinguished over all the other inhabitants of Tuscany by their industry, their knowlege of the civil arts, and their uncommon strength of genius. For some time those states lived in great harmony with each other; but that was soon interrupted by the disputes between the popes of Rome and the emperors of Germany. The empire, which was originally founded in Germany by Charlemagne, for the protection of the Roman pontificate, had almost proved its ruin: and ignorance and superstition, which daily gained ground after the establishment of that empire, both in Italy and elsewhere, would not allow any state to be neutral, farther than as its intestine divisions prevented its being of much service to either party. Such was the condition of Tuscany, which, in this quarrel, suffered perhaps more than she had done from the barbarians. The emperor, Frederic II. of Germany put to death, by various tortures, many of the Tuscan nobility, who had taken part with the see of Rome; and they, in return, had their revenge upon his party.

Tyranny of the emperor Frederic II.

Frederic however prevailed, and at last brought the Florentines into a state of subjection, by banishing that part of the nobility which opposed him. It is from his death that, properly speaking, the history of Florence ought to commence. The remembrance of his tyranny inspired the Florentines with such an aversion to monarchical government, that from thenceforth Florence became a republic. The people took the direction of affairs upon themselves; and the wisdom, spirit, and steadiness with which they proceeded upon their new model are almost incredible[b]. They first recalled, and reinstated in their former conditions, the nobility whom Frederic had banished, and thereby more than balanced the interest of their antagonists. They next made choice of twelve magistrates, who, on account of their pre-eminence, were called Antiani. They divided their city into six wards, from which were to be elected their magistrates, and all their public officers. They instituted a militia out of those wards, properly regimented, to oppose any factious attempts of their nobles at home, and to repel all attacks from abroad[c]. Florence now rose to be an independent government, and every one of its magistrates was a patriot. The first war was with the Pistoians; who though they had been reduced, like the Florentines, to a state of slavery by Frederic II. yet still continued their attachment to the German emperors. This raised the jea-

A.D. 1253.

He subjects the Florentines.

They erect themselves into an independent state.

[b] Leonardi Aretini, Hist. Flor. p. 19. Machiavel, Hist. Flor. lib. ii.

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Their war with the Piſtoians, whom they ſubdue.

louſy of the Florentines to ſuch a degree of reſentment, that, notwithſtanding all the oppoſition the imperial faction made, they invaded the territory of the Piſtoians, and defeating their army, drove it within the walls of their city. The Florentines, returning victorious to their capital, chaſed from thence all the remains of the imperial faction who had refuſed to ſerve in the Piſtoian war. Thoſe exiles fled to Sienna and Piſa, and excited the magiſtrates of thoſe cities to a war with the Flolentines, who ſoon after reſtored the party who had been exiled from Arezzo, another city of Tuſcany, for their oppoſition to Frederic. They afterwards entered into an alliance with four other ſtates, namely, Lucca, Miatenentia, Urbino, and Alſium now Palo. The conſequences of this confederacy were, that the Florentines, in the ſame year, brought two armies into the field; the firſt againſt the Mugelli, whom they defeated; and the other againſt Mantaria, which city they took in a winter campaign, and levelled to the ground. At the ſame time they entered into an alliance with the Genoeſe againſt the Piſans.

Their farther ſucceſſes.

Next year they waſted the lands of their enemies about Pavia, and took the place by the help of warlike engines. While the Florentines were beſieging Pavia, their allies of Lucca were defeated by the Piſans. When the Florentines heard of the defeat of the Lucqueſe, they inſtantly reſolved to ſupport their confederates[d]; and a ſtrong detachment from their army was ſent for that purpoſe, which overtook the Piſans near the river Hera. A bloody battle enſued, in which the Florentines were victorious. After this action, the Florentine noblemen, who had been exiled, choſe Guido Novello for their head, and marched againſt Florence as far as Fighini, which they reduced, and there they were beſieged by their countrymen. A treaty was then propoſed and concluded, by which the nobles were re-admitted into the city; but Fighini was demoliſhed, and its inhabitants were incorporated with the citizens of Florence.

They deſeat the Sienneſe.

The Florentines, before they returned home, marched to the deliverance of their confederates the Paloneſe, at that time reduced to great diſtreſs by the Sienneſe, which laſt were here defeated in a pitched battle. So many great ſucceſſes in one campaign, gave ſpirit to the citizens of Florence. Next year they obliged the Piſtoians to ſue for peace; to enter into an offenſive and defenſive alliance againſt all the enemies of Florence; and to recall to their city all who had been exiled from it on account of their averſion to the German emperor. In the ſucceeding year, the Flo-

[d] Leonardi Aretini, Hiſt. Flor. p. 20.

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rentines undertook an important expedition againſt the Sienneſe, who were obliged to ſue for peace, which was granted them on condition of their never again ſheltering or favouring the enemies of Florence. The Florentines, afterwards marched againſt Bonetium, which they inſtantly reduced. They then turned their arms againſt the Volterrans on account of their taking part with the Piſans, and the other enemies of Florence. The art of war was then very imperfect in Italy: the Florentines, in a kind of bravado, advanced their ſtandards to the foot of the lofty eminence on which Volterra is ſituated; upon which the inhabitants made a tumultuous ſally; and at firſt bore down all before them; but the Florentines recovering from their conſternation, drove their enemies back into their city, which they entered along with the fugitives. All fighting was then at an end: the women and clergy threw themſelves at the feet of the conquerors, who generouſly ſtopt all hoſtilities, and contented themſelves with obliging ſome of the factious noblemen to leave the city, whoſe government from thence became republican. This expedition was begun and finiſhed in a few days. Finally the Florentine army marched againſt the Piſans, who were ſo terrified by its ſucceſſes, that they ſhut themſelves up in their capital, and ſent ambaſſadors to negotiate a peace, which they obtained, but upon hard terms, and they were obliged to give hoſtages for the performance. The Florentines then returned triumphantly home; and the ſame year, which they called the year of victories, they erected in their city a magnificent town-houſe, and other noble edifices, for the adminiſtration of public juſtice.

Volterra taken

Next year, at the reqneſt of the people of Urbino, the Florentines ſent a body of five hundred horſe to their aſſiſtance. Theſe, in their march, halted at Arezzo, where the Ghibelins, or imperial faction, poſſeſſed the government; but no ſooner did the Florentine horſe arrive, than the Guelphs, or the papal faction, which the Florentines favoured, ran to arms, and drove the Ghibelins out of the city. The news of this tranſaction coming to Florence, the government thought their general Guido, ſurnamed Guerra, had exceeded his commiſſion, by committing hoſtilities in a city with which they were at peace; and they immediately ſent an army, which obliged the Guelph faction at Arezzo to re-admit the expelled Ghibelins. This delicacy of the Florentines in obſerving good faith, effected a reconciliation between them and the Arezzians, who put themſelves under the protection of Florence; and a truce was concluded between the two cities, for five years, during three

Good faith of the Florentines in their wars.

Truce with Arezzo.

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three of which the Arezzians obliged themselves to chuse a Florentine for their chief magistrate. The same year the Florentines made a league with the Siennese, by which it was agreed, that neither people should harbour the rebels of the other; but be obliged to expel them, upon requisition: and thus the affairs of the Florentines seemed to be quietly established[d].

League with Sienna.

History of Conrade and Manfred.

They did not, however, long continue in this situation. The emperor Frederic left two sons, Conrade and Manfred; the first legitimate, the other a bastard. But Manfred, notwithstanding the disadvantage of his birth, possessed so many natural endowments, that his father at his death left him the principality of Tarento; while his legitimate brother Conrade, having been crowned king of the Romans, assumed the imperial dignity, and marched from Germany to take possession of his Italian dominions. But, by the intrigues and power of pope Innocent IV. he was kept out of the possession of Naples and Capua; and while he was endeavouring to reduce them to his obedience he died, as is said, by poison administered to him by Manfred, leaving only one son, called Conradin, then in Germany, under the tutition of his mother Elizabeth of Bavaria. While Conrade was on his death-bed, he had committed the care of his son and his concerns into the hands of his wife and her relations. Manfred, who was an ambitious prince, resenting this disposition, connected himself with the Holy See; and stripping young Conradin's guardians of all their authority in Italy, usurped the kingdoms of Naples and Sicily; but pretended he held them only till young Conradin should be of age. Soon after this transaction, Manfred, having gained his ends, broke with pope Innocent, who died not long after, and was succeeded by Alexander IV. Both parties prepared for war, and both were powerfully supported; but cardinal Octavian, the papal general, being of the house of Ubaldi, was thought to have favoured Manfred so much, that the pope entirely lost the kingdom of Naples.

A.D. 1254.

Death of Conrade.

A.D. 1255.

The Pisans break their league with the Florentines.

This success of the Ghibelins so greatly elevated the Pisans, that they broke their lately contracted league with the Florentines, and, invading their territories, committed dreadful devastations. Upon this provocation the Florentines and the Lucquese joined forces, and gave the Pisans a total defeat upon the banks of the Arno. In consequence of this action, the victors marched to the very gates of Pisa, and forcing the inhabitants into a shameful peace, obliged them to deliver up the town of Matrona, with a

[d] Leonardi Aretini, Hist. Flor. p. 23.

large

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large compaſs of the ſea-coaſt; to give the Florentines the freedom of their city; and to make uſe of Florentine weights and meaſures. Notwithſtanding thoſe ſucceſſes, Manfred daily gained ſuch ground, that the Florentines thought proper, all of a ſudden, to make themſelves maſters of Boneti, and partly to diſmantle it; while the people of Arezzo acted in the ſame manner by Cortona.

Manfred gains ground.

Mean while, the nobility of the Ghibelin faction, within Florence, took advantage of the abſence of their army, and began to enter into cabals for retrieving all their former power. The magiſtrates in vain admoniſhed them both of their duty and their danger; for the malcontents diſclaimed their authority, and remained ſhut up in their houſes. The family of the Uberti were, at this time, at the head of the Florentine Ghibelins; and the people, or rather the republican party, reſented their contumacy ſo much, that they ran to arms, broke into the palace of the Uberti, and, having killed ſome, forced all the Ghibelins to take refuge in Sienna, where they were hoſpitably received, in direct violation of the league between the Florentines and the Sienneſe, which had been concluded three years before: the Florentines, therefore, ſent two eminent lawyers, Albicio Trincivello and Giacomo Gerardi, to complain of their breach of faith. The Ghibelins, however, had made ſo ſtrong a party in Sienna, and the dread of Manfred's power was there ſo great, that the ambaſſadors could obtain no ſatisfaction. Upon which the Florentines declared war againſt their ſtate.

Factions of the Guelphs and Ghilbelins in Italy.

The Florentine exiles, dreading the conſequence of this declaration, ſent a nobleman of the Uberti family, one Farinata, and ſeveral other perſons of conſideration, to implore Manfred's protection and aſſiſtance. But all they could obtain was a ſingle ſquadron of German horſe, which attended them to Sienna. His coldnes, at a juncture ſo intereſting, is imputed to his apprehenſion that the Sienneſe and the Florentine exiles were leſs in his intereſt than in that of his nephew Conradin. The aſſiſtance he propoſed was ſo little proportioned to the exigency, that the deputies at firſt were for declining it; bnt Farinata was of a contrary opinion: "Let Manfred, ſaid he, give us the ſquadron, and we ſhall ſoon manage matters ſo, that, if he has within him one ſpark of royalty, he will ſend greater reinforcements." This obſervation brought the deputies over to Farinata's ſentiments. They waited upon Manfred, and, with warm expreſſions of gratitude, accepted of the proffered aid.

The Florentines implore Manfred's protection.

Magnanimity of their general.

While this deputation was in dependence, the Florentines had actually entered the territories of Sienna, and over-

Their war with Sienna.

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over-run the whole country to the very gates of that capital, which they blocked up. The deputies, returning with their German squadron, resolved at once to attack the enemy; but the attempt carried with it so desperate an appearance, that they thought proper to prepare the Germans by plying them with liquor for the whole night before the intended attack, which was made with so much fury next morning, that the Florentines were thrown into disorder; and a total rout must have ensued, had not their commanders rallied them, and shewn them, that the small handful of Germans were unsupported by other troops. Upon this representation, the Florentines took courage, drove the Siennese, who had made a sally, back to their city, and, cutting in pieces every one of the Germans, treated Manfred's standard, which they took, with particular ignominy. It appears, however, that they made no farther attempt upon Sienna; but returned home in a few days, though the season was not far advanced.

Effect of Manfred's resentment.

As Farinata had foreseen, the above[d] loss and disgrace enraged Manfred so much, that, upon a fresh application made to him by the Florentine exiles, he ordered Jordano one of his generals, to put himself at the head of fifteen hundred of his best cavalry, to march to the assistance of the Siennese and the Ghibelins of Florence. This seasonable reinforcement gave fresh spirit to that cause, and a kind of universal league was formed to support it. For no sooner did the German auxiliaries arrive in the Siennese territories, their time of absence being limited only to three months, than the people of Pisa, and of several neighbouring cities, declared for the Ghibelin party, and a general rendezvous of the confederate troops was held a Sienna; from whence they prepared to proceed to besiege Alcino, a town allied to Florence, but with all the Siennese territories intervening. This resolution greatly perplexed the Florentines, who were afraid of advancing with their troops to such a distance from their city against so powerful a confederacy. Treachery is said to have mingled in their deliberations. The gravest and most experienced of their nobility and military officers were against this expedition; but their magistrates and common people being of another opinion, the nobility resolved to go in a body to lay their sense of the situation of the public before their magistrates, and they chose Teglari Adomar for their spokesman. Aretino, the Florentine historian, has recorded an excellent speech which Teglari made on this occasion against their marching,

[f] Leonardi Aretini, Hist. Flor. p. 6.

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founded upon the short time the German auxiliaries were to be in the field, and upon the expediency of guarding their own city, and at the same time harrassing the territories of Sienna by incursions and inroads, which would oblige that people to remain at home. All the answer he received was, that, if he was afraid to march, he might have his dismission: and, to put an end to all farther debate, the magistrates, with the approbation of the people, imposed a fine upon all who should dare to oppose the march of their troops. The only difficulty now remaining was how to guard against the Ghibelin party in the city, during the absence of the troops; but at last it was resolved to force them to serve in the army. This resolution being taken, the Florentine magistracy gave notice to their allies of Lucca and Arezzo to be in readiness to join them about four miles from the city of Sienna, which the Florentines flattered themselves would fall into their hands by means of an insurrection of the Guelph inhabitants, who disapproved of the war. Jordano, with the German auxiliaries, had not yet left Sienna; and his remaining for some time within the city, confirmed the Florentines in their opinion that an insurrection would happen. But Jordano having disposed every thing for a furious attack, and ordering the gates to be thrown open, advanced against the Florentines at the head of his German cavalry, and was followed by the Siennese and all the Florentine exiles. The army of Florence, not expecting such an onset, were thrown into confusion; but their horse behaved so bravely, that the success of the battle was for some time doubtful, till the Ghibelin Florentines whom they had forced along with them, declared for the enemy; and the Florentine cavalry, not even knowing how to trust one another, abandoned the foot. It was the custom in those days for European armies to carry along with them a chariot, or rather a stage, magnificently decorated, and in the middle was fixed their chief standard, which they considered as the palladium of their state. The Florentine foot finding themselves abandoned by their cavalry, flocked round their standard, embraced it with tears of affection, and performed miracles in its defence; but all their efforts were ineffectual. The disciplined Germans cut every man of them to pieces, to the number of three thousand, who fought round their standard, and made four thousand prisoners in other parts of the field, besides taking the camp and baggage.

Impetuosity of the Florentines,

who are totally defeated by the Siennese.

The horror, grief, despair, and distraction, which prevailed in Florence, upon this occasion, cannot be described. It was then that the effect of popular rashness, inspired by

Divisions of their magistrates.

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success, eminently appeared. The great things the Florentines had done, were, by the common people and their magistrates, who were chosen out of the common people, ascribed to their valour alone; and they looked upon the nobility, who were, in general, men of a liberal education, as so many dead weights upon their state, and obstacles to their courage. They treated their grave remonstrances as so many pleadings for cowardice, and their principles of civil and military conduct as attainable by the meanest capacity. In proportion as their presumption had been great in prosperity, their despondency was despicable under adversity. Without consulting aught but their own fears, they abandoned the city: some of them removing to Lucca, and others to Bologna, at both which places they were hos-
A D. 1260. pitably received and entertained; and, about the middle of October, the Florentine exiled nobility re-entered Florence without the least opposition. Their return put an end to the popular government of Florence, which had lasted for about ten years.

The Ghibelins get possession of Florence;

From that period the Florentines changed their masters [z]. Guido Novello, a Ghibelin nobleman, was put at the head of their civil administration, and Jordano directed their military affairs. Public justice was administered in Manfred's name. The inhabitants were obliged to swear allegiance to him, and the German soldiers were paid out of the Florentine treasury; while the houses, estates, and effects, of all who had left the city, were confiscated or demolished. This revolution, however, was far from removing the apprehensions of the Ghibelin party, who sent a fresh deputation to Manfred, intreating him to prolong the continuance of Jordano and his troops at Florence; but all they could obtain was the delay of a few months. During these transactions, the city of Arezzo was miserably divided between the Guelph and the Ghibelin factions. By Manfred's orders, a general congress of the heads of his party was convoked at Empoli. The subject of their deliberations was, in what manner Manfred's interest could be best strengthened in Tuscany; and the general opinion was, that Florence ought to be razed to the ground. Farinata, whom we have mentioned above, was the only member who had the courage to oppose this barbarous resolution. The speech he made on this weighty occasion was full of dignity and resolution, and coming from a person of his exalted character and known courage, startled the assembly so much, that Florence was preserved. Jordano being re-

[z] Leonardi Aretini, Hist. Flor. p. 33.

called

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alled, the whole power of the ſtate, civil and military, was committed to Novello, who, beſides the ordinary troops kept up by the Florentines, had under his command a thouſand horſemen that were mercenaries. The firſt uſe Novello made of his power was to attack the territories of the Lucqueſe, for having received the Florentine fugitives. Having deſtroyed the plain country, and taken ſome caſtles, he laid ſiege to Lucca; but that city was well provided for a defence, and the Florentine fugitives within it behaved with ſo great valour, that, the rainy weather coming on, he was obliged to raiſe the ſiege, and return to Florence.

and apply to Conradin, grandſon to Frederic II. emperor of Germany.

His retreat gave the Luqueſe and the Florentine fugitives time to deliberate; and they reſolved to implore the protection of young Conradin, who remained ſtill in Germany, under his mother's protection. Two Florentine knights, Simon Donati and Bonacurſio Adimar, were intruſted with this embaſſy; and when they arrived at Conradin's court, which was extremely ſenſible of Manfred's perfidious proceedings, they found it diſpoſed as they could have wiſhed: but the prince's tender age proved an inſurmountable obſtacle to their ſucceſs, and they were obliged to return to Lucca. Next year, the Florentines in that city found means to ſurpriſe Segni; upon which Novello once more invaded the territories of the Luqcueſe, and, being joined by the Piſans, defeated the Lucqueſe and Florentine refugees, in a pitched battle, which put him in poſſeſſion of the greateſt part of the territory of Lucca. Thoſe misfortunes obliged the Lucqueſe, many of whom were of the Ghibelin party, to enter into a ſecret treaty with Novello; one article of which was, that the Florentine refugees ſhould be expelled from the territories of Lucca, and that there ſhould be a firm union between the Lucqueſe and the Florentines, with a general releaſe of priſoners on both ſides. The refugees had ſuſpected nothing of this treaty, when, all of a ſudden, they were compelled to evacuate the Lucqueſe territories, with their wives and children, and retired to Bologna. They were followed by great numbers of the Arezzians, who could no longer reſiſt the arms of Novello. It is amazing that this ſudden reverſe of fortune, by which a people, who, but a few days before, were little leſs than ſovereigns, found themſelves reduced to a ſtate of exile and beggary, did not damp their ſpirits, and induce them to apply for ſome mitigation from their countrymen. But the enthuſiaſm of party had touched their brains, and indeed thoſe of all the Italians in general; and it is hard, at this time, to decide upon the merits of the two parties which then divided Italy. The Ghibelins could not bear

A.D. 1262.

The Lucqueſe expel the Florentine Ghibelins.

Effects of enthuſiaſm.

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with the insolence of the bishops of Rome: the Guelphs could not endure the tyranny of the emperors and of Manfred, and perhaps they considered the pope as a power far less formidable than the others. Such seems to have been the sentiments of the exiled Florentines of the Guelph faction, who considered their country as being subdued by Manfred, and they disdained to live as slaves in states where they had reigned as masters; but their fortune was on the eve of a new revolution.

Succession of the popes.

Pope Alexander IV. had been obliged all this time to remain in Viterbo, not daring to trust himself amongst the Romans. Upon his death, he was succeeded by Urban IV. a Frenchman, who had been a shoe-maker at Troye in Champagne. Seeing that the power of Manfred and the Germans threatened the extinction of the papal power in Italy, and perceiving that young Conradin, who had then only the title of duke of Austria, was too weak to reduce Manfred, or to recover the kingdoms he had usurped, this pontiff bestowed, as far as he could bestow, the kingdom of Naples upon Charles of Anjou, brother to St. Lewis, king of France. Charles accepted of the compliment, and made preparations to take possession of his kingdom. Mean while pope Urban died, and was succeeded by Clement IV. who, like his predecessor, was entirely in the French interest, and confirmed the grant his predecessor had made to Charles of Anjou, though in evident prejudice to the rights of young Conradin. St. Lewis, it is true, seemed to make some difficulty in agreeing to strip an unoffending minor of his property; but the pope got the better of all his scruples, and Charles embarked at Marseilles with thirty gallies, and arrived at Rome, where he was solemnly crowned king of Naples and Sicily, but upon very advantageous terms to the holy see, and received the important dignity of a Roman senator.

A.D. 1265.

Charles of Anjou crowned king of Naples.

Brave exploits of the Florentines under him.

The Florentine exiles being very numerous, well equipped with arms, and experienced in war, offered their service to pope Clement, who inlisted them with great eagerness, and told them he would depend in a great measure upon them for success. At the same time he made them a present of a new armorial bearing for their standard, which was a red eagle compressing between his talons a blue dragon. At the recommendation of the pope, they made Guido Guerra their general, and marched in a body to join Charles of Anjou's army in the plains of Mantua. They were received with peculiar honours by Charles and his generals; and their historians have given us a detail of the complimental speeches that passed between Charles and

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and Guido upon this occaſion. It is certain, that thoſe adventurers did him vaſt ſervice, as his troops were entirely ſtrangers in the country. He immediately directed his march towards Monte Caſino, where he entered his new kingdom, and where the Florentines gave the firſt ſpecimens of their courage in his ſervice, by taking one of Manfred's forts, which the hiſtorians diſtinguiſh by no other name than that of the German Town. A great number of other places ſurrendered to Charles, whoſe progreſs was ſo rapid, that Manfred reſolved to put the whole to a ſhort iſſue. Charles being equally forward, both armies drew up in order of battle in the plains of Benevento, the country of the ancient Samnites. Before the battle joined, Manfred obſerved a body of troops, ſuperior in appearance to all the reſt of Charles's army, of different armour, and under a ſeparate command. Obſerving at the ſame time the new device of their ſtandard, he aſked, with aſtoniſhment, who they were. Being told that they were the exiled Florentines of the Guelph party, "Then (ſaid he) where are the Florentines of my party, on whom I have heaped ſo many favours?" He was anſwered, that none of them were in the field. This anſwer drew from him ſome acrimonious expreſſions againſt their ingratitude and cowardice, and pointing to the exiles, "That body of men (ſaid he) this day muſt be conquerors; for, if I am victorious, I am determined, at any rate, to make them my friends." Manfred then ordered the ſignal for battle. Guido was at the head of the Florentines, and their ſtandard-bearer was Corrad Magnimontano, a Piſtoian knight. Their courage in the battle was anſwerable to their warlike appearance. Manfred's army was defeated, and he himſelf killed. Amongſt the priſoners made by the Florentines were ſeveral of their capital enemies, particularly Jordano, who, four years before, had defeated them near Sienna, and who finiſhed his life in priſon. By this victory Charles became poſſeſſed of all the kingdom of Naples.

Manfred defeated and killed.

The Ghibelin faction in Florence were greatly diſconcerted by this ſucceſs of Charles; and the friends and relations of the exiles began now boldly to avow their principles. Novello, the governor of Florence (who till then had acted very oppreſſively in his office), and his creatures, ſaw it was in vain for them to reſiſt; and conſented that a council of thirty-ſix, half Ghibelins, half Guelphs, ſhould be inſtituted, to take care of the affairs of the public. The head of the Ghibelins was Cathalani, as Lodoringo was leader of the Guelphs. Thus popular government was, in

Popular government reſtored in Florence.

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some measure, restored in Florence. The heads of the two parties agreed so well together, that many excellent civil institutions at this time took place. The different artists and tradesmen were divided into companies. Each had its separate distinctions and armorial bearings; and it was agreed, that all should assemble, in cases of danger to the state. The nobility did not relish their loss of power, and began to form cabals, when the people refused to pay the mercenaries that had been hired by Novello, who, calling his friends and troops together, expelled the thirty-six from their posts in the government; and from that time a civil war commenced. The Lamberti, a noble family in Florence, joined Novello; who, marching to reduce the populace, at the head of his Germans and the nobility, was received with such a shower of stones, discharged from the windows and roofs of the houses, that he was obliged to retreat to the old temple of Mars, which was the place of rendezvous for his party. Thence he repaired to the house where Cathalani and Ledoringo were, where he demanded the keys of the city-gates, which, after some difficulty, were sent to him; and then he, with all the nobility of his party, and his German mercenaries, marched out of the city, and took post at Prato. This measure had been dictated by jealousy and fear, though the two magistrates of the people had promised to quiet the tumult, if he would remain in the city. Upon recollection, he found he had mistaken his measures, and marched back with his troops and followers to Florence, where he found the gates shut. Intreaties and force were ineffectual for his re-admittance; and he was obliged to make his retreat again to Prato.

Novello expelled from Florence.

The constitution restored,

The people thus regaining the government of their city, thought of reverting to the principles of their first popular constitution, and of restoring the magistracy of the Antiani, which accordingly taking place, the authority of the two late presidents, instituted by Novello, was thereby abolished. It is wonderful to think with what moderation this restored model of the Florentine government was established. The people, by their late sufferings, became sensible of their former errors; and though the illustrious exiles were restored to their estates and dignities, yet a law passed that made no difference between them and the nobility of Novello's faction, if the latter should think proper to return to the city. The Guelph exiles returned covered with laurels, and were received with acclamations of the people, who, intent upon banishing civil animosities, obliged Novello to give his daughter in marriage to Foresius Adimar. The contending

together with the Guelph exiles.

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contending families of the Uberti and Lamberti were united in the same manner, and their examples produced the like alliances amongst the other nobility of opposite factions.

This expedient, however, was far from having the desired effect. The people pushed their power too far in becoming the match-makers, and in forcing the parties to intermarry. The heart-burnings between the two factions began again to gather strength, and the exiles, who were not returned to their country, treating the opposite party as vanquished, severely resented their having deserted them at the battle near Sienna, which the Florentine historians call the battle of Arbe, because it was fought on the banks of that river. While those discontents continued, Conradin, the lawful heir to the kingdoms of Naples and Sicily, though no more than sixteen years of age, was making preparations to recover his paternal inheritance. The injustice done him in his infancy had raised him many friends; but it was necessary for him to depend for support upon the Ghibeline faction. Charles of Anjou, now king of Naples and Sicily, foresaw the storm approaching, and his first care was to secure Tuscany in his interest. With this view he sent, by the advice of the Florentines, Malatesta, an illustrious Italian nobleman, one of his officers, with a body of horse, to overawe the Pisans and the Siennese, and, in fact, all Tuscany. But as king of Naples and Sicily he could have no pretension upon Tuscany; and the holy see, by a most unheard of strain of injustice, was obliged to give him a title. The pope pretended that, during the vacancy of the Roman empire, the temporary government of Tuscany devolved upon the pontiff; and, under this arbitrary claim, he constituted Charles of Anjou the imperial vicar or lieutenant over the whole province. The exiles had been returned only four months when Malatesta signified his intention of taking possession of Florence, with the other places in Tuscany, and the governing party gave him assurances of welcome. Upon this intimation the Ghibelines of the city left it, and for some weeks the neighbouring country became a scene of robbery and murder. The Ghibelines were now what their adversaries had been before, the opposers of a foreign power, in whose name justice was administered in Florence. But the papal authority covered all defects of title, and the Florentine Guelphs thought they could not exceed in their gratitude to a prince, who, like Charles, had restored them to their country. The self-exiled Ghibelines, however, were very powerful; but at last the places they had made themselves masters of in the Florentine territory were

Conradin prepares to recover his right.

Charles of Anjou made vicar of Tuscany.

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taken by their adversaries, and great numbers of them put to the sword. The Ghibeline faction being thus totally suppressed, the Florentines, who remained in that city, were soon divided into factions, on account of the estates that had been confiscated, but were now claimed by those who had been exiled after the battle of Arbe, violent disputes ensued, and the matter was at last referred to the papal and the royal decision, which was in favour of the Arbian exiles. This iniquitous sentence was occasioned by the dread of young Conradin, who was now ready to enter Italy, and the desire that both Charles and the pope had to keep the prevailing party in Florence in their interest, having already so fully experienced their fidelity and attachment to the see of Rome. Thus the very men who had so bravely resisted slavery from one quarter, voluntarily embraced it from another.

A.D.1266. The pope, however, did not think it sufficient to have only a momentary ascendancy over his new subjects, and he managed so that a political college, for we can call it by no other name, was added to the other colleges of Florence. Aretin is of opinion that this college subsisted before [a]; but, be that as it may, it certainly was renewed and completed at this time. The duty of the members, who had a president assigned to them, was to examine into the principles, qualifications, and conduct of the citizens; and whoever underwent their censure, became thereby incapable of all trust in the government.

War between the Florentines and Siennese.

Guelphism being thus firmly established in Florence, the heads of the party declared war against the Siennese, in revenge of their defeat at Arbe, and laid that territory waste to the very gates of Sienna; but they could not bring their enemies to a battle. While the Florentines were upon this expedition, the Ghibeline exiles rendezvoused at Boniti; upon which the Florentine army marched thither with Malatesta at their head, and laid siege to the place. The besieged were encouraged to a vigorous defence, by assurances sent them both from Sienna and Pisa, that a powerful diversion would be made in their favour. The defence made by the besieged was so brave, that Charles of Anjou came in person into Tuscany to head the Florentine army. He was received with vast honours at Florence, from whence he set out for the siege. The place being naturally strong, the besieged made a vigorous defence for four months; but the numbers of the besiegers daily in-

[a] Aretin, p. 39.

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creaſing, the garriſon at laſt made an honourable capitulation, and Boniti ſurrendered to Charles. Though winter, at the time of the ſurrender, was far advanced, yet Charles, before he went into quarters, took ſome places from the Piſans, which he gave to his friends the Lucqueſe, and then put an end to the campaign.

A.D. 1267.

While Charles remained in Tuſcany, he reduced the whole of that province to his obedience, excepting Sienna and Piſa; but he now received the important news that young Conradin, as the repreſentative of the emperor Frederic II. and head of the houſe of Suabia, had paſſed the Alps with an army, to make good his family claims in Italy. Charles, therefore, laid aſide the deſign he had formed of reducing Sienna and Piſa, and quitted the Florentine territories. The Piſans had then a fleet at ſea, and many of the Florentine Ghibelines ſerved on board. Conradin was ſo poor, that when he arrived at Trent he found himſelf obliged to diſmiſs his German army, all but three thouſand horſe; a force too ſmall to ſubdue Tuſcany, which it was his intereſt to attempt. Being joined, however, by great numbers of the Ghibeline faction, he inſulted Lucca, but durſt not fight the Florentine army which came to its defence, and harraſſed him in his march to Sienna. The Florentines were commanded at this time by one of Charles's lieutenants, who, on his march to Arezzo, diſmiſſed the Florentine horſe with marks of contempt. Conradin's generals receiving intelligence of this diſmiſſion, formed an ambuſh againſt the royaliſts, for ſo the party of Charles was called, between the Arno and the mountains, at the perſuaſion of the Florentine Ghibelines who ſerved under Conradin. The ſtratagem was ſo effectual, that all the royaliſts, but a few who had got over a bridge before it was ſeized by the Germans, were cut in pieces almoſt without reſiſtance. This advantage was of great ſervice to Conradin's affairs, and he marched without oppoſition by Viterbo, where the pope ſtill was, to Rome. It was in vain for the pope to launch out his thunders againſt this invader. Conradin deſtroyed the territories of Viterbo before his eyes, and plundered all the eſtates of the Guelph faction. He was received at Rome with regal, or rather imperial honours. Charles by this time had received a conſiderable reinforcement of veteran cavalry from France; and though his numbers were far inferior to thoſe of Conradin, who had actually entered the kingdom of Naples, he reſolved to give him battle. Both armies met at Aquila, or Alva, in Abruzzo, where Conradin was totally defeated,

Political ſtate of Italy.

Progreſs of Conradin.

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ed, taken priſoner, and afterwards publicly executed at Naples [b].

A.D.1269. While thoſe tragedies were acting, Tuſcany was in a ſtate rather of expectation than tranquillity; but no ſooner was the death of Conradin certified than both parties reſumed their arms. A great many Florentine exiles ſtill remained at Sienna, and early in the year laid ſiege to Colle, which is ſituated upon the river Alſa, a branch of the Arno, not far from Florence. The Florentines immediately ſent ſome troops to the aſſiſtance of their allies; and though only the cavalry threw themſelves into the place, the Sienneſe raiſed the ſiege; but, being purſued, loſt a great number of men, for no quarter was given by the Florentines. The latter, that ſame year, beſieged Oſtina, which was garriſoned by the exiled Ghibelines of Florence. Not finding the place tenable, they endeavoured to eſcape by night, but were intercepted, and moſt of them killed or taken priſoners. The Florentines afterwards joined their troops to thoſe of Lucca, and laid waſte the Piſan territories. This invaſion brought on a peace with the Sienneſe, who admitted a governor from Charles into their city, and agreed to give no harbour to any of the Florentine exiles. Theſe laſt, in conſequence of this peace, were obliged to retire towards the Capuan territoritories, where many of them were made priſoners, ſent to Florence and capitally puniſhed.

A peace.

Affairs of Italy. Charles of Anjou was now by far the moſt powerful prince in Italy; but the death of Urban IV. and the intrigues that followed in the election of a new pope, revived the troubles of Tuſcany, where the Ghibelines again got ground. Lewis, king of France, at this time undertook a cruſade againſt the king of Tunis, on account of the friendſhip he had ſhewn to Conradin, and required the attendance of his brother. This expedition happened juſt at the time when the Florentines and Lucqueſe, not at all doubting of being aſſiſted by Charles, had made vaſt preparations for war againſt the Piſans, his and their determined enemies; but the views of Charles were very different from thoſe of the Florentines. As he intended to accompany his brother in his expedition to Africa, he ſtudied to leave every thing in tranquillity during his abſence, and for that purpoſe ſet out in perſon for Florence. All Italy thought the ruin of Piſa inevitable, as Charles daily expreſſed the moſt rancorous reſentment againſt that city; but he no

[b] Vide Hiſt. of Naples.

ſooner

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sooner arrived in the Tuscan territories than he gave a favourable audience to the Pisan deputies, who offered to assist him with ships in his African expedition. Upon this offer he not only made peace with them, but obliged the Florentines to follow his example. So unexpected an event greatly dissatisfied the Florentines; but to appease them Charles took and razed to the ground Boniti, or Bonitium, which was the receptacle of all the Tuscan Ghibelines. His governor Guido, however, obliged the Florentines to refund all the money that Charles had expended in the siege and demolition of the place.

Charles of Anjou makes peace with the Pisans.

The see of Rome still continued vacant; but the late peace between the Florentines and Siennese had entirely reconciled these two republics, when Lewis, the French king, died in his African expedition, and Charles of Anjou returned to Italy, where he found things in great disorder. At last Theobald of Placentia was chosen pope, and took the name of Gregory X. It was he who indicted the council of Lyons, and then repaired to Florence, with a view, as he pretended, of abolishing all distinctions of party in Tuscany; but in reality to weaken the interest of Charles. There calling together all the leading men, he made a very soothing speech, tending to persuade them to re-admit the exiled Ghibelines into their city. This proposal the Florentines humbly, though firmly, opposed; but his holiness, being master, forced them to comply, and all the favour he shewed the governing party, was to oblige some of the heads of the Ghibeline faction to give hostages, that they would not make a bad use of the indulgence that had been shewn them. Notwithstanding his authority and all the fulminations he pronounced against those who should break the peace, and his even founding a kind of temple of concord, to which he gave his own name; yet the chief Florentines remained greatly dissatisfied with the peace that had been forced upon them, and the return of the exiles, who were so apprehensive of the power of their adversaries, that they again voluntarily left the city. This circumstance so greatly exasperated the pontiff, that he laid the city under an interdict, which continued three years; so that it is doubtful which was most prevalent, the obstinacy of the pontiff or the perseverance of the citizens.

A.D. 1271.

Gregory X. chosen pope.

The differences between the Guelphs and Ghibelines in Italy under this pope, who filled the papal chair four years, raged more than ever. The Florentines offered again to assist, with a body of troops, their friends of Bologna against their adversaries; but the Bolognese refused to admit

Affairs of Tuscany.

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mit them into their city. The Pisans again expelled the Guelphs out of their territory, and they found shelter in Florence and Lucca. Their chief was count Ugolini, a man of vast consequence in Tuscany; and, notwithstanding the repeated menaces of the pope, the Florentines and Lucquese put him at the head of an army, with which he laid waste the estates of his enemies to the very gates of Pisa. The pope, who at this time was holding the council of Lyons, growing daily more and more uneasy at the power of Charles of Anjou, wrote to the electors of the empire, commanding them to chuse an emperor, as that dignity had been, in fact, vacant fifteen years; threatening, if they did not agree in their election, to give, by his own authority, a head to the empire. Their choice fell upon Rodolph of Hapsburg, ancestor to the present house of Austria, chiefly because he was so inconsiderable a prince that the electors thought they had nothing to fear from his power. This election was confirmed by the pope, whose friendship was of great service to the new emperor.

A.D. 1273.

Count of Hapsburg chosen emperor.

Florence under an interdict.

The imperial dignity being now filled, Charles of Anjou, king of Naples, had no farther pretext for acting under the pope as imperial vicar in Tuscany; and his dismission from this office was thought to be the great view the pope had in hastening the election of an emperor[d]. Gregory, however, could not be prevailed upon to remove his interdict from the Florentines, though, by the swelling of the Arno, he was obliged, upon his return out of France, to pass some days in that city. All he could be prevailed on to do was to give the people his benediction, but without remitting their punishment. Removing from Florence to Arezzo, he there fell sick, and dying, was succeeded by Innocent V. who took off his predecessor's interdict from Florence. The war between the Florentines and the Pisans still continued. The latter had, with incredible labour, cut a ditch, which divided the territories of the two republics, and terminated at the mouth of the Arno. This was fortified at certain distances with towers, and for some years was of great service in defending the Pisans against the incursions of the enemy. At length, however, the Florentines, in a dry season, passed it with a body of horse by the channel of the Arno, and joining their allies the Lucquese, drove the Pisans into their city with great slaughter. The allies then plundered all that rich territory, and were making dispositions for besieging Pisa itself, when

A.D. 1276.

War with the Pisans.

[d] Aretini, p. 52.

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the pope, by his legate, one Velaſco, a Spaniard, forced both parties into an accommodation, by which count Ugolini and his friends were reinſtated in their former honours and poſſeſſions in Piſa; and all the other matters of controverſy between the two republics were referred to his holineſs.

Innocent, dying in the fourth month of his pontificate, was ſucceeded by Adrian V. who lived but a few days after his election; and his ſucceſſor, John XXI. was killed by an accident at Viterbo, in the ſixth month of his reign: thus four popes died in three years. The next was Nicholas III. an Italian, of the noble houſe of Orſini, a ſpirited pontiff, who followed the plan chalked out by Gregory X. for reducing the power of Charles of Anjou and the French faction in Italy, and deprived him not only of his dignity of Roman ſenator, but alſo of the vicariate of Tuſcany. His holineſs, at the ſame time, put his kinſman, Bertolo Orſini, at the head of ſome troops, to give the greater weight to the papal authority; and ſent his legate Latino, who was very popular in Tuſcany, to reconcile all the jarring intereſts in that country. The legate finding that the extravagance and haughtineſs of ſome of the Florentine nobility had diſguſted the magiſtracy, artfully perſuaded theſe laſt to recall the exiled Ghibelines, by which means he reconciled all parties in the city. To make the reconciliation more laſting, he prevailed on the heads of each faction publicly to embrace one another, and to give reciprocal ſecurities for preſerving the tranquillity of the ſtate. He then new-modelled the Florentine government, by creating a magiſtracy of fourteen perſons, choſen indifferently out of both parties: he ordered all the records and ſentences againſt the exiles to be cancelled and deſtroyed, and took ſuch other prudent meaſures, that they were reſtored to their eſtates and honours. But the intereſt of the holy ſee was not forgot in this negociation; ſome forts or caſtles, as they are called, were put into the hands of his holineſs, and Florence was obliged every two years to receive from him its magiſtracy [e].

A.D. 1277.

Adrian V. choſen pope.

A.D. 1278.

[e] Machiavel, delle Hiſtorie, lib. ii.

SECT.

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SECT. III.

Containing the History of Florence, after the new Plan of their Republic took Place; their Wars with the Pisans, and Arezzians, and other Italian States; the Institution of the Office of Gonfalonier; and their Revolutions till the Year 1300.

Charles of Anjou resigns the vicariate of Tuscany.

IT is somewhat surprising that a prince, so ambitious and powerful as Charles of Anjou was, should quietly resign the vicariate of Tuscany, by which he had been enabled to do so many great things, especially when we consider the weakness of the emperor Rodolph, and the yet unsettled state of his government. But Charles perceived the French growing every day more odious in Italy, and yet he could trust no others, nor was his own government over Naples and Sicily so secure as not to be shaken by the papal fulminations. Such were the considerations that determined him to make no resistance, and to withdraw his troops from Tuscany. As to the Florentines, the comprehensive system which had taken place, left them little to fear from the power of the pope, if he had inclined to make a bad use of it, while they continued united amongst themselves, and his protection was very useful to them against more dangerous neighbours. For two years the government of Florence went so smoothly on, that their historians tell us that nothing memorable at home happened during that period.

A.D. 1281.

In the year 1281, pope Nicholas III. died of an apoplectic fit at Viterbo; and dissensions arose to such a height in the conclave between the Italian and French factions, that the populace breaking into it, abused and imprisoned the friends of the late pope, whom they hated; but the choice at last fell upon a French cardinal [b], who took the name of Martin IV. and was a dependent on Charles of Anjou. In the mean time the emperor Rodolph, had, by certain concessions to pope Nicholas III. got possession of the government of Tuscany, which he managed by a deputy. This officer, on his arrival, found he had little or no power, either at Florence, or Lucca, and raised a body of Germans to enforce obedience to his commands. The Florentines on the other hand, depended for protection on the new pope, and his countryman Charles of Anjou; and

Martin IV. chosen pope.

[b] Aretini, p. 54.

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joining with the Lucqueſe, who ſtill more violently oppoſed the imperial authority, they took and razed to the ground the town of Piſcia, or Poggia, becauſe it was in that intereſt; but the affairs of the pope, and his friend Charles of Anjou, taking an unfavourable turn, the Florentines reſumed their uſual jealouſy of their governors. Perceiving the pope was no longer able to protect them againſt the growing power of the emperor, and that he ſought rather to put them up to ſale to the beſt bidder, they again changed their form of government, and aboliſhed the authority of the fourteen magiſtrates, introduced by the legate Latino. In their room they choſe for their magiſtrates three eminent citizens, whom they called the preſidents of the artiſts; in Latin, priores artium. This number was afterwards enlarged; and, in fact, it was little more than a renewal of their moſt ancient form of government, after Florence aſpired to be a republic, and ſomewhat reſembled that of the Antiani. This form was choſen as being the moſt effectual curb upon the nobility of both parties. The preſidents firſt choſen were men of plain, ſober ſenſe, and diſtinguiſhed for induſtry, frugality, and ſimplicity of manners: their names were Bertolo Bardi, who was of a noble family, and very rich; Roſſo Bacarelli, and Salvio Clari Jerome. Theſe three magiſtrates were obliged conſtantly to reſide, or rather to be impriſoned, in the town-houſe, without being ſuffered all the time of their magiſtracy, which was to laſt two months, to repair to their private houſes. In other reſpects they were not unprovided with the badges of authority: their table and all their expences were defrayed by the public. They had twenty-four officers allowed them, of whom twelve ſerved as meſſengers or beadles, for convoking the citizens to the public hall, and for executing the inferior duties of juſtice. As to the preſidents themſelves, the firſt charge they had from their conſtituents was, that during the time of their magiſtracy they ſhould concern themſelves with nothing but the affairs of government [c]. When the firſt two months of this new conſtitution were elapſed, ſix preſidents were choſen, being one for each ward in the city. This inſtitution continued for a conſiderable length of time, during which the republic enjoyed peace and tranquillity.

The Florentines change the form of their government.

A.D. 1282.

Charles of Anjou, according to the Florentine hiſtorians, was in Lombardy, with a view to join his ſon, when he received intelligence that all the Provençals were maſſacred at Meſſina. In conſequence of this advice, he forthwith re-

Siege of Meſſina.

[c] Machiavel, ubi ſupra.

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turned to Naples, and went from Reggio to Sicily, where he laid siege to Messina, having a body of Florentine auxiliaries in his service. The siege was vigorously pressed, and the place as vigorously defended, till it was relieved by Peter of Arragon, who obliged Charles to make a precipitate retreat to his ships.

Prosperous state of Florence.

Florence at this time enjoyed an uncommon degree of tranquillity, considering the commotions that prevailed through all the rest of Italy, and began to make no inconsiderable progress in the liberal arts.

A D. 1283.

The Genoese were now so powerful by sea, that they had defeated the Pisans on that element, and the Florentines thought this a lucky opportunity for ruining the power of Pisa [d], by entering into a league with their rivals of Genoa. They had received fresh provocation, by the assistance the Pisans had given to the imperial deputy, and by their invasions upon the properties of the Florentine allies; at least, these were made the pretexts for war. The Lucquese, who likewise had their quarrels with the Pisans, acceded to the same confederacy, as did several other petty states, and the storm fell at once upon Pisa by sea and land; the allied army carrying fire and sword to the walls of that city, and the Genoese fleets destroying their coasts. It does not, however, appear, that the allies, in the course of this year obtained any other conquest than the open country of Pisa; for they returned home with a resolution to besiege that city next year with greater effect. The consternation, however, into which the Pisans were thrown, gave count Ugolini an opportunity to become master of Pisa, and he undertook to pacify the Florentines, with whom he said his countrymen had no difference, but the idle fantastical distinctions of party. By his address Florence was detached from the confederacy, and the weight of the war fell upon the Genoese and the Lucquese, by which separation, in all probability, Pisa was saved from destruction.

The Genoese join the Florentines against the Pisans.

The Florentines cultivate the arts of peace.

Tranquillity being thus again restored to Florence, her inhabitants wisely applied themselves to the arts of peace, which, by making their city rich, rendered it so populous, that they were obliged to extend its walls. Public roads were laid out leading to the Casantino, to Bologna, to Prato, and Pistoia, and each of these roads terminated in a most magnificent gate of the city. The Florentines, at the same time, erected pleasure-houses, for the first time, on the other side of the Arno; and these increased so much, that they afterwards became part of the city, and were equally

[d] Aretini, p. 56.

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well fortified: here likewiſe three magnificent gates were erected; anſwering to three public roads, or cauſeways, leading to Piſa, Sienna, and Arezzo. In the courſe of this year Charles of Anjou died, after having loſt Sicily, and ſeen his ſon the prince of Salerno, a priſoner in the hands of his capital enemy, Peter of Arragon, who could not, however, make himſelf maſter of Naples, to which he had the ſame title as to Sicily.

Ambition of the biſhop of Arezzo.

The tranquillity of Florence was at laſt interrupted by the ambition of the biſhop of Arezzo, who ſeized and fortified a ſtrong caſtle called Cecilia, between the territories of Arezzo and Sienna, with a view to over-awe the Sienneſe, who, reſenting this encroachment, called upon the Florentines for aſſiſtance. They readily ſent them auxiliaries; and the place was beſieged in form. The garriſon however, made a vigorous defence for five months, when, being preſſed by famine, they endeavoured to eſcape: but being intercepted by their enemies, moſt of them were cut in pieces, and the caſtle itſelf was razed to the ground.

A.D.1284.

Honorius IV. an Italian, of the houſe of Savelli, was now pope. The emperor Rodolph had hitherto gained little or nothing by his pretended ſuperiority over Florence; and this pope is ſaid to have encouraged him to make Foſcano, a Tuſcan nobleman, his deputy, or governor of that city. Foſcano accordingly repaired to Florence, and tried all the ſoothing arts he was maſter of, to induce them to ſubmit to the imperial authority; but all his endeavours proved abortive. Both the Florentines and the Arezzians appeared more determined than ever againſt any ſuch ſubjection, and Foſcano was obliged to leave Tuſcany, greatly mortified at his ill ſucceſs. The Arezzians, about this time, in imitation of the Florentines, had put themſelves under the protection of one Guelfo, whom they created their preſident of the artiſts. This perſon, a ſworn enemy to the nobility, not only expelled them from the city, but levelled their caſtles and their houſes to the ground, and at laſt beſieged Civitella, the reſidence of the biſhop, whoſe name was William, and who was himſelf a noble Arezzian[e]. The violence and barbarity of Guelfo, united in one common intereſt the Arezzian nobility, though before greatly divided amongſt themſelves; and they drove the preſident and his army back into the city, which they took, dividing among themſelves all the property of their enemies. As to the preſident, they put out his eyes, and expoſed him to all manner of public contempt. By theſe means the biſhop,

Biſhop of Arezzo beſieged by the Guelphs.

[e] Aretini, p. 58.

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at the head of his own family, the Pacti, and the Ubertini, became masters of Arezzo, and expelled from thence all the commons, and such of the nobility as had formerly opposed his measures. These applied, in the most pathetic manner, for assistance to the Florentines, who, mindful of the long friendship which had subsisted between the two states, immediately called together the deputies of the Lucquese, and their other allies, and it was agreed to lend the Arezzians eighty horse for their assistance, fifty of whom they immediately received. This reinforcement enabled the Arezzian exiles to make incursions to the very walls of Arezzo, and to renew the war. The bishop, on his part, called to his assistance all his confederates, among whom were many discontented Florentines. Next year the war between Arezzo and Florence was renewed with greater fury than ever. The Siennese on this occasion joined the Florentines, whose warlike preparations were greater than had been known since their defeat at Arbe. The Arezzians were likewise very powerful, having been joined by great numbers of exiles, or rather malcontents. These generally were nobility, who, disliking popular government, retired to the country, where having great estates and followings, they lived in a kind of independency upon the civil government. The Florentine army began its march the last day of May, and reduced a great many strong places, particularly Laterino, in their route to Arezzo, which they at last straightly besieged. But not being able to take the place, the Siennese and Florentines agreed to return home, each by the road leading to their own city. Their separation gave the besieged Arezzians an opportunity to make a sally upon the Siennese, who were completely defeated; and the Florentines thought proper to leave their cavalry at Laterino, to restrain the excursions of the enemy, and to return home with their infantry.

Arezzo taken.

War with the Arezzians.

A.D 1285. The Florentines may, at this time, be said to have been the patrons of popular liberty, not only in Tuscany, but all over Italy. Count Ugolini having expelled the heads of the people out of Pisa, the exiles applied to the Florentines, who gave them assistance and support against their enemies. Mean while the bishop of Arezzo, and his faction, had reduced the banished Arezzians into such distresses, that they were obliged to shut themselves up within the walls of Carciano, where they must have surrendered at discretion, had they not applied by their deputies to the Florentines for assistance, which was instantly sent them, without waiting, as usual, to consult with their allies. This generous reinforcement consisted of eight hundred Florentine, and

Affairs of Pisa.

The Florentines succour the Arezzian Guelphs.

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and two hundred mercenary horse, with four thousand foot. Upon their approach the Arezzians raised the siege, and returned to Arezzo, where they received such reinforcements as rendered them greatly superior to the Florentines. The latter having accomplished the main end of their expedition, which was the relief of their allies, kept upon the defensive at Laterino. This inactivity gave their enemies an opportunity of extending their incursions even to Florence itself; and at last they besieged Varico, and laid every thing waste with fire and sword to Collina, which was but seven miles from Florence. The government there, understanding that many of their discontented nobility, served in the Arezzian army, were suspicious of a correspondence between them and their friends in the city, and, therefore, redoubled their vigilance, without indulging their young citizens in the great desire they expressed to sally out and attack the enemy, who soon after raised the siege of Varico, and returned home, loaded with plunder.

Next year, in the spring, the Florentines meditated a severe revenge against the Arezzians, and convoked a general assembly of their allies, including the Siennese, the Lucquese, the Volterrans, the Pistoins, and the Pratonese. All these petty states, as well as Florence, had by this time entered into a kind of compromise with the emperor Rodolph for their liberties, which consisted in the power of electing their own magistrates, raising their own troops, coining money, and modelling their own forms of government. These privileges gave them as much independence as the emperor could bestow, and they are said to have been purchased by the Florentines at the expence of forty thousand golden ducats. This sum is a proof of the wealth and importance of Florence at this time, as Lucca paid but twelve thousand, and Genoa and Bologna, but six thousand each, for the same privileges. A.D. 1286.

All the allies had their particular causes of hatred to the Arezzians, who, on their side, were very powerful. They were joined by Guido Ferentina, who was at that time master of Pisa, and by great numbers of noblemen from Umbria and Picento, and all the Florentine malcontents. Arezzo was the rendezvous of their army. The bishop continued to be its general, and he was strongly supported by the powerful families of the Pacti, Ubertini, and Tarlati. The opening of the campaign was distinguished on the part of the Florentines by the arrival of the prince of Salerno, son to Charles of Anjou, in their city. This prince had *Prince of Salerno visits Florence.*

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regained his liberty by the favour of queen Constance, and seems to have come to Florence, in his way to Rome, chiefly to know what assistance he could depend upon from the Florentines for recovering his father's crown. He was received in that city with extraordinary respect; but that was all he obtained, excepting a strong escorte of Florentine horse, who attended him to the Sienneſe territories, to protect him from the insults of the Arezzians. Charles, before his departure, recommended an experienced officer, Amerigo, to the Florentines for their general. They accepted of this recommendation; but nominated a council of six of their most eminent citizens, who were to attend him in the nature of field-deputies, and be a check upon his conduct. A council of war being held, it was agreed that the army should cross the Arno, and march by the Casantino into Novello's estates, which they ravaged, he having always taken part with their enemies. As the Arezzians had expected the Florentines on the other side of the Arno, the latter had sufficient time for revenging upon their territories, towards the Casantino, all the devastations the enemy had committed upon those of Florence in the preceding campaign. The Arezzians were surprised at the boldness of their enemy's march through so mountainous a country; the first intimation of which they had from the peasants, who fled in consternation from the desolated estates to Arezzo [f]. The Arezzian army, upon this intelligence, marched to Bibienna; their numbers being eight thousand foot and nine hundred horse, commanded by the bishop, and Bono of Feretri. This army was inferior to that of their enemies; but their generals had so great an opinion of its discipline and courage, that they resolved immediately to give battle, and were met with equal eagerness on the side of the Florentines. Both armies encountered on a plain, called by the inhabitants Campaldini; and neither interrupted the other in forming its order of battle. The Florentines placed their cavalry, in which they were strong, in their front. Their infantry formed the second line; and those two first lines were flanked by archers, and such of the infantry as carried shields, called in Latin scutati. A body of reserve of the Pistorians, and their other allies, under Cursio Donati, a Florentine knight, formed the third line. The disposition of the Arezzians was much the same; but their troops were out-flanked by those of the Florentines.

The Arezzians and their allies defeated, and their bishop slain.

[f] Leonardi Aretini Hist. Flor. p. 62.

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Both armies being drawn up in order of battle, Veri de Cerchi, a Florentine nobleman, of great quality and fortune, set a remarkable example of patriotism and magnanimity. By the post he held in the army, it was his province to chuse a squadron of horse to form the van, and to guard the grand standard; a place so dangerous, that the boldest in the army seemed to shrink from the service. Veri being required to choose his men, named first himself (though he was then ill of the gout), then his son, and then his grandson; but refused to nominate any other, observing, that they who loved their country would offer themselves. This generous declaration produced such emulation among the Florentines, that they crouded for the glory of serving in the van, which that day consisted of one hundred and fifty horsemen, of whom twenty were knighted on the field of battle. The Arezzian cavalry, being better armed and disciplined, made so furious a charge on that of their enemies, that they drove them back on their infantry; but incautiously continuing their pursuit, they were, in a manner, inclosed by the right and left flanks of the Florentine army, while their own infantry was at too great a distance to support them. The Arezzian horse, however, made so gallant a resistance, that they were upon the point of being joined by their foot, when Cursio Donati, in disobedience of his orders, charged the enemy at the head of the Pistorians of the third line, with this noble expression, "If we die, we can fear no farther penalty; if we conquer, let our accusers impeach us at Pistoia." The attack he made upon the Arezzians was so critical and well-judged, that it turned the fortune of the day; the enemy were every where cut in pieces, or betook themselves to flight. Novello was amongst the first who left the field, which the bishop obstinately kept, though he might have retreated with safety to Bibienna, saying, he would never abandon those who had followed him into danger. At last he was killed, together with Bono of Feretri, and many of the chief Arezzian nobility, with above three thousand of their common men, and about two thousand were taken prisoners. A.D. 1287.

Noble behaviour of a Florentine nobleman.

The fruits of this victory consisted in the reduction of the town of Bibienna, which was dismantled, and other places belonging to the Arezzians. Those advantages cost the victors dear, because, had they immediately after the battle marched against Arezzo, that city must have fallen into their hands; but the inhabitants having eight days repose, in which they recovered from their consternation, they prepared for a vigorous defence. The Florentines, sensible of the oversight they had committed, sought to repair it;

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even two of their preſidents went into the trenches, to encourage and direct the aſſailants. The beſieged, however taking advantage of a dark tempeſtuous night, ſallied out and burnt all the wooden towers that had been erected by the beſiegers, who thereupon returned to Florence, where they were received in triumph; and the armour of the Arezzian biſhop was hung up as a trophy in the ancient temple of Mars When the Florentine magiſtracy wrote or ſpoke of this victory in public, they termed it their victory over the Ghibelins, leſt they ſhould offend the delicacy of their Arezzian friends.

The Florentines miſcarry in an attempt upon Arezzo.

Thoſe ſucceſſes ſeemed to have inſpired the Florentines with too great a paſſion for conqueſt. They ſent, ſoon after their return, two thouſand foot and four hundred horſe to the aſſiſtance of the Lucqueſe and Piſan exiles, without having any connection with them, but as they were ſufferers for their attachment to popular government. The exiles, with this aſſiſtance, waſted the Piſan territory; but could not take that city. Tarlati, a nobleman of great diſtinction, was then maſter of Arezzo, which the malcontents within the city had agreed to betray to the Florentines, who for that purpoſe ſent a ſtrong body of horſe to Civitella. The deſign, however, was communicated by one of the conſpirators, who had been mortally wounded, to a prieſt, who diſcovered it to Tarlati; and ſuch meaſures were taken for the defence of the city, that the Florentine troops were obliged to return without ſucceſs.

A great improvement of the Florentine government took place at this period. By its conſtitution the nobility were not excluded from poſts of power and truſt in the ſtate; but a nobleman, in order to be qualified for the magiſtracy, was required to be of ſome particular trade; the law excluding all idle perſons, plebeians as well as nobles, from being preſidents. By theſe means an unnatural kind of diſtinction aroſe in the ſtate, that between property, which was in the nobles, and power, which was veſted in the commoners, or rather artiſts; for ſo the Florentines choſe to call all kinds of tradeſmen and merchants, as well as the profeſſors of the liberal arts, who were every day increaſing in Florence. Many of the nobility, about this time, laying out their fortunes in commerce, had great returns of profit from France, England, Germany, and other nations. The riches they acquired made them impatient under the government of thoſe whom they looked upon to be no better than mechanics; and ſometimes they inſulted them, while the magiſtrates were deterred, by the numerous retinues always attending thoſe noblemen, from vindicating their own authority.

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thority. For this reaſon the Florentines choſe a new magiſtrate, to bear the ſtandard of juſtice, who was afterwards called the Gonfalonier. His office was to call the people out to attend his ſtandard, in all caſes of a breach of the peace, which could not be remedied in the ordinary court of juſtice. This conſtitution took place ſeven years after that of the preſidents of the artiſts; but as it was a poſt of great power, the Florentines were exceſſively jealous of the exerciſe of it. They limited its duration in one perſon to two months; and none but a plebian or commoner could be veſted with this authority. Four counſellors were appointed to aſſiſt him, two colonels to ſerve under him, and he was appointed to command a thouſand men, choſen out of the different wards of the city. Thoſe thouſand ſoldiers were to ſerve for a year, and obliged, when required, to follow the ſtandard of juſtice. None of the nobility could be of the number. But this formidable military force was to be under the direction of the civil magiſtrate; nor could it be arrayed by the gonfalonier, without an order from the preſidents, or in any other caſe but in that above mentioned.

Inſtitution of the ſtandard-bearer.

The Florentines the ſame year exhibited another proof of their vigilance over public liberty, by making a law that no preſident ſhould be re-choſen in a ſhorter time than three years after his former magiſtracy was expired. The reaſon Aretin [k] aſſigns for this inſtitution is, that the poſts of honour in the ſtate might be acceſſible to the greater number of citizens.

Other regulations.

While the Florentines were thus concerting the means of preſerving their conſtitution, they ſtill cheriſhed a dangerous ſpirit of conqueſt. Next year they again invaded the territories of Arezzo, and deſtroyed Novello's eſtates in the Caſantino; but being unable to take Arezzo, they and their confederates returned, after an unmanly expedition againſt a defenceleſs country. But as the ſeaſon was not far advanced, they turned their arms againſt the Piſan territories, in conjunction with their allies, the Lucqueſe and Genoeſe. Theſe laſt being poſſeſſed of forty gallies, the Piſans, who were their rivals in commerce, ſuſtained conſiderable damage. Leghorn at that time belonged to Piſa; and the confederates not only took it, but ſunk two ſhips loaded with ballaſt in the mouth of the harbour, to obſtruct its navigation. The Florentines, at the ſame time reduced and garriſoned ſeveral places belonging to the enemy near

A.D. 1288.

Expedition againſt Arezzo.

[k] Leonardi Aretini, Hiſt. Flor. p. 65. Ib. p. 67.

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Lerici. But no ſooner did the Florentine army return home, than Guido of Feretri, the Piſan general, without any loſs, retook all the places the Piſans had loſt. Not content with this ſucceſs, in the dead of winter he ſurpriſed and made himſelf maſter of a ſtrong fortification, which the Florentines had erected near Lerici. Till that time the Florentines had ſerved in the wars againſt Piſa as the allies of the Lucqueſe; but they now declared themA.D.1289. ſelves principals. Their military virtues, however, at this period, do not appear to have been equal to their political talents; and, to ſay the truth, the art of war was then very low all over Italy. Early in the ſpring, the Florentines again invaded the territories of Piſa, and, as uſual, laid waſte the open country; but the rains prevented their farther progreſs. Theſe and the other expeditions they undertook about this time were ſo tumultuary, and ſo ill-conducted, that the names of their generals are not preſerved in hiſtory. Upon the return of their army to Florence, they began to ſee the neceſſity of having a man of military reputation at the head of their troops; but they ſeem to have been ſomewhat ſhy of entruſting ſo great a power with one of their own countrymen. They therefore choſe Gentili Orſini, a Roman nobleman, to be their general; and he brought along with him ſome diſciplined troops from the Campania of Rome. We know, however, of no great ſucceſs he had in the field; for though the Florentine troops, and thoſe of their allies, who now joined them, were very numerous, and exaſperated beyond meaſure againſt the Piſans, yet Guido of Feretri, who commanded at Piſa, giving them no opportunity to fight, all that the confederates could do was to inſult their enemies within their walls, and renew their ravages upon the open country.

It appears, from the Florentine hiſtorians, that their nobility at this time were too powerful to be reſtrained by the new office of gonfalonier. The ſpirit of cruſading was then over in Italy, and it was filled with ſoldiers of fortune and idle people, whom the great riches of the Florentine nobility enabled to take into their pay; and thus two factions ſtill continued in the ſtate, that of the nobility, and the other of the plebians. The magiſtracy itſelf, being partly compoſed of nobility, was not ſufficiently active in ſuppreſſing the tyranny of that order, and every day produced ſome new inſult upon the people; ſo that it was evident to the more diſcerning Florentines, that the moment the nobility were united amongſt themſelves, they would become maſters

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maſters of the government. On the other hand, the people were too much intoxicated with the thoughts of their own importance, and often complained without reaſon. One Giano della Bella, of a decayed but illuſtrious family at Florence, undertook the patronage of the people on this occaſion: and perhaps the faded luſtre of his family ſomewhat influenced his acrimony againſt the powerful nobility. Being a man of eloquence and abilities, he found means to convoke a general aſſembly of the citizens in the town-hall, where he laid open the danger the liberties of the people were expoſed to by the power of the nobility. He, therefore, propoſed that the military eſtabliſhment under the gonfalonier ſhould be increaſed to four thouſand men, and that he, the gonfalonier, ſhould reſide in the town-houſe along with the preſidents. He likewiſe propoſed to exclude the moſt powerful of the nobility, even ſuch of them as exerciſed trades, from being preſidents.

They exclude the chief nobility from all ſhare of the government, by the influence of Della Bella.

This ſpeech was heard with great applauſe; and many noble families, both within and without the city, were not only immediately excluded from the magiſtracy, but the preſidents were inveſted with a power of diſqualifying others, if they thought proper. When the next election of magiſtrates took place, Giano was choſen preſident, and Baldo Ruffuli gonfalonier, Being a man of ſpirit, and having now four thouſand men under his command, he began the exerciſe of his magiſtracy with an act of juſtice; for hearing that a plebeian had been put to death by a nobleman of the family of the Galli, he drove them out of the ſtate, demoliſhed their houſes, and laid waſte their lands. This vigour ſtruck ſuch terror into the nobility, that they grew more moderate; and the people at the ſame time began to alter their ſyſtem, which hitherto had been too warlike. They conſidered that their new form of government was yet in its infancy, and that their nobility always gained ground in time of war; they therefore liſtened to a propoſal for peace made by the Piſans [1], who were now greatly reduced. The Florentines named two of their citizens, Guadagni and Paradiſi, for their plenipotentiaries, and they rather preſcribed than made a peace. It was ſtipulated that all the exiled Piſans ſhould be reinſtated in their fortunes and privileges; that the Piſans ſhould chuſe their magiſtrates only from the ſtates that were in alliance with Florence; and that the Florentines ſhould have free liberty of exporting and importing their commodities to all

[1] Leonardi Aretini, Hiſt. Flor. p. 69.

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the territories and harbours belonging to Pisa. It was likewise agreed, that Guido of Feretri and all his troops should be dismissed from the service of Pisa.

A.D.1291. These and other conditions appeared so hard to the Pisans, that it was with great difficulty the peace was ratified. The Florentines were corrupted by the prosperity and tranquillity they enjoyed, and both magistracy and people were equally infected. The great credit which their patriot Della Bella had now obtained in the government, exposed him to great envy; and his enemies had interest enough to chuse some of their own number to be presidents of the republic. A fray happened, in which a plebeian was killed; and the nobleman who had been tried for the murder was acquitted, after a legal trial. This acquittal left no room for the interposition of the gonfalonier's power; but the people, running to arms, accused the judges of corruption, and marched to Della Bella's house, demanding that he would put himself at their head: but his advice was, that they should apply to the presidents, and obey their directions [m]. The headstrong populace, instead of following his counsel, ran to the town-house, broke open its doors, and committed a great number of other violences. The enemies of Gaino pretended that all their irregularities had proceeded from his direction; they were supported by the great credit and influence of the nobility, and Della Bella was accused before the presidents, who were his enemies, of treason against the state. His authority amongst the people was so great, that a civil war would have probably ensued, had not Della Bella prevented it by an instance of magnanimity that would have done honour to the greatest patriot that Greece or Rome ever produced: he chose to undergo a voluntary banishment, rather than disturb the tranquillity of the state [n]. His brother Taddo and his grandson Rainerio were banished at the same time, and their estates and houses laid waste.

Their tranquillity and magnificence.

Della Bella banished.

This ingratitude, the reigning disease of popular government, had almost ruined the republic of Florence. Giano had always been considered as the bulwark of the people against the nobility, who, seeing him and his friends driven into banishment, thought nothing could then resist them. They met in a body; they agreed to compose all differences amongst themselves, to lay the hardships they suffered before the magistracy; and, if they did not find redress, to have recourse to force. They accordingly made their applica-

Dissensions break out again between the nobles and the people.

[m] Aretini, p. 71. [n] Machiavel, della Historia, lib. ii.

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tion to the presidents; but found so obstinate a resistance on the part of the people, that they assembled their followers, and put themselves in arms. They were easily distinguished from the commons by the beauty of their horses, the splendour of their arms, and their armorial bearings. They divided themselves into three bodies, of which one took its stand at the ancient temple of Mars, another at the New Exchange or Square, and the third at the end of the Upper Bridge across the Arno. The people, no way daunted at this military appearance, barricaded the streets; and whenever the nobility began to move, showered upon them darts and stones from the tops and windows of their houses; so that the others were obliged to remain altogether inactive. At last, some moderate citizens interposing, the nobility laid down their arms; and the people, at the persuasion of the presidents, gave up a very few inconsiderable points; on which terms both parties retired for that time in peace. Such, however, was the antipathy between the two orders, that the plebeians, reflecting on what they had done, upbraided their presidents with the concessions they had prevailed on them to make; and not only insulted them when they went out of their office, but in a manner obliged their successors to revoke all the concessions that had been made to the nobility.

They even went farther, and, according to their usual inconstancy, proposed to recall Giano Della Bella from banishment; as they attributed to his absence all the late attempts of the nobility. The latter applied for protection to pope Boniface VIII. who, glad of every opportunity to exert or extend his power, ordered the people of Florence, on pain of his displeasure, not to recall Giano, whom he termed a fomenter of sedition. The Florentines were then too great slaves to papal power to dispute this order; and thus that worthy patriot was suffered to die in exile, his very enemies compassionating his fate [o].

An interval of tranquillity succeeded for about two years, during which the genius of the Florentine plebeians appeared with amazing lustre. Their first care was to renew their engagements with the neighbouring states, and they took Perugia into the confederacy. They then applied themselves at once to strengthen and to adorn their state and city. They built the suburbs of St. Giovanni and Franco, on the opposite banks of the Arno; and they erected, for the residence of their presidents and magistrates, a most mag- A.D. 1298.

Magnificent works erected by the Florentines.

[o] Aret. Hist. Flor. p. 72.

nificent

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nificent new town-houſe, or palace, the nobleſt at that time in Europe. They next completed the fortifications of their city, by carrying round it a long ſtrong wall, with towers and baſtions at proper diſtances; and, laſtly, they laid out five thouſand crowns in erecting a commodious airy priſon, which was built upon the ground of forfeited eſtates. Thoſe ſplendid works, and the flouriſhing ſtate of their commerce, rendered the Florentines now ſo reſpectable, that the people of Bologna and Ferrara, then at war with one another, offered to refer their differences to their arbitration (A). The Florentines, by permiſſion of the pope, accepted of the office; but under his patronage and direction, he pretending that the two cities, as being fiefs of the Holy See, depended upon him. The Florentines, on this occaſion, ſent no fewer than ſeven ambaſſadors, partly nobility, and partly plebians, to his holineſs, and in a ſhort time compoſed all their differences. We are now come to the year 1300, when pope Boniface VIII. celebrated the firſt centurial jubilee ever known in the Chriſtian world.

The Florentines mediate between the Bologneſe and the Ferrareſe.

A.D. 1300.

(A) At this period there were thirty thouſand men who underſtood the uſe of arms within the city of Florence, and above twice that number in their territory without the walls (1).

(1) Machiavel, della Hiſtorie, lib. ii.

SECT.

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SECT. IV.

Containing the History of the Civil Wars of Florence between the Nobility and the People; the Usurpations of the Popes upon their Liberties; their Leagues with the other States of Tuscany; their Election of Prince Robert of Naples for their General; and their Wars with the neighbouring States, particularly with the famous Castruccio Castracani of Lucca.

IN the year 1300 there flourished at Pistoia a noble family, commonly called Cancellari; the branches of which, being at variance with one another, were distinguished by the ridiculous names of the Neri and Bianchi, the *Blacks* and the *Whites*, and daily skirmishes and murders happened between the two parties; so that Pistoia was in danger of being destroyed, when the Florentines, its ancient allies, offered their assistance towards restoring its tranquillity. This being accepted by the Pistoians, the only expedient the Florentines could devise for that purpose was to oblige both parties to remove to Florence; but Florence was rather infected than Pistoia cured by this measure[a]. The families thus removed, communicated their resentments to many Florentine families with whom they had intermarried; and Florence, in a short time, became as much divided between the Neri and the Bianchi, as Pistoia had been before, and was equally filled with tumults, family being divided against family, brother against brother, and father against son; and thus the Guelphs were split into parties. *New divisions in Florence.*

There had been great heart-burnings for some time between the rival families of the Cerchi and the Donati; but they now broke out into action, the former taking part with the Bianchi, and the latter with the Neri. The more moderate nobility and citizens applied to the pope, who enjoined Veri de Cerchi, the head of that family, to accommodate matters with Corso Donati; but all was to no purpose: civil broils ensued, blood was shed, and the city filled with armed troops. Florence being in so dangerous a situation, the pope sent his legate to compose matters; but the Cerchi, who were the most powerful party, refusing to stand to his award, he laid the city under an interdict. After his departure, greater violences were com- *The pope mediates an agreement.*

[a] Leon. Aret. Hist. Flor. p. 73.

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mitted than ever; for the parties, now throwing off all reverence for government, no longer fought accidentally, and in a tumultuous manner, but drew up in regular bodies, one against another. The great dependence of the Donati, was upon Corso Donati, esteemed the best soldier in Florence. The Cerchi, however, had the greatest interest in the magistracy, whom they prevailed upon to send a deputation to his holiness, requesting his interposition for restoring the tranquillity of their city. The Donati no sooner heard of this resolution than they again took arms, and accused the magistrates of betraying the independency of the city; and thus civil dissension flamed higher than ever.

A.D.1301. Dante, the poet, happened that year to be one of the presidents, and being a man of great resolution as well as eloquence, advised his colleagues to call the citizens in general to arms, and then to punish and expel from Florence the disturbers of her peace. This advice was followed. Corso Donati was exiled, and his goods were confiscated, for having threatened the magistrates. The proceedings against his abettors and friends were more moderate. They were only fined and sent to Perugia, there to remain for some time, till they should be recalled by the people. Others of the nobility were likewise censured; but more for form-sake than justice. Some of their heads, amongst whom was Guido Cavalcanti, a Florentine philosopher of great learning and knowlege in the liberal arts, were sent to Seranza; from whence, however, they were quickly recalled; but Cavalcanti died soon after.

Advice of Dante the Poet.

A.D.1302. Corso Donati was not idle during his exile. He went to the pope, and by his address, eloquence, and assiduity, prevailed with his holiness to interpose in the affairs of Florence, though he and his party had been expelled for opposing that very resolution. The pope prevailed upon Charles of Valois, brother to Philip the Fair, king of France, to march into Italy, and to take upon him the pacification of Tuscany, where the Pistoians, the Lucquese, and other cities confederated with Florence, were still filled with blood and tumult on account of the two parties. His holiness was then at Anagni, where he gave his charge to Charles, who set out for Florence about the middle of September, attended by a body of regular troops. The faction of the Whites, who were now masters of Florence, not expecting an armed mediation, were much disconcerted at the arrival of Charles, who was suspected of having entered into private terms with Corso. Being, however, professedly Guelphs, they did not chuse to deny him

Corso Donati's intrigues.

Charles of Valois enters Florence.

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him admittance into their city; but received him, when he was near the gates, with great honours and rejoicings. Charles, ſome days after his entrance, behaved with great modeſty and appearance of juſtice. He ordered his troops to lay aſide their arms, and never to appear in bodies; and calling a general meeting of the magiſtracy and people, prevailed with them to give him full powers to regulate their affairs. He afterwards took an oath, that he would make no other uſe of this power than to reſtore juſtice and tranquillity to the ſtate; but no ſooner was he eſtabliſhed in the government than he appeared in public, and upon his tribunal, ſurrounded by a formidable body of his guards under arms.

His conduct there.

It is difficult, at this time, to aſſign the true motive of Charles's conduct on this occaſion. The moſt probable conjecture is, that he gave encouragement to both parties, yet aſſiſted neither; that the citizens might be ſo weakened as to invite him to take upon himſelf the perpetual government of Florence, which would have ſoon been followed by that of all Tuſcany. For when Charles appeared, attended with his guards, the people of all factions ran to arms; but being without any plan or leader, they durſt not attack him, and he remained on his tribunal, without offering to diſperſe the multitude. In the mean time, Corſo Donati, with a body of men, broke into Florence, and, being joined by his friends, marched to the public hall, where they depoſed the preſidents. The now prevailing party proceeded againſt their antagoniſts with fire and ſword; Charles appearing all the while as an unconcerned ſpectator, and, without any emotion, bearing the reproaches of the people. Though the return and the triumphs of the Donati undoubtedly were effected by his connivance or direction, yet he entered ſecretly into treaty with the oppoſite faction; which engagement the magiſtracy and people diſcovering, the Donati found means to drive into exile the heads of the Cerchi and their abettors; and thus the Blacks remained maſters of the Florentine magiſtracy.

Hoſtilities rage more than ever in Florence.

Mean while the pope's legate returned to Florence, and ſought to reconcile the two parties; but was ſo violently oppoſed by the Donati, that he laid the city under a freſh interdict, and left it. Amongſt the leaders of the exiled faction was the poet Dante, whoſe fate was particularly ſevere and unjuſt. He had, on account of his great abilities been ſent ambaſſador to the pope by the Florentines, to inform his holineſs of the true ſtate of their affairs, and to propoſe a plan of accommodation; but the Donati prevailing

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vailing in Florence, he was, in his absence, accused and condemned, his house was rifled, and his estates plundered.

A D.1303. As to Charles of Valois, he seems entirely to have mistaken his measures. The pope grew jealous of him, or, at least, did not support him sufficiently to maintain the government or vicariate of Tuscany he had given him; and, after five months abode at Florence, he recalled him to expel the Spaniards out of Sicily.

Charles leaves Florence, where the Donati prevail.

His departure left the Donati, or Black faction, nothing to fear; and they immediately resolved to drive the Whites from Pistoia, where they were most numerous. For this purpose they joined their forces with the Lucqueſe; but all they could do was to defeat the scattered parties of the exiled Whites; and, after having taken some of their castles, they returned to Florence with great shews of victory and triumph. That city was then in an unhappy situation; for though it had reverted to its popular form of government, yet, in fact, it received law from the Donati, who put several of the principal citizens to death, and drove others into exile, on pretence of their conspiring against the public liberty. They soon experienced the bad policy of this conduct; for the exiles became so numerous as to be formidable to the governing party at Florence, who were far from being united amongst themselves. The Bolognese took part with the exiles, and the confederacy amongst them being formed, they raised a great army, with which they marched against Florence, hoping to reduce it, through the civil disputes in the city. The citizens, however, summoned the Lucqueſe, and their ancient allies, to their assistance, and boldly marched out to give battle to the enemy, who were waiting in hopes that the gates of the city would be opened to them; so great was their dependence upon its intestine commotions. Being disappointed in this hope, consternation succeeded their confidence, and they took flight without fighting, leaving the Florentines in possession of their camp and many noble prisoners, most of whom were put to death.

They defeat the Bolognese.

A.D.1304. In the succeeding year, the Florentines and the Lucqueſe again laid siege to Pistoia; but they neither were able to take it, nor to bring the enemy to a battle. The civil wars that now prevailed over all Tuscany, joined to the inclemency of the seasons, had introduced a famine among the Florentines, who were obliged to purchase, with ready money, twenty-seven thousand measures of corn from Sicily and Calabria. But no sooner was Florence freed from famine than she relapsed into domestic distractions. Corsa Donati, thinking himself neglected by his fellow-citizens, and

A famine in Florence.

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and that he was not ſufficiently preferred in the government, moved that the ſtate of the public money ſhould be laid before the people. Though it had been greatly embezzled, yet the motion was unſeaſonable, and made only upon ſeditious motives, to bring certain leading magiſtrates to puniſhment, for obſtructing his ambition. The meaſure, however, was ſo plauſible, that Lothario [b], biſhop of Florence, at firſt approved it; and the malecontents of both parties, who were very numerous, united under Corſo. But the real views of the latter appearing, the biſhop employed all his intereſt againſt the motion; and not only the magiſtrates, but the other heads of the Donati family, put themſelves in arms againſt Corſo. His party was ſtill ſo prevalent, that, after a great number of robberies and murders had been committed on both ſides, the Lucqueſe were forced to interpoſe, by marching into Florence ſuch an army as muſt have turned the ſcale of victory in favour of the faction they eſpouſed. But they acted with great moderation; and partly by threats, and partly by perſuaſions, in ſome meaſure reſtored the public tranquillity. They next applied themſelves to reform and prevent the abuſes of government, and twelve preſidents were elected inſtead of ſix.

Diſcontent of Corſo Donati.

Benedict, who was then upon the papal throne, took it amiſs that thoſe commotions ſhould be appeaſed without his intervention, and ſent Nicholas da Prato, a cardinal, as his legate to Florence. This prelate, examining into the grounds of the late differences, took part with the people, whom he perſuaded to divide themſelves into twenty companies, each company to have a gonfalonier, or *ſtandard-bearer*, a colonel, and a ſtandard, adorned with the arms and badges of the company. Severe penalties were decreed againſt all who did not follow their reſpective ſtandards as ſoon as they appeared in public. Each gonfalonier was to hold his place for ſix months, and, while the ſtandard was abroad, no perſon who followed it was go to his own home. This laſt regulation was made in order to deter the nobility from enrolling themſelves in the companies. Each gonfalonier was to aſſiſt the members of his own company by force of arms, if the caſe required it, againſt the oppreſſions of the great; and if a nobleman killed a plebeian, the next relation of the deceaſed, if poor, was to be aſſiſted with money to revenge his kinſman's death, at the expence of the company to which he belonged; but if one plebeian killed another, the ſurvivor

Nicholai, cardinal of Prato, ſent legate to Florence.

A.D. 1304.

He new-models its government;

[b] Leonardi Aretini, Hiſt. Flor. p. 78.

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was to be delivered up to the common courts of justice, The like institutions took place in the Florentine territories without the city.

The legate having, by these regulations, obtained a great degree of popularity in Florence, proceeded to execute the principal design of his legation, which was to recall the Cerchi, and the other exiles. The chief of them resided at Arezzo; and amongst them were Dante the poet, and the father of Petrarch, the other famous Tuscan poet of that age, who was born at Arezzo during his father's exile. Veri de Cerchi was at the same time there; and by his advice, the exiles, who continued to be very numerous, had chosen Alexander, count of Romena, to be their head. The legate did not find the Florentines inexorable on this head; but the affair turned out to be more difficult than was at first imagined. The exiles committed their concerns to the legate, who might easily have succeeded in restoring the White party; but insisting that the Ghibelin exiles should be restored at the same time, he succeeded in neither, though he was supported in both by a strong party of nobility and commons within the city. The exiles had appointed a deputation to wait upon the legate; but while the treaty was going forward, they pretended an invitation under the legate's own hand, which they produced; but whether genuine or forged, our author does not determine[c]. It was in vain for the legate to make the most solemn protestations of his innocence and good intentions; for at once he lost his popularity, and was obliged to retire to Prato. He found no shelter there; and returning to Florence, attempted to prevail with the citizens to undertake an expedition against Prato The Florentines discovered, that the army he wanted to raise was to be employed against their liberties, and refusing to obey him, he was forced to leave Florence, and repair to his master, the pope. His departure was followed by a fresh eruption of civil dissensions, in which Corso Donati took no part, he having left his friends, who were strengthened by the accession of two great families, that of the Guigni and the Medici. The two parties took arms, and, after many skirmishes, came to a general engagement between the Old and New Exchanges. The north wind blew at that time very strong against the quarter where the houses of the White faction stood, which one Nerio Abbati, of the Black party, observing, he set the houses of the Caponsacci on fire; and the flames spread with such fury, that

but fails in his main purpose;

and retires.

[c] Leonardi Aretini, Hist. Flor. p. 80.

they

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they conſumed ſeventeen hundred houſes, and were ſtopped only by the interpoſition of the Arno. This heavy loſs falling on the trading quarter of the city, the quantities of the rich merchandizes and commodities thereby deſtroyed is incredible; and the violence with which the flames proceeded, made the common people believe the conflagration was aſſiſted by enchantment.

The pope ſummons the Florentines to appear before him.

The party of the Whites was now utterly ſubdued within the city; but the cardinal legate, exaſperated at the affronts he had met with, repreſented the Florentines in ſo odious a light to the pope, that his holineſs ſummoned twelve of the principal men of the city, amongſt whom was Corſo Donati, to appear before his tribunal at Perugia, where he then was. The Florentines long debated whether they ſhould obey this citation, which ſeemed to be intended to give the Whites a favourable opportunity to re-enter the city, during the abſence of their chief enemies. But at laſt, rather than be thought guilty, they obeyed it, and ſet out with magnificent retinues for Perugia. Their apprehenſions, however, were well grounded: no ſooner were they arrived, and had entered upon the vindication of their conduct, than the legate privately wrote to the heads of the other party, adviſing them to ſeize on that opportunity of re-inſtating themſelves in the city. They accordingly aſſembled, to the number of nine thouſand foot, and ſeventeen hundred horſe, great part of whom were Bologneſe and Arezzians. They marched ſo ſecretly, that they reached the gates of Florence, without being diſcovered, about ſun-ſet, and actually forced their way into the city. But they were not unanimous; the Whites were jealous of their confederates, who were Ghibelins; and they began to debate upon the manner of their proceeding. This diſpute created delay, which gave the citizens time to collect their ſtrength, and they attacked their invaders ſo vigorouſly, that they drove them out of the city before the Bologneſe troops, who had been left at ſome diſtance, could come up to their ſupport. In their retreat ſome were killed; but they were joined near Mugelli by a reinforcement of three hundred horſe, and eight hundred foot, all Piſtoians, under Uberti, who was himſelf a Florentine exile. Nothing, however, could re-animate them after their late diſappointment; and thus the enterprize came to nothing[d].

In the mean time, pope Benedict died, and the Florentine deputies, after having complained to the cardinals of

[d] Villane, lib. viii. cap. 69. Machiavel, delle Hiſtorie, lib. ii.

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The Florentines renew their confederacy with their neighbours.

the legate's treachery, returned to Florence. On examining into the state of their affairs, and the strength of their enemies, they thought proper to renew and extend their confederacy with all the neighbouring states of the Guelph party, which comprehended those of Lucca, Volterra, Sienna, Prato, Gemmiani, Colle, and Civita Castellana. This alliance being formed, the confederates resolved to chuse a general to command he whole of the troops, that they might act with more effect; and they pitched upon prince Robert, eldest son to Charles, king of Naples. The conditions of the agreement imported, that he should have no direction in the civil government of the confederate states, but that he should command their armies; that he should reside in Tuscany for a whole year; that the confederates should maintain the cavalry he was to bring along with him, and contribute, in proportion to their abilities, towards a revenue for himself. In this contribution the Florentines, as the most powerful, had the greatest share. Early in the following spring, Robert arrived in Tuscany, at the head of a small, but well-disciplined body of horse, and taking upon him the command of the allied army, laid siege to Pistoia.

A.D.1305. This city had within it a strong garrison, and the place was well defended, so that the siege was converted into a blockade, which lasted four months. Mean while, Clement V. who had been chosen pope, sent two legates into Tuscany, to dissuade Robert and the confederates from continuing their hostilities against Pistoia. Robert immediately desisted, as did all the confederates except the Florentines and Lucquese, who, in contempt of the papal authortiy, obstinately continued the blockade. In consequence of this conduct, the states of Lucca and Florence were, by the legates, laid under an interdict. Nevertheless, the blockade of Pistoia continued ten months, till the besieged began to be pressed by famine and want of necessaries; the only engines the besiegers knew how to apply. In vain the inhabitants endeavoured to send their women and useless mouths out of the city, for they were driven back by the besiegers; and the Pistoians were obliged at last to capitu-

Florence and Lucca interdicted.

A.D.1306. late; but the only terms they could obtain were, that the exiles within the place might depart in safety, and that no punishment should be inflicted upon the inhabitants[e]. The conquerors no sooner got possession of the town, than they dismantled all its fortifications, and divided its houses and territories amongst themselves.

Pistoia taken

[e] Leonardi Aretini Hist. Flor. p. 83.

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In the course of this year was created in Florence a new magistrate, under the title of the executor of justice. Great part of the power of the gonfalonier was transferred to him; and, that he might be the more disinterested, it was enacted, that the office should not be held by a native of Florence, or of Tuscany. At the same time, the companies of Florence were reduced from twenty to nineteen. Cardinal Nicholas, of Prato, the same who had been the pope's legate in Florence, was now in high favour with pope Clement, whom, indeed, his intrigues had raised to the papacy. This cardinal never had lost sight of his favourite scheme of restoring the Florentine exiles; and he persuaded the pope to send cardinal Neapoli, who was of the noble family of the Orsini, as his legate to Florence, to compose all the disquiets of Tuscany. The cardinal having passed the Alps, sent a messenger to Florence, signifying his approach, and ordering preparations to be made for his reception. This demand produced a consultation amongst the Florentine magistracy, who, having experienced that the residence of legates amongst them had always rather inflamed than allayed their civil dissensions, resolved to refuse him admittance into their city[f]. The legate, therefore, was obliged to retire to Cesena, where he put Florence under an interdict. But the Florentines knew how to sport with the papal bolts; and the legate marching to Arezzo, put himself at the head of a large body of horse and foot, chiefly composed of the Florentine exiles, intending to force his entrance into the city. Immediately the Florentines, calling their confederates to their assistance, laid siege to the castle of Gargonza, where great numbers of the exiles were assembled. This enterprize gave the legate an opportunity of advancing towards Florence; but the Florentine army returning from the siege, he retired to Arezzo, and soon after, finding all his endeavours unsuccessful, returned to France.

A new magistrate created in Florence.

A.D. 1307.

The Florentines despise the papal power.

There is somewhat singular in the state of Florence at this time. The inhabitants had, upon all occasions, distinguished themselves in defence of the Holy See, and gloried in being its votaries; and yet the popes of late had never gained one point which the inhabitants thought would tend to the prejudice of their freedom or interest. In fact, they professed themselves Guelphs, because it was the most convenient party for them to espouse. Though the papal thunders now roared more furiously than ever

[f] Leonardi Aretini, Hist. Flor. p. 84.

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above their heads, yet so greatly were they disregarded by the Florentines, that they multiplied tax on tax upon the ecclesiastics, to indemnify themselves for the expences they had been at in the late war.

Corso Donati killed.

The next year was free from foreign wars, but filled with domestic contentions. Corso Donati still remained dissatisfied, and was the patron of all the malecontents. He had about him that kind of stubborn virtue which is ill-suited to a popular government; for, instead of courting honours, he imagined that honours ought to court him. His magnanimity, however, and the ready refuge which distress always found in him, but above all his professed opposition to the nobility, procured him great popularity, which, at the same time, his enemies gave out he intended to employ to the subversion of public liberty. Their report was somewhat countenanced by his marrying the daughter of Fagiolani, a nobleman of great power and authority, which, they said, were to be employed in making Corso master of Florence. The people believed the report from the appearances that favoured it, and Corso was cited to appear before the magistracy. He was now the most unpopular man in Florence; but still he retained some friends, from the opinion they had of his personal virtues. Conscious of his own innocence, and at the same time of the power of his adversaries, he refused to appear before the magistrates; and in one day he was accused, cited, and condemned. Knowing the fate to which he was destined, he fortified his house, which the magistrates, seconded by all the power of the city, besieged and stormed, after a valiant resistance of some hours, and Corso, endeavouring to make his escape, was killed[g]. After his death, both the people and magistracy repented of their proceedings. No process was held against his estate or family; and, too late, they reflected that no accusation, except the hasty charge which had procured his death, had ever been brought against the defunct.

A.D. 1308.

Generosity of the Florentines.

The Arezzians, for some time, had been under the Ghibelin government; but having expelled the family of the Tarlati, they renewed their ancient confederacy with the Florentines. About the same time these last interposed to quell some seditions at Prato, which had been fomented by the Pistoians, who were exasperated at the Lucquese, for having pressed the Florentines to the utter demolition of Pistoia. The Florentines generously rejected this proposal, and even agreed that the Pistoians should

g Villane, lib. viii. cap. 96. Macchiavel, delle Historie, lib. ii.

have

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have liberty to rebuild their fortifications. Mean while the Tarlati, by the assistance of Fagiolani, again got footing in Arezzo, from whence they expelled their enemies, who were patronized by the Florentines. And thus fire and sword raged in the territories of Arezzo.

Though the Florentines resolutely opposed all attempts made by the papal see against their independency, yet they were very ready to vindicate and support the authority of his holiness, in all matters that were indifferent to them as a republic. They, therefore, sent a body of troops to the assistance of the papal legate, who was at war with the Venetians, over whom he gained a complete victory, by means of that reinforcement. Upon this occasion, his holiness took off his interdict from Florence, which now became his favourite city. That same year the Florentines were chosen arbiters by the inhabitants of Gemmiani and Volterra, who had been long at war on account of their limits, which were now settled by the Florentines, to the satisfaction of both parties. Towards the close of the year, they sent three hundred horse and six hundred foot to the assistance of their allies of Civita Castellana, who were oppressed by the domineering faction at Arezzo. As those troops were to march through the territories of the Arezzians, their expedition might have proved fatal, had it not been for the madness of the Arezzians, who, understanding how inconsiderable the Florentine force was, attacked them on their march to Cortona, but in so irregular and tumultuary a manner, that they were utterly defeated.

The Florentines relieve Civita Castellana.

Next summer, the Florentines and their allies, being joined by the Arezzian exiles, undertook the siege of Arezzo. At this period, Henry of Luxemburg, who had lately been chosen emperor, sent ambassadors to Florence, who demanded, that the Florentines should prepare to receive him in their city, as he proposed to begin his march into Italy, at the head of an army; and that they should desist from the siege of Arezzo. By this time they had, in conjunction with the Bolognese, and other Guelphs of Italy, secretly entered into a league not to obey Henry; so that in answer to these demands, they expressed their surprize that a Roman emperor should bring his barbarians into Italy; and at the same time, they justified the war they had undertaken against Arezzo. Henry's ambassadors delivered the same message to the Arezzians, and received much the same answer. The campaign, as usual, ended in depopulating the neighbouring country, and the Florentines returned to their own city.

A.D.1309.

They besiege Arezzo.

They enter into a confederacy against the emperor.

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Understanding the emperor was advanced with his troops as far as Geneva, they formed the resolution of refusing him admittance into their city, and of joining with Robert, king of Sicily, who soon after came to Florence, where he was received with great honours. The emperor was attended by Leopold, duke of Austria, Rodolphus of Bavaria, Baldwin, archbishop of Treves, the bishop of Liege, the counts of Savoy and Flanders, and other lords of the empire[h]; so that his army was very formidable. As no emperor of Germany had ever been in Italy since the time of Frederic II. pope Clement V. though he had before invited him, now put himself at the head of the confederacy against him. The greatness of Henry's army and court, rendered his marches very slow, a circumstance which was of some service to the Florentines. The Ghibelins, however, joined the emperor. Even Dante himself, in one of his epistles, bitterly reproaches the Florentines for their conduct in resisting him; and many messages passed between them and Henry, who continued most of the year about Milan, Cremona, Brescia, and other places in that neighbourhood. The Florentines still continued obstinate; yet many of the wiser and more moderate amongst them, proposed an act of amnesty, for re-admitting their exiled brethren, which at last passed; but by the intrigues of one Baldi, a mercenary lawyer, it was clogged with great numbers of exceptions, which afterwards proved very detrimental to the state. Among the excepted was Dante the poet.

The emperor marches into Italy.

Great numbers, however, were restored by this act of amnesty, and the confederacy now extended to Florence, Lucca, Sienna, Pistoia, Bologna, Citta di Castello, and a great number of other smaller states, all of which ranged themselves under the banners of Robert, king of Sicily, and Bologna was appointed the place of rendezvous for all their forces, as being most convenient for preventing the emperor's march into Tuscany. The emperor spent the winter at Genoa, which lent him twenty long gallies, and in the following March he arrived at Pisa, in his way to Rome; but remained some days at Viterbo, that he might the better understand the state of Italy, which he found most miserably divided. His intention was to re-establish the imperial authority in that country. He had received the crown of Lombardy at Milan; but he could not prevail upon the pope and the cardinals to crown him in Rome. Having, however, a great faction in that city, he resolved to force his way into it, though he was op-

A.D. 1311.

[h] Muratori, tom. ix. p. 259. Heiss's Hist. of the Empire, p. 329.

posed

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posed by John, prince of Morea, brother to Robert, king of Sicily. The Florentines sent a strong reinforcement to their friends at Rome; so that it was with the utmost difficulty the emperor forced his way into the city, where he was tumultuously crowned by some cardinals, in the church of St. John Lateran. This irregular coronation would have been but of little service to him, had he not been favoured by the intestine divisions which at this time prevailed all over Italy. He had made himself master of Milan and Cremona, the latter by force; and obliged Parma, Vicenza, and Piacenza, to acknowlege his authority, and pay him money. Padua paid him one hundred thousand crowns, and submitted to receive a governor; Venice made him a present of a magnificent crown of gold, enriched with diamonds; and he appointed governors in all the cities that acknowleged his dominion. He was enraged beyond all measure at the king of Sicily and the Florentines, to whom he imputed all the difficulties he encountered. His German army, by this time, was so greatly harrassed and weakened, that he was in no condition to march against Robert; he, therefore, resolved to vent his rage upon Florence, and advanced against that state by the way of Perugia, Cortona, and Arezzo, keeping the Appennines on his right. In his march, he was joined by all the Florentine exiles, who had been excepted out of the late act of amnesty. The Florentines, mean while, were not wanting to themselves: they called in all their troops, which were in excellent order, and charged their generals to do all in their power to oppose the emperor; but, if possible, to avoid a battle. The emperor, however, made himself master of several places of their territories; and at last arrived at Ancisa, where the Florentine army was so strongly intrenched, that he could not have proceeded, had he not been directed in his march by the Florentine exiles, who knew the country. His animosity against Florence hurried him into a wrong step, by his leaving Ancisa, and the main part of the Florentine army, at his back, and marching against Florence, which he immediately invested on the side of the Casantine gate.

A.D. 1312.

Coronation of the emperor at Rome.

Marches against Florence;

The Florentines, at sight of the imperial army, imagined their troops had been totally defeated at Ancisa, and this belief threw them into a consternation that terminated in despair. They manned their walls, and repaired their fortifications; but the emperor did not take the first advantage of their terror, and assault the city, in which case he probably would have made himself master of the place[i]. The

which he besieges.

[i] Aretin. p. 90.

bishop

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bishop of Botronto, who, at this time, attended Henry, accounts for this omission, by telling us, that the emperor then was in a desperare state of health; that he had not with him above three hundred horse; that his camp was unprovided of every thing, through the madness of the Germans, who had made a military desart wherever they marched; and that they were obliged to buy, at double price, their provisions from the Ghibelins, who left him as soon as their turn was served. In fact, the Florentines, from despair, reflected with amazement on their own condition. They summoned their confederates to their assistance, and the Lucqueſe sent them three thousand foot, and six hundred horse. In a few hours, their own army arrived from Ancisa, by a different route from what the emperor had taken, and they were now so secure, that though Henry was encamped within three hundred paces of their walls, they scarcely perceived that they were besieged.

Is forced to raise the siege.

On the last day of November, he raised the siege, but not without being harrassed in his retreat by the Florentines. When he came to Cascіano, which he besieged, he received a strong reinforcement from Pisa of three thousand foot, five hundred horse, and one thousand Genoese cross-bows. The bishop of Botronto acknowleges, that the Germans committed great irregularities during this siege, by burning a great many places, and pillaging others. Amongst the latter was the castle of St. Mary, where Contardi, of the family of Filache, then one of the noblest in Venice, was made prisoner. The Ghibelin faction were earnest with the emperor to have taken off this nobleman's head, that he might thereby strike the greater terror into his enemies: the emperor, however, chose to dismiss him in safety, on condition of his returning to Florence, and endeavouring to conciliate the minds of his countrymen to the emperor. Contardi acquitted himself like a man of honour as to the conditions of his release; but without success. On his return to the emperor, he imputed the obstinacy of the Florentines to the bishop of Florence and his clergy, who were perpetually haranguing the people to stand by their liberties against the emperor. Henry, while he lay before Cascіano, was so little formidable to the Florentines, that they dismissed their auxiliaries, and harrassed him to such a degree, that he was forced to raise the siege, and removed to Poggiobonza [k], where he rebuilt the fortifications that had been razed by Charles of Anjou. But though it was now in the middle of winter, his army was so harrassed by the Flo-

[k] Iter Italicum. p. 929. Aretin. p. 90.

rentines,

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rentines, that he was obliged to keep the field till the beginning of January. A.D.1313.

The emperor's obstinacy, however, in continuing this war, gave the Florentines such apprehensions, that they resolved to apply to Robert, king of Naples, for assistance, as they expected he would renew the war next spring with more fury than ever. They chose for their ambassadors, Giacomo Bardi and Dardano Acciaioli. These were instructed to repair to Sienna and Perugia, that they might excite those states to join in the common cause, and likewise to apply to the Lucquese and Bolognese. All of them ordered their deputies to join with those of Florence. Robert received the deputies with the utmost affection, and promised, if the affairs of his kingdom would suffer him, to put himself at the head of the Tuscan confederacy in person; and in the mean time, he sent his brother Peter to their assistance with a body of cavalry. This gave great spirits to the Florentines; but they were quickly damped by a demand made upon them by Robert, of three months pay for his horsemen. The demand was the more unseasonable, as the state had been put to so great expence, that the public treasury was exhausted. In vain they applied to Robert for a mitigation of his demand; and part of the money being paid, they expected he would fulfil his promise. Robert knew the dread the Florentines were under of subjection to the emperor, and trifled with them so long, that they were forced to come to a resolution of offering him the sovereignty of their city and dominions for five years. This agreement was made by the presidents, who were vested with authority from the people for that purpose; but upon the following express conditions: that the king himself in person, or one of his sons or brothers, should reside in Florence; that no exile should be restored; that the people should be governed by their own laws; and that the power of the presidents should continue. Deputies were then appointed by the state, who repaired to Naples, and made a tender to Robert of his new sovereignty. That prince began his government with an act of justice highly approved of by the Florentines; for the presidents, who had been the main instruments of conferring the government upon him, presuming upon the great services they had done him, solicited for certain immunities to themselves and their families, and other privileges, which were incompatible with the liberties of the people; but Robert, after having ratified the instrument by which he received the government, rejected this application with the utmost disdain.

The Florentines apply to Robert, king of Naples.

They transfer the government of their city to him for five years.

While

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The emperor leagues with the king of Sicily against him.

The emperor dies.

While the emperor continued at Poggiobonza, he entered into a league with Frederic, king of Sicily, against Robert. Their intention was to invade the kingdom of Naples; and Frederic, for that purpose, furnished the emperor with a large sum of money. This supply enabled Henry to take into his pay seventy Genoese gallies, to hire more troops in Germany, and to make other preparations, which might have proved fatal both to Florence and Robert, had not the emperor himself died at Buonconvento, near Sienna, in the midst of his expedition against Florence and its confederates. Authors of no mean rank tell us he was poisoned by a friar, in administering to him the sacrament[1], at the instigation of the Florentines. Before his death he summoned all the princes and states of Italy, not only to do him homage, but to pay him tribute. The Florentines, and their allies, had the courage to oppose him; for which reason he denounced vengeance against them, and published edicts, putting both them and Robert, king of Naples, to the ban of the empire. Certain it is, Henry's death happened very critically for them and their allies, as well as for the king of Naples, because it absolutely destroyed the strong confederacy that had been formed against them. The Genoese fleet was dismissed, and the imperial army returned to Germany; while Frederic, who was then besieging Reggio, was obliged to return with his army to Sicily. The face of affairs all over Italy was now changed. The Florentines and their allies had been highly exasperated against the Pisans, for the assistance they had given to Henry, and determined to take a severe vengeance. The Pisans chose for their governor Uguccio Fagiolani, in hopes of being able, by his means, to break or weaken the confederacy against them. Fagiolani immediately took into his pay eight hundred German horse, part of the emperor's army, and made great preparations against the Lucquese, who, upon that occasion, imitated the example of the Florentines, by putting themselves under the protection of the king of Naples. This advantage, however, rendered them less alert than they had been before in the field, because they trusted too much to Robert's protection. The Florentines punctually performed all their engagements with the Lucquese, and Fagiolani, for some time, thought proper to shut himself
A.D.1314. up in Pisa. But no sooner did the confederates retire than he attacked the Lucquese territories with so much fury, that he forced them to accept of a scandalous peace, by which they

[1] Vide Murator. Annal. d'Italia, ad an. 1313.

delivered

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delivered up several of their forts to the Pisans, and were obliged to re-admit into their city all their Ghibelin exiles. The latter demanded to be re-instated in their effects; but this demand meeting with opposition, a civil war broke out in the city. The Florentines had remonstrated, in the strongest terms, against the pusillanimity of the Lucquese in concluding the late peace; but still they supported their friends in Lucca. The Ghibelin faction there, on the other hand, applied to Fagiolani, who came to their assistance with his German horse, plundered the houses of both parties in Lucca, and drove all the Lucquese Guelphs out of that city.

Good faith of the Florentines.

So sudden a revolution of government could take place only in an Italian state, balanced, as that of Lucca was, between two powerful parties. The Lucquese exiles retired to some estates they had upon the Lower Arno, where they implored the protection of the Florentines, which they obtained in an eminent degree. They not only sent them succours, by which they were enabled to maintain their forts, but applied, by an embassy, to the king of Naples for assistance. Robert, to keep up his credit with the Tuscan states, whom he now considered as his subjects, immediately ordered his brother Peter to march at the head of a body of horse to Florence. Peter's first care was to accommodate matters with the Arezzians, whose government continued yet to be Ghibelin, lest they should join with Fagiolani, and the Ghibelins of Lucca and Pisa. This great point being effected, the Florentines applied themselves entirely to the war against Pisa; while Fagiolani as vigorously prosecuted that against the exiled Lucquese, the Pistoians, the people of Miniato, the Volterrans, and other states confederated with Florence, which were open to his incursions. At last he formed the siege of Catino. Mean while Philip, prince of Tarentum, another brother of Robert, king of Naples, came to Florence, and gave such life to the Florentines, that they put him at the head of all the troops they could muster up, and he marched to raise the siege of Catino. Fagiolani, on his side, made suitable preparations to meet him; but, as he was inferior in strength, he remained on the defensive, though without raising the siege. But this general found himself under a necessity of returning to Lucca, where his presence was necessary to prevent a new revolution. This motion, however, he could not make without coming to a battle. Amongst the confederates of Florence were the Siennese and Colleneſe (C), whom Fagiolani attacked with such

Lucquese exiles succoured by the Florentines.

A.D. 1315.

(C) The inhabitants of Colle, a town of Tuscany, so small that it scarcely deserves that name, though it is the seat of a bishop-

fury,

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fury, that he drove them upon the main body of the Florentines. The latter, however, bravely made head againſt their enemies; but Fagiolani's German horſe breaking in, they were put to a total rout, and two thouſand of them were cut in pieces, beſides great numbers who were drowned. Philip, who commanded the army, was that day ſick, ſo that the command devolved upon his younger brother Peter, who, together with Philip's eldeſt ſon Charles, was killed in the battle [m]. This victory was not bloodleſs on the ſide of Fagiolani: he loſt his eldeſt ſon, and his firſt line of infantry was almoſt deſtroyed.

The Florentines expreſſed great diſſatisfaction at the conduct of their commanders on that fatal day, and it was increaſed when they ſaw Catino ſurrendered to the conqueror, and that the king of Naples made no motion for aſſiſting them. At laſt they began to talk of chuſing another protector, when Novello, one of Robert's generals came, but with ſcarce any attendance, to put himſelf at the head of their army. This diſappointment rendered the Florentines ſtill more outrageous. Two factions, the Royaliſts and the Anti-Royaliſts, ſprung up in the city, who often came to blows with each other; and there muſt have been an end of the Florentine liberty, had not the Piſans, in attempting to throw off Fagiolani's yoke, given his army ſuch a diverſion that the Florentines had time to breathe.

A.D. 1316. *The Piſans rebel againſt Fagiolani.*

It was at this period that the famous Caſtruccio Caſtracani appeared. This young man, of wonderful endowments both of body and mind, was one of the Lucqueſe, who, upon the late revolution, had been re-admitted into that city; where, falling under Fagiolani's diſpleaſure, was impriſoned, when he was at the height of his reputation, after having done Fagiolani the moſt important ſervices. This laſt made no ſecret that he intended to put him to death; but the Lucqueſe took arms in his favour, and freed him from his impriſonment. Fagiolani, hearing of this inſurrection, marched out of Piſa, intending to reduce the contumacious Lucqueſe; but he was no ſooner gone than the Piſans ſhut their gates againſt his return, while the Lucqueſe expelled him their city; and thus, in one day, he loſt two principalities, and was obliged to fly with his ſon to Lerici. Both the Piſans and Lucqueſe, after this tranſaction, put themſelves under the protection of the king of Naples, to the great diſcontent of the Florentines, who were in hopes of being revenged upon the Piſans for

[m] Aretin, p. 95. Janotti Manetti Hiſtoria, apud Muratorium, vol. xix. p. 1030.

their

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their defeat at Catino: being afraid, however, of injuring the common cause by disunion, they at last ratified what the king had done.

This year is remarkable for a new regulation made in Florence, by which every horseman, who went to war, was to have his helmet, breast-plate, gauntlets, cuisses, and boots all of iron; a precaution which was taken on account of the disadvantages their cavalry had suffered from their light armour at the battle of Catino. Guido, a Tuscan count, whose estate lay in the neighbourhood of Florence, was then governor of the city under Robert, who grew daily more and more unpopular; not so much from any real grounds of dissatisfaction the people had, but because the seeds of enmity still subsisting among the noble families, if one favoured the king, it was cause sufficient for the other to oppose him. Guido was perfectly well acquainted with the interests and dispositions of the Florentines, and acted with such wisdom and moderation, that he compromised above fifty capital quarrels subsisting amongst noble families, and, by this conduct, all of them were reconciled to the king; so that he reduced Florence to such a state of tranquillity and unanimity that it had scarce ever known before.

New regulation about armour.

Robert, king of Naples, was at this time at Genoa, of which city a faction had put him in possession. Meeting, however, with a strong opposition, he applied to the Florentines and their allies, for assistance, which was accordingly sent him, and did him great service. The empire was vacant, and had continued so ever since the death of the emperor Henry of Luxemburg. Pope Clement V. had condemned the memory of that emperor, and reversed his sentence against Robert, king of Naples. Not content with these steps, he pretended that Robert was his vassal, and that the Holy See had a right to govern the empire during its vacancy; he, therefore, named Robert to be the imperial, or rather the papal vicar, over all the imperial fiefs and possessions in Italy, and it was under that pretext he had got footing in Genoa. The expelled Genoese, however, being supported by France, Robert could not have maintained his interest in that city, without the assistance of the Florentines. Upon the death of Clement V. John XXII. succeeded to the see of Rome. Although his father was only a shoe-maker, he pretended to the same right his predecessors had exercised of deposing kings, and disposing of empires; but the Ghibelin interest was at this time very strong in Italy. The Florentines had weakened themselves by the great supplies they had sent to Genoa and France against Robert's enemies. The bishop of Arezzo

A.D. 1316.

The Florentines assist the king of Naples.

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Arezzo had again, in a manner, got poſſeſſion of that city; and Caſtruccio of Lucca, who was a ſoldier of fortune, having been practiſed upon by the Ghibelins, influenced the Lucqueſe to declare againſt the Florentines. Thus Florence had a more formidable enemy than ever to encounter, no general in Italy being then thought comparable to Caſtruccio, either for intereſt or reputation. All at once, he invaded and laid waſte the territories of Florence, and took many fortified places, proceeding as far as Empoli. The Florentines, upon this invaſion, were obliged to recall one thouſand horſe, who were ſerving the king of Naples in his Genoeſe wars. Caſtruccio, glad of this opportunity to ſhew his power, immediately marched towards Genoa, but was obliged to return by an irruption which the Florentines made into the Lucqueſe territories. His ambition was, if poſſible, to fight the Florentines; but they, conſcious of his ſuperiority, kept upon the defenſive all that year, not without a great loſs of reputation as well as territory.

Their wars with Caſtruccio.

Next year the Florentines made a league with Spinetta, a Lucqueſe nobleman of great property, whom Caſtruccio had injured; and raiſing two armies, they invaded the Lucqueſe territories from different quarters. With one they laid ſiege to Fighini; and, with the other, marched directly againſt Lucca, retaking a great many places of which they had been deprived. Caſtruccio loſt no time in oppoſing this double invaſion, and marched with wonderful expedition to the relief of Fighini. The Florentines, on his approach, abandoned the ſiege, and made a more haſty retreat than was conſiſtent with their honour. Upon which Caſtruccio recovered all the places he had loſt, and took ſeveral others [n].

The affairs of the Florentines were at this time in a low ſtate, chiefly through the loſs of reputation, and their having no man of great conſequence to conduct their affairs. They had ſuffered greatly by the ſuccours they had ſent to the king of Naples, and their other allies; and they were
A.D. 1321. ſo involved in war and difficulties, that they were obliged to create twelve aſſiſtant preſidents for the management of affairs: they likewiſe added ſome new fortifications to their city (D).

[n] Villane, lib. ix. cap. 129. Aretin, p. 93.

(D) Dante Alighieri, the celebrated Florentine poet, died this year, in exile, at Ravenna (1).

(1) Villane, lib. ix. cap. 133.

While

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While Castruccio was making himself master of Pistoia, the Florentines sent an army to the relief of their allies of Sienna, while the turbulent bishop of Arezzo besieged and took Fronzoli, and persecuted with fire and sword all the allies of Florence in the territories of Arezzo, and these had recourse to Florence for assistance. The bishop was then besieging Velona; and though the Florentines might well have excused themselves, on account of the multiplicity of the wars in which they were engaged, yet they immediately ordered a powerful assistance to their confederates. But the bishop, by this time, had taken and razed to the ground Velona; upon which the Florentine auxiliaries returned home, and the bishop retired to Arezzo. The difficulties in which the Florentines were now involved, seemed rather to increase than damp their spirits. They incessantly put their allies, who were chiefly composed of exiled Guelphs, in mind of Castruccio's power, and the danger to which the liberties of Tuscany were exposed from his ambition; and these subjects they inculcated with such success, that they once more assembled a powerful army in Florence. This checked Castruccio's progress for some time; and the Florentines even entered into a treaty with the Genoese, whom they assisted with a body of land-forces, upon condition that the Genoese should assist them with a fleet against the Lucquese, to give a diversion to Castruccio. While preparations were making for this expedition by land, an officer of approved fidelity, who had the command of three hundred horse, deserted with his men to Castruccio. The Florentines thought that this desertion had happened through the corruption of the officer; and each dreading another, the expedition came to nothing. The miscarriage afforded an opportunity to Castruccio to make a fresh irruption into the Florentine territories, as far as St. Miniato; from whence he returned triumphantly to Lucca. In the mean time, the bishop of Arezzo fell upon Fagiolani's estates, which lay at the foot of the Appennines; and, after having reduced several of his castles, besieged Rondino. This small city and territory had been always faithful to their confederacy with Florence, and the inhabitants immediately implored its protection. The Florentines found themselves in such a dangerous situation, that they could send no relief to their brave allies, who, after a resistance of some months, were obliged to give up their town to the bishop. Mean while Castruccio had advanced as far as Prato, which lies almost half way between Florence and Pistoia, and but a few miles from both. His approach spread such an alarm

A.D. 1323.

An officer revolts from the Florentines.

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through Florence, that the people, without waiting for orders, ran to arms, marched out of the city, and, to the number of twenty thousand, faced Castruccio. The latter was startled at sight of such a number, and not caring to attack an enraged multitude, though he made dispositions for fighting, he withdrew in the night from Pistoia; so that next morning the Florentines beheld no enemy. Raimondo da Cardona, who had been one of the pope's generals in France, was the Florentine commander in this expedition [o]. It is certain, that the morning after Castruccio's retreat, the Florentines were dreadfully mortified in perceiving they had no enemy to fight. The common people, and all who had served as volunteers in the expedition, were for pursuing the enemy; but the nobility opposed this plan. Violent disputes ensued in the army, and it was resolved to refer the matter to the council of presidents at Florence; but debates running as high amongst them, the common people, being joined by the inhabitants of the neighbouring towns and country, who all of them, on this occasion, repaired to Florence, forced their magistrates to continue the expedition, and to attempt the reduction of Lucca itself. Certain it is, an incredible number of people, in hopes of bringing Castruccio and his army in chains to Florence, marched to join their army near Prato. But when they advanced to the spot, the whole formed an unwieldy, disorderly concourse; and after a few altercations with the nobility, the main body returned to Florence, where new difficulties were started on the following occasion.

While the Florentines were trembling at the approach of Castruccio to Prato, they passed a decree, by which the Florentine exiles were promised re-admission into the city, if they would appear in arms, and join their countrymen against Castruccio. This brought a great body of exiles to the Florentine camp; where the nature of the disputes between the nobles and the people who returned to Florence, convinced them, that they would have some difficulty in being re-instated, notwithstanding A.D. 1324. the promise they had received. Being better mounted than the rest of the Florentine army, which was now on its march back to Florence, they thought to have got the start, and to have entered the city before them; but the prevailing party within the walls shut the gates against them; they therefore were obliged to encamp without the gates [p]. Next day the main army re-entered the city, and

[o] Manetti apud Murat. p. 1035. [p] Aretini, p. 100.

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the exiles marched to Prato, from whence they ſent eight deputies to treat with the magiſtracy and people of Florence.

Thoſe deputies found the city greatly divided. The re-admiſſion of the Florentine exiles had been carried by the preſidents, who inſiſted upon the performance of the public faith; and they were joined by the nobility, who, being now cured of their attachment to the pope, ſought to ſtrengthen their intereſt by the re-admiſſion of the exiles. The people, on the other hand, oppoſed that re-admiſſion, not only from a ſpirit of contumacy, but on account of the behaviour of the nobility in the late expedition. The party of the nobles and magiſtracy, however, prevailed ſo far, that the deputies of the exiles had a public hearing. In this audience, they ſtrongly urged the decree of the preſidents in favour of their re-admiſſion. Upon their withdrawing, one of the ſhrewdeſt among the popular advocates inſiſted, that the preſidents, who were but truſtees of the public, were not authorized, by the conſtitution of their government, to make any ſuch decree without the conſent of the people, whoſe ſenſe ought to be conſulted upon the occaſion. Great objections were likewiſe raiſed againſt the exiles for their leaving their camp, and attempting to force their way into the city. The Florentines proceeded to ballot, which, in this queſtion, went greatly againſt the exiles; the aſſembly was, therefore, diſmiſſed, and the exiles came to a reſolution of forcing their way into the city. The citizens, ſuſpecting the matter, doubled their guards; ſo that when the exiles, to the number of fifteen thouſand, came to execute their deſign, they perceived it had been diſcovered, and found themſelves under a neceſſity of retiring[q].

Diviſions in Florence.

The exiles diſappointed.

Their appearance before the gates was evidence ſufficient to the people that they had accomplices in the city; but the popular proceedings on this occaſion, though without precedent, were, beyond all example, wiſe and moderate. Having no poſitive proof againſt any individual, and yet convinced that ſome of them were guilty, they met in a body, when every perſon writing down the name he ſuſpected, all the notes were thrown into a kind of balloting-box; and, upon examination, it was found, that, by the plurality of the aſſembly's tickets, their ſuſpicions were fixed on three perſons, Amerigo or Americo Donati, Teghiaio Freſcobaldi, and Lotteringo Gherardini. Theſe noblemen being cited, appeared before the magiſtracy,

[q] Machiavel. delle Hiſtor. lib. ii.

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where they justified the suspicion of the people by owning that they knew of the conspiracy of the exiles, but that they had not encouraged it. However, each had a moderate fine imposed upon him, and was subject to a short banishment. This sentence being pronounced, the people furnished themselves with what they called penons, which were diminutives of their great flags of arms, to which they could resort on occasions, either when they could not join their great standards, or when their magistrates prohibited their being displayed.

A.D. 1325. *New regulations in Florence.*

At this time, the constitution of Florence underwent a new and an important alteration. The election of magistrates had hitherto been carried by a majority; but this method proving the source of great heats in the state, it was agreed that the electors, who consisted of the president and the members of the colleges, should write upon tickets, and inclose in a chest, the names of such citizens as they conceived to be proper for magistrates; and that, when the day of election came, so many of those names should be casually taken out, after shaking the chest or coffer, according to the number to be chosen; and those names that were first drawn were to be the magistrates elect. It was decreed, however, that no man could be a magistrate who had served in the same post within three years, or who had a brother or near relation in the magistracy. Their authority was to continue three years and a half.

While Florence was thus providing for the security of her liberty, she was in danger of losing her territory, which Castruccio was laying waste on the one hand; while the bishop of Arezzo, on the other, reduced Citta di Castello. The neighbourhood and power of the Arezzian prelate alarmed some of the Tuscan states so greatly, Peruggia particularly, that they renewed their league with Florence for three years, and resolved to attempt the recovery of Citta di Castello. Castruccio, who had excellent intelligence of the motions of his enemies, was at this time lying near Fucetti, a town of great importance on the frontiers of Lucca, in possession of the Florentines. Being unable to take it by force, he had recourse to money, and corrupted part of its garrison with a large sum; so that he found admittance, in a dark and stormy night, with one hundred and fifty horse and five hundred foot. The uncorrupted part of the garrison, and the citizens, finding they were betrayed, ran to arms, and drove Castruccio, after a most bloody encounter, to the upper part of the town; where he was obliged to barricade himself and his troops, in hopes of being joined next day by the main body of his

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his army. But the neighbouring garriſons in the intereſt of Florence, ſuſpecting what had happened, from the fires they ſaw lighted up in the night within the place, ſent ſuch reinforcements next morning to the garriſon, that Caſtruccio could no longer maintain his ground; and, receiving a wound in his face, he eſcaped with great difficulty, and with the loſs of almoſt his whole party. In the courſe of this year there was, by tacit conſent, a kind of a ceſſation of arms between the Florentines and the Arezzians; but the former joined their troops with the Sienneſe, the Bologneſe, and their other confederates, in the expedition againſt Citta di Caſtello. By this time Caſtruccio had become entirely maſter of Piſtoia, where he gave his daughter in marriage to Philip, who ſome time before had for that purpoſe poiſoned his former wife.

Progreſs of the war between Caſtruccio and the Florentines.

The Florentines and their confederates had ſtill Raimond at their head, and Caſtruccio remained on the defenſive, ſhut up in Piſtoia. Raimond, in order to draw him to a battle, made diſpoſitions as if he was about to beſiege Ticiani, and ſent out foraging parties to the very gates of Piſtoia. Theſe movements amuſed Caſtruccio, ſo that Raimond made himſelf maſter of ſeveral places. This great ſucceſs of the allies gave the Florentines ſuch ſpirits, that they reinforced their army under Raimond, ſo as that the whole amounted to twenty thouſand foot, beſides horſe. They then beſieged Altopaſcio, a very ſtrong place, with a garriſon of five hundred men, but very unwholſomely ſituated on the ſide of a lake. The beſieged, expecting every day to be relieved by Caſtruccio, made an obſtinate defence; but the diſeaſes which the allies contracted, during the ſiege, ruined their army. Caſtruccio advanced to the relief of the place, and did all that an able general, at the head of an army inferior to that of his enemies, could do to raiſe the ſiege; but he being defeated in ſeveral encounters, the town was yielded to the allies. A great diviſion now ſucceeded amongſt them, concerning their ſubſequent operations: ſome were for returning to Florence, on account of the great mortality that raged in their army, and the diminution of their troops by leave of abſence, and other accidents. The majority, however, carried it for an expedition againſt Lucca itſelf; and an advanced party of one hundred horſe was detached before to reconnoitre. Theſe were attacked by the like number from Caſtruccio's army, which remained ſtill in the neighbourhood; and both parties being ſupported from their main bodies, a general engagement followed, in which the braveſt on both ſides were killed, and Caſtruccio himſelf was wounded;

The Florentines defeated.

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but the day was decided in his favour, though Cardona made an orderly retreat, and even laid ſome claim to the victory.

Raimond, however, could not re-inſpire the Florentines with courage ſufficient to keep the field, and their dejection after the battle appeared in proportion to their former preſumption. Caſtruccio, on the other hand, ſenſible of the important victory he had obtained, made diſpoſitions for carrying on the war againſt the Florentines with greater vigour than ever. For this purpoſe he applied to Galeazzo, viſconti of Milan, who detached to his aſſiſtance his ſon Azzo, a young prince of great fire and courage, with eight hundred horſe. While they were upon their march, Caſtruccio found means to ſpread ſo many ſuſpicious reports amongſt the Florentines, that their general did not find it ſafe for him to attempt intercepting the Milaneſe. But no ſooner was it known that the latter were in the neighbourhood of Lucca, than the Florentine army fell back to Altopaſcio, and from thence to Fucetti. They were purſued by Caſtruccio and the Milaneſe, who fell in with their rear, and drove the Florentines into ſuch a ſituation, that they had no ſafety but by fighting. A deſperate battle enſued, in which their lieutenant-general, under Raimond, gave way. The Milaneſe horſe making themſelves maſters of a bridge by which the Florentines were to retreat, a terrible ſlaughter followed, in which the Florentines were cut in pieces, and their general, with his ſon, were taken priſoners by Caſtruccio, who likewiſe made himſelf maſter of all their camp and baggage[r]. Caſtruccio improved this victory by conquering the Florentine territory, and laying it waſte to the very gates of Florence, which he inſulted for ſome days with all the indignities he could deviſe. He then returned by the way of Prato to Lucca, where he paid his Milaneſe auxiliaries out of the immenſe booty he had made in the field. This punctuality was ſo pleaſing to Azzo, that, in revenge, as he ſaid, for the Florentines having always taken part againſt the viſconti of Milan, he led his horſe once more againſt the Florentines; but not being able to bring them to a battle, he braved the inhabitants within their walls, returned to Lucca, and from thence went home.

Florence was at this time in a moſt deplorable ſituation. Caſtruccio renewed his ravages, and burnt down all that his fury had ſpared before. Theſe ravages obliged the country people, with their families, to fly to Florence, a circum-

[r] Machiavel. delle Hiſtorie, lib. ii.

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ſtance which created firſt a famine, and then a peſtilence. There muſt now have been an end of that republic, had it not been for the moderation of the biſhop of Arezzo, who began to grow jealous of Caſtruccio's greatneſs. The latter had repeatedly ſolicited that prelate, and the Arezzians, to revenge the former injuries and loſſes they had ſuffered from the Florentines, and to undertake the ſiege of that city on one ſide, while he ſhould preſs it on the other. The prelate rejected this propoſal; upon which Caſtruccio carried his devaſtations into the Florentine territories lying towards the vale of Mugelli, at the foot of the Appennines. The reader who knows the fertility and riches of the Florentine territory, will not be ſurpriſed at Caſtruccio's ſtill finding freſh objects of rapine and devaſtation. He met with no oppoſition in the field; but, upon his return towards Segna, which lay within ſight of Florence, the Florentines ſent out one thouſand foot and two hundred horſe, to diſpute an advantageous paſs by which he was obliged to march. Had this order been expeditiouſly executed, Caſtruccio, in all probability, muſt have been defeated, or, at leaſt, forced to reſign the effects and cattle he had taken; but he had got clear of the paſs before the Florentines came up, and arrived ſafe at Segna; where he ordered money to be ſtruck in commemoration of his ſucceſs [9].

Conſtancy of the Florentines.

The Florentines bore their misfortune with incredible conſtancy: they named two new officers to take care of the fortifications of the city, which were repaired and improved, and took precautions for preventing Caſtruccio's return to the vale of Mugelli. In the mean time the pope, being exaſperated at the biſhop of Arezzo, for having taken Citta di Caſtello, and holding it againſt his expreſs injunctions and commands, ſtruck off Cortona from the ſee of Arezzo, and named one Rainer, of the family of Uberti, for its firſt biſhop. Guido, biſhop of Arezzo, looking upon the erection of this new biſhoprick to be a robbery committed upon himſelf, immediately laid ſiege to Laterina, while the Arezzians demoliſhed the houſes, and plundered the eſtates of the Uberti family. Laterina was taken and razed to the ground by the prelate, who afterwards reduced and demoliſhed Sabinum.

Theſe ſucceſſes of the biſhop of Arezzo rendered Caſtruccio jealous in his turn. He offered to treat with the Florentines for peace, and for that purpoſe employed the chief priſoners who were in his hands. The Florentines were ſo exaſperated by the loſſes they had ſuſtained, that

[9] Aretin. p. 90.

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they not only declined all advances towards a peace, but deprived the friends and relations of the captives of all places of power and trust they had in the government, lest they should favour the negociations. At the same time they raised fresh troops, and though their capital enemy was in a manner at their gates, they sent two hundred horse to the assistance of their Bolognese allies. Upon this provocation Castruccio laid siege to Murli, a town in the neighbourhood of Prato, which was so bravely defended by Adimar and Pattio, that all his efforts were baffled, and he was at last obliged to turn the siege into a kind of blockade.

A.D. 1326. Then he renewed his incursions to the gates of Florence, from which his troops were driven with great loss. He afterwards resumed the siege of Murli, which continued to make a gallant defence; but the garrison, having no prospect of relief, was obliged to surrender upon an honourable capitulation.

The Florentines resign their city to the prince of Tarentum.

During those distresses, the Florentines applied for protection once more to the court of Naples, and resigned the government of their city, for ten years, into the hands of Charles, prince of Tarentum, son to that king, who made great preparations for taking possession of his new government. A Frenchman, whose name was Peter, then commanded the Florentine army; and a great number of his countrymen serving in Castruccio's troops, he found means to enter into a conspiracy with them for delivering the important fortress of Segna into his hands. This conspiracy was discovered, and the heads of it were put to death; but the discovery tended only to render Castruccio's troops jealous of one another, so that he came to a resolution of razing the place. Peter, who knew nothing of the discovery, advanced with a body of troops against Segna, where he found the gates shut against him; while Castruccio himself renewed his ravages in the Florentine territories. He afterwards demolished Segna, and removed his head-quarters to Carmignano, where he over-reached the Frenchman in his own arts, by means of certain emissaries, who pretended they would betray this place into his hands. Peter marched with a body of troops to take possession, and in his march fell into a strong ambuscade, which had been formed by Castruccio. He was taken prisoner, and put to death by Castruccio, because he had acted against him, in breach of an oath he had taken when he was formerly his captive [p]. This disaster served to redouble the instances of the Florentines at the court of Naples, for

[p] Villani, lib. ix. cap. 328.

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haſtening the march of Charles to their aſſiſtance. They increaſed the appointments they were to pay him, and engaged to defray the expence of ſix thouſand additional troops while the war laſted.

About this time cardinal Orſini arrived at Florence, as legate from the pope, and waited ſome time for the arrival of Charles, to conſult upon the means of reſtoring the tranquillity of Tuſcany. Charles, in his approach to Florence, ſpent ſome time at Sienna, to ſecure his intereſt in that city. At laſt he entered Florence with ſuch a retinue as alarmed many of the Florentines, who ſignified their apprehenſions that their public liberty was about to fall a ſacrifice to Charles and the legate.

Galeazzo, viſconti of Milan, was well apprized of their apprehenſions. Being an enemy alike to the pope and the king of Naples, he prevailed with the Ghibeline faction, both in Florence and all over Italy, to invite the emperor Lewis V. of Bavaria, to come in perſon to their aſſiſtance. John XXII. continued ſtill to ſit in the papal chair, and had again and again excommunicated Lewis. The latter, however, receiving great encouragement in Germany, as well as in Italy, to proceed in the expedition, paſſed the Alps, and arrived at Trent, with his empreſs. He there ſummoned a general aſſembly of all the Italian Ghibelines; and his proſpect of ſucceſs was ſo fair, that, in the beginning of next year he marched to Milan, where he was crowned king of Lombardy, by the hands of the turbulent biſhop of Arezzo: but Lewis being poor, fleeced the Italian ſtates ſo immoderately, that they ſoon became tired of his government. Caſtruccio was by him honoured with the title of his vicar in Tuſcany, and ſtill continued the war againſt Florence. The courage of Charles, the new Florentine governor, was far from anſwering expectations. Inſtead of taking the field in perſon, he gave the command of his army to Novello, one of his officers, who took Monte Alverno, and ſome other places, in the ſight of Caſtruccio. But while he was in this career of ſucceſs, he was recalled by Charles to oppoſe the emperor, who had paſſed the Apennines, and was in full march towards Piſa. Novello's return to Florence gave Caſtruccio leiſure to pay his reſpects to the emperor, and to make him a preſent of a conſiderable ſum of money. By this time the Piſans, having conceived an invincible averſion to Lewis, came to a reſolution to deny him admittance into their city. This was the more remarkable, becauſe they were among the firſt of the Italians who had invited him into Italy; but his

A.D.1327.

A.D.1328.

excluſion

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excluſion was owing to the rapaciouſneſs of himſelf and his attendants, great numbers of whom were Franciſcan monks. The Piſans, however, that they might keep ſome meaſures of decency with him, offered him ſixty thouſand florins if he would poſtpone his viſit to their city. The offer was refuſed, and the Piſans diſmiſſed all the German cavalry that was in their pay, but kept their horſes; and came to the reſolution, if they were attacked, to call to their aid Charles and the Florentines. Lewis had intelligence of all thoſe proceedings, and Florence owed her liberty, at this time, to the firmneſs of the Piſans, and the differences between Caſtruccio and the biſhop of Arezzo.

Lewis thought it of dangerous conſequence to his affairs to be refuſed admittance into Piſa, and appointed commiſſioners to treat with the magiſtracy, who would not ſuffer them to enter the city; but conſented to ſend deputies to treat with the biſhop of Arezzo, upon their receiving a ſafe-conduct for their return, which they accordingly did; but nothing could be agreed upon. The deputies, in going back to Piſa, were intercepted by Caſtruccio, of whom the biſhop complained to the emperor, as if the affront had been offered to his honour, under which the deputies had treated. Caſtruccio replied with equal ſpirit, and each recriminated on the other; but it was very diſcernible, that the emperor was moſt inclinable to favour Caſtruccio. This partiality diſguſted the prelate ſo much, that he left Lewis, and probably would have reconciled himſelf to the pope and the Florentines, if he had not died in his journey to Arezzo.

Death of the biſhop of Arezzo.

After the biſhop's departure, Caſtruccio acted as general and ſole miniſter to the emperor. The Piſans continuing refractory, their city was beſieged and taken; but we know of no ſeverities inflicted on the inhabitants, farther than that they were burthened with the entertainment of the emperor for almoſt two months, and forced to furniſh him with a ſum of money, and other neceſſaries, for continuing his journey to Rome [a].

Charles of Naples no ſooner heard that the emperor was ſet out for Rome, than calling together a general aſſembly of the Florentines, he laid before them the neceſſity he was under of returning to defend Naples againſt the emperor and Caſtruccio; but he acquainted them, that he would leave them for his deputy-governor Philip, one of his ableſt generals, with one thouſand horſe. He then ſet out for Naples by the way of Sienna and Perugia.

[a] Machiavel, delle Hiſtorie, lib. ii.

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Upon the departure of Charles, Philip resolved on an enterprize which makes a great figure in the Florentine history; and that was no less than the surprizal of Pistoia, where Castruccio had left seven hundred men in garrison, all of them choice troops. He concerted his measures with two Pistoian Guelph exiles, who promised to be his conductors, and a Neapolitan nobleman, whose name was Simon Tosa[o]. All others were ignorant of his design; and this probably was the chief reason why it succeeded. In consequence of their agreement, he marched to Prato, where he prepared scaling-ladders, and other instruments and machines for his purpose; and being attended with a body of two thousand foot, and six hundred horse, he arrived that very night under the walls of Pistoia. It was then the dead of winter, and the frost so severe, that the waters in the ditches were passable, whereby the exiles came near enough to the walls to mount them by the assistance of their scaling-ladders: these were followed by about one hundred of their party; while those without, passing the ditches, attempted with pick-axes, and other instruments, to penetrate the walls, in which at last they made two small breaches. *Pistoia taken by the Florentines.*

Mean while the commandant of the place, in going his rounds, perceiving what was passing, alarmed the garrison, who at first imagining that the town had been betrayed by the inhabitants, were somewhat backward in standing to their arms; but seeing the townsmen, who were by this time likewise alarmed, charge the enemy with great vigour, they seconded them so well, that the Florentines who had entered must have been cut in pieces or driven back, had not the breaches been so widened, that Philip entered them at the head of some of his horse, by which means he somewhat checked the fury of the townsmen and the garrison. Nevertheless, the latter was so well supported, that the assailants must have been repelled with great loss, had they not found means to set fire to the gates, by which the whole body, both of horse and foot, entered the place, and, after a very bloody dispute, fought their way to the market-place. This success was in a great measure owing to the active intrepidity of Philip, who exposed himself to all kinds of danger, and ordered a body of his horse to secure the breaches, so as to take from his own soldiers all hopes of flying. The assailants were likewise greatly favoured by the confusion and hurry of the women, children, and the more fearful part of the citizens, who greatly alarmed and

[o] Manetti, ubi supra, p. 1044.

disordered

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disordered the garrison and townsmen; and Castruccio's two sons retiring with the garrison to the citadel, the townsmen returned to their several homes. The Florentines seeing now no enemy, dispersed themselves all over the town; so that when Philip marched to force the citadel, he was attended with a very inconsiderable number of his soldiers, and those mostly officers. The garrison resolving to seize this opportunity, attacked him with great fury; and it was with the utmost difficulty he could maintain his ground till day-break, when his straggling soldiers, hearing of their general's danger, and ashamed of their own irregularities, rejoined him; while the garrison retired to the citadel, which they soon after abandoned. The Florentines becoming thus absolute masters both of the town and citadel, again gave a loose to the spirit of rapine, and plundered equally friends as foes. Philip having settled affairs, and left a garrison in Pistoia, returned, in ten days from his first setting out upon his expedition, to Florence, where he was received with triumphal honours[r].

The emperor crowned at Rome.

In the mean time the emperor and his consort had entered Rome; and though he had been formerly excommunicated by the pope, he was received there as emperor by the Ghibelin faction, and crowned emperor, by two excommunicated bishops, on the 17th of January, without taking the usual oath of fidelity to the holy see. The Romans, at this time, seemed to have forgot there was such a person as a pope in being. The Colonne, the Orsini, the Savelli, and Conti families, who were the great barons of Rome and its territory, supported the imperial against the papal dignity; and Lewis appeared, on all occasions, in imperial robes, as lord paramount of all Italy. Castruccio continued to be still his distinguished favourite; and such was the confidence he reposed in that warrior, that he gave him not only the title of count, but the government of Rome.

There is some reason for believing that these honours were paid Castruccio, not more on account of his personal merits, than from the apprehensions Lewis was under from his active ambitious spirit. When Castruccio understood that Pistoia was lost, he forgot himself so far as even to reproach the emperor for having obliged him to attend him; and without more ceremony left Rome, attended with his own troops, consisting of one thousand cross-bows, and six hundred chosen horse, and set out for Pisa; but in his march, through impatience and solicitude, he left his

[r] Villani, lib. x. cap. 57.

troops

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troops behind him, and, through almoſt impaſſable dangerous roads, entered Piſa, with no more than twelve followers. There, being ſupported by the imperialiſts, whoſe cauſe he ſaid was the ſame as his own, he raiſed money for executing his deſigns.

Difference between the Florentines and Philip.

Gratitude is ſeldom the diſtinguiſhing virtue of republicans. Notwithſtanding the extaſies with which the Florentines had received Philip, upon his return from his Piſtoian expedition, they ſoon fell at variance with him when he inſiſted upon their being at the expence of providing all things neceſſary for keeping poſſeſſion of Piſtoia. They pleaded, that they had punctually performed all agreements with his maſter, and that he ought to provide for the ſafety of the place out of the plunder he had obtained. Philip replied, by urging the laws and practice of war; and thus, in the heat of the diſpute, the ſecurity of Piſtoia was unprovided for. Caſtruccio was minutely informed of all that paſſed; and, before the parties could come to an accommodation, he inveſted Piſtoia with a great army, which he had aſſembled at Piſa and Lucca.

Piſtoia beſieged and retaken.

Simon Toſa commanded at that time in Piſtoia, with a garriſon of one thouſand foot and three hundred horſe, aſſiſted by all the Piſtoian Guelphs. No ſooner was it known at Florence that the ſiege was formed, than the citizens offered to devote their lives and fortunes to Philip for the relief of the town, and actually raiſed an army of twenty thouſand foot and three thouſand horſe; at the head of which Philip went to give battle to Caſtruccio. The latter's intelligence was ſo good, that he knew the place had within it but two months proviſion; and, being no ſtranger to the abilities of Philip, he reſolved to act upon the defenſive; but, in the mean time, he ſeemed to make ſuch diſpoſitions for engaging, as prevented the Florentines from attacking him in his camp. Caſtruccio made uſe of the time which this delay gave him, in fortifying his camp with trees and paliſades, which he cut down in the neighbourhood; ſo that when the Florentines, tired out with long expectation, actually attacked it, they found it impregnable. This diſappointment threw them into great conſternation. In vain they challenged Caſtruccio, by the ſound of all the trumpets in their army, to fight them; and at laſt, finding no other object to employ them, they reſolved to plunder the defenceleſs territories of Piſa and Lucca, which were ravaged accordingly. Even this diverſion did not ſhake Caſtruccio in his purpoſe. Almoſt three months were now elapſed ſince the ſiege had been formed. The garriſon was reduced to the laſt mouthful of their proviſion;

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vision; they saw their friends abandon them; they had no farther prospect of relief; then Castruccio, wisely offering them an honourable capitulation, they surrendered the place, and marched out with the honours of war.

The Florentine historians [s], with great justice, think this retaking of Pistoia the most shining action of Castruccio's life; and undoubtedly, every thing considered, it shewed a vast superiority of military genius over all his contemporaries. It was, in that age, a new spectacle to behold a general take possession of a strong city in the sight, as it were, of a far superior army sent to its relief. The Florentines could scarce believe their own eyes; but within a very few days they received still more mortifying news. The emperor, who had all this time remained at Rome, provoked by the pope's bull, by which he was divested of all his titles and possessions, summoned at Rome a general assembly, wherein he acted as head of the church. He ordered that no bishop should be absent above three months, and two days journey from his see, under pain of deprivation. He then passed sentence of death upon all heretics, and particularly upon the pope, whom he termed John de Cahors, from the place of his nativity, and whom he likewise condemned for high treason against the imperial dignity. In another grand assembly of the clergy and laity, he produced a Cordelier, called father Peter de Corvaria, and asked the assembly whether they would have him for their pope. Upon their answering in the affirmative, he invested him with the papacy, by putting a ring on his finger, and throwing a robe over his shoulders. He then gave him the name of Nicholas V. together with a solemn induction into the papacy; and Lewis was crowned by his hands, as if his first coronation had been irregular. Robert, king of Naples, was subjected to the same sentence which had been pronounced upon pope John; nor is it easy to conceive what could drive so prudent a prince, as Lewis is acknowleged to have been, into such frantic measures, if he had not intended to reside in Italy. Without hazarding farther conjectures, it is certain that he was disappointed in the assistance of a fleet he expected from Sicily; and he was so far from being able make any impression upon Robert by land, that he every day expected to be besieged in Rome by that prince. At the same time he had certain intelligence that the princes of Germany were forming cabals against him, and that he was in danger of being stript of the imperial dignity. For these and

The emperor acts as pope.

[s] Aretin. p. 116.

other

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other reasons, but, above all, because he saw some of the great Roman families disgusted at his conduct, he removed from Rome to Terni, and openly declared, that he intended to make himself master of Florence; upon this intimation all the Tuscan Ghibelins resorted to his army, which thereby became very formidable.

This impending danger, with the certain accounts the Florentines received at the same time of the great preparations making against them by Castruccio, and the petty states which lay towards the foot of the Appennines, threw them into the utmost consternation; but they soon recovered themselves, and resolved to provide against the worst. They summoned their confederates to their assistance; strengthened, repaired, and re-victualled their garrisons, and augmented their forces, determining bravely to wait for the event. Two incidents happened which gave them great relief. The Sicilian fleet, commanded by Peter, son to the king of Sicily, joined by that of the Genoese Ghibelines, was now at sea; and Peter sent several messages to the emperor, intreating him to return to Rome. A negociation ensuing, relaxed the preparations of the emperor, who had by this time advanced as far as Arezzo, and afforded the Florentines a farther respite. The other incident was far more in their favour; for at this very critical juncture the famous Castruccio, their capital enemy, died, worn out by his military fatigues. His death was followed by that of their other implacable enemy, Galeazzo, visconti of Milan, which happened at Pescia. *Danger of Florence.* *Death of Castruccio.*

The Florentines could scarce give credit to their good fortune, when they heard of the death of Castruccio, who left two sons, yet in their nonage, under the tutelage of their mother and relations. As soon as the emperor, who was still in treaty with the Sicilians, heard of Castruccio's death, he went by sea to Pisa, and resigned all farther thoughts of molesting the Florentines, who, being freed from that terror, thought now of acting offensively. The emperor deprived Castruccio's children and friends of the goverment of Pisa, which he bestowed upon Tarlati, brother to the late bishop of Arezzo. From thence he repaired to Lucca, and, notwithstanding all the presents given, and applications made to him by Castruccio's widow, he bestowed the government of that city upon one of his own generals; but exacted heavy contributions both there and at Pisa, as an acknowlegement for their recovered liberties.

About this time, to complete the good fortune of the Florentines, their governor Charles, son to the king of Naples, died. The people considered his death as a great deliver-

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deliverance, on account of the prodigious sums of money which his rapacious Neapolitans had carried from Florence. They, therefore, applied themselves to the regulation of their government with great assiduity, and instituted two councils for the management of their most important affairs; one composed of plebeians only; the other, which they called the mixed council, equally of plebeians and nobles. They likewise restricted the duration of the gonfalonier's office, from six to four months.

Alterations in the government of Florence.

A.D. 1329. Lewis, who was still at Pisa, notwithstanding the vast sums he had exacted of the Italian states, was both poor and contemptible; and eight hundred of his cavalry left his service for want of pay. Their design, at first, was to have surprised Lucca; but being disappointed in this scheme, they subsisted by ravaging the neighbouring country, and at last offered their service to the Florentines, who, after long deliberation, rejected it, as being too dangerous for their public liberty. This refusal multiplied disorders in the open country; and Lewis, being afraid of the consequences, treated with them, by Azzo, son of Galeazzo, visconti of Milan, who engaged to pay them the arrears they demanded. The mutineers accordingly named some agents, who received the money from Azzo, but carried it off to Germany; and this disappointment farther incensed the mutineers, who were the flower of the emperor's army, so that he came to a resolution of immediately returning to Germany. Castruccio's sons thought this a favourable opportunity for endeavouring to repossess themselves of Pistoia, which had likewise been taken from them, and garrisoned by Lewis; and drawing together a great number of their father's friends and followers, they found means to enter the place, but were soon driven out by the inhabitants [q].

The emperor had now passed the Appennines in his return to Germany, in no very creditable circumstances. He had left the pope of his own creation at Pisa, in a most forlorn condition; and he was refused admittance into Milan by Azzo, whom, till then, he took to be his creature. During his treaty with the mutineers, who had left his service, he had sent Marco Visconti, one of his chief officers, to their camp, as a hostage, and he was there detained; but being a person of great abilities and credit in the army, they no sooner heard of the emperor's departure for Germany, than they chose him to be their general, and encamped on an eminence that commanded Lucca. Having

[q] Arctin. p. 118.

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now the face of a regular army, the German garriſon of Lucca put Marco in poſſeſſion of that city, and he offered to give it up to the Florentines on two conditions: firſt, that they ſhould pay his army all their arrears, which amounted to a very large ſum; ſecondly, that ſome proviſion ſhould be made for the family of Caſtruccio, with whom Marco lived in the moſt intimate friendſhip. The matter was ſeriouſly debated at Florence. Private animoſities, however, prevailed ſo greatly, that the propoſal was rejected, on pretext that the ſum required was too large, and that Lucca would entirely fall under the dominion of the Florentines without their being at ſuch an expence[r].

Florence, from being but a few months before on the brink of perdition, was now at the ſummit of her glory, courted and revered by all the free ſtates of Italy. The Piſtoians ſent a deputation to implore her friendſhip and protection, which the Florentines readily granted. The terms implied, that all the Piſtoian exiles ſhould be reſtored, and that the Florentines ſhould be put in poſſeſſion of Murli, Carmini, and other places. This peace, ſo honourable for both parties, induced many proprietors of forts in the territories of Lucca to put themſelves under the protection of the Florentines, and even the Piſans had the ſpirit to expel Tarlati, the imperial governor, and call in Marco Viſconti for their protector. This general afterwards repaired to Florence, where he was received with diſtinguiſhed honours, and renewed the negociation between the Florentines and the German garriſon at Lucca: however, it proved ineffectual, and Marco left Tuſcany; then the Piſans immediately offered to ſtrike the bargain which the Florentines had rejected, by paying the Germans their arrears, on condition of taking poſſeſſion of Lucca. This ſtep was conſidered by the Florentines in ſo unfavourable a light, that they immediately denounced war againſt the Piſans, and invaded their ſtate. Americo Donati, a Florentine nobleman, was appointed to the command of the army; in which he ſucceeded ſo well, that the Piſans now ſued for peace, and obtained it. The Piſans being unable or unwilling to perform their promiſes to the garriſon of Lucca, Spinola, a Genoeſe nobleman of immenſe riches, was, by the Germans, put in poſſeſſion of the city, and acted with great lenity, in hopes of reconciling the Lucqueſe to his government, offering, at the ſame time, to enter into a treaty with the Florentines.

War with Piſa.

[r] Villani, lib. x. cap. 129.

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The latter had all along flattered themſelves with the hopes of becoming maſters of Lucca without any expence; they therefore rejected all Spinola's advances, and practiſed with the garriſons in the neighbourhood to induce them to throw off the Lucqueſe yoke, which ſome of them did. Spinola and the Lucqueſe marched againſt one of the revolted garriſons, which they took, and put all the Florentines that were in it to the ſword. They then returned home in high ſpirits, to make new and more powerful levies for the relief of Catino, which the Florentines beſieged. This extraordinary ſhew of reſolution in the Lucqueſe determined the Florentines to take more vigorous meaſures againſt the town, which they now completely ſurrounded with a ſtrong rampart and a ditch, filled with water from a neighbouring river. Spinola, however, receiving a reinforcement of German horſe, attacked this fortification with great obſtinacy; but was repulſed. At the extremity of the ditch lay the caſtle of Sevia, and, by reaſon of its great diſtance from the Lucqueſe, the guard was but ſlight in that quarter. Spinola marched thither in the night with a body of troops, which forced their way within the Florentine entrenchments, being favoured by a ſtrong attack which the Lucqueſe made upon another quarter. The Florentines, however, fought with ſuch vigour, that the Germans and Lucqueſe, who had entered the entrenchments, were either driven out of them, or obliged to take refuge in Catino. This diſappointment did not daunt the ſpirit of the Lucqueſe: the operations were carried on with infinite obſtinacy on both ſides; but ſo much to the advantage of the Florentines, who were perpetually relieving one another from their capital, that Spinola was at laſt forced to retreat to Peſcia, and the garriſon of Catino ſurrendered the place upon an honourable capitulation.

Siege of Catino.

A.D. 1330. The ſucceſs of the ſiege of Catino, and ſome other advantages obtained about the ſame time, gave ſuch reputation and ſpirit to the Florentines, that they reſolved to beſiege Lucca itſelf. To this enterprize they were greatly encouraged by the loſſes the Lucqueſe had lately received, their having no allies they could depend upon for relief, and the diſtreſſed ſtate of the emperor's affairs in Germany. The anti-pope, who had been created by the emperor, was ſent priſoner by the archbiſhop of Piſa to his rival John XXII. before whom he preſented himſelf with a halter about his neck, and was by him committed to priſon, where he died. The Florentines, having now no enemy in Italy they could dread, laid vigorous ſiege to Lucca, and made themſelves maſters of all the neighbouring fortifications.

The Florentines beſiege Lucca.

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The place was defended by Spinola, who was on the point of giving it up, when affairs took a ſudden turn to the prejudice of the beſiegers. John, king of Bohemia, ſon to the emperor Henry of Luxemburg, marched with an army into Lombardy, in quality of vicar of the empire. Having reduced Breſcia, and a great many places in that neighbourhood, he received a deputation from Spinola and the Lucqueſe, offering to put themſelves under his protection, provided he would raiſe the ſiege. John had his reaſons for attempting to ſoothe the Florentines, and ſent thither an ambaſſador to prevail with the magiſtracy and people to recall their troops from before Lucca; but all applications of that kind proving ineffectual, he marched with his army to raiſe the ſiege[s]. This would have been no eaſy matter, had not a ſpirit of mutiny happened at that very time to take poſſeſſion of the Florentine troops, who had inſulted the Lucqueſe with the moſt wanton abuſe; ſo that the Florentine generals thought proper to draw off their army, after having continued for almoſt five months before the place. Simon, a noble Piſtoian, who acted as John's general, upon the retreat of the Florentines, found an eaſy admittance into Lucca. Having thus eſtabliſhed his maſter's authority, he entered the Florentine dominions at the head of twelve hundred horſe and two thouſand foot, and laid them waſte; an inſult for which he muſt have dearly paid, had it not been for the jealouſies and diviſions which ſtill reigned amongſt the Florentines. About this time John made himſelf maſter of Parma, Cremona, Pavia, Modena, and other Places; ſo that he grew very formidable in Italy. He found, however, that he could not maintain his ground without the aſſiſtance of the pope; and, to the amazement of all Europe, from being mortal enemies, they engaged in a ſtrict alliance with one another. His holineſs, on this occcaſion, employed his legate at Bologna as his plenipotentiary; and though he hated John, yet he knew his affairs were ſo embarraſſed in Germany, that he would be quickly obliged to quit Italy, and therefore that his conqueſts could not be very permanent. Robert, king of Naples, and the Florentines, had hitherto continued faithfully attached to the pope; but ſeeing this unnatural conjunction between his holineſs and John, they entered into a confederacy againſt both, in which they were joined by ſeveral of the other Italian ſtates. The conſequence of this alliance was, that the Piſtoians put themſelves under the protection of Florence, and even admitted

A.D. 1331.

The ſiege raiſed.

[s] Murator. Annal. ad ann. 1331.

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a Florentine garrison into their city. Continuing, however, to exercise the outward marks of government, they were considered neither as the subjects nor the allies of Florence.

The system of power in Italy altered.

By this time the whole system of power in Italy was changed; but it must be owned, for the honour of the Florentines, that they adered much firmer than any other Italian state, to the principles of their constitutional independency. John, king of Bohemia, had been obliged to return to Germany; but he had left his son Charles at the head of his affairs and armies in Italy. The strict alliance that still subsisted between Charles and the legate of Bologna, at last induced the princes of Ferrara, Verona, Mantua, and even Milan, to join in the confederacy with the Florentines and the king of Naples. The legate was making war in the Ferrarese when he heard of this powerful confederacy. He immediately sent deputies to expostulate with the Florentines, and, if possible, to detach them from the alliance. The answer they returned was modest, but firm; they represented the great services they had often done to the see of Rome; but seemed surprized at being reproached for entering into measures against the son and grandson of the emperor Henry of Luxemburg, who had been their mortal enemy. This situation of affairs in Italy, recalled John, king of Bohemia, from Germany, and he was met by his son Charles at Parma. There he learned that Mastino of Verona had seized Brescia and Bergamo, as Azzo had taken possession of Pavia. Charles, who brought back with him a small but choice army, endeavoured to retake Pavia, and to relieve the citadel, which still held out; but being baffled by Azzo, he was obliged to retreat to Parma, after having laid waste the Milanese. His confederate the legate had better success: he defeated the Ferrarese in a pitched battle, and laid siege to Ferrara itself. The besieged immediately applied for assistance to the Florentines, who appeared very willing to relieve them; but found it an enterprize of great difficulty, the victorious legate being in possession of all the country of Romagna and the Bolognese, as John's troops were possessed of all the strong passes by the way of of Modena and Parma. The Florentines, however, that they might not be wanting to their allies, sent them four hundred horse, under the command of two young noblemen, Stroza and Scala, by the long detours of Genoa, Milan, and Verona, in all which cities they were received with the greatest respect and affection. They arrived at Verona just as king John and the legate were preparing to give a general assault to Ferrara, and the king was for that purpose bringing a reinforcement from Parma. They were

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were prevented by the ardour of the Florentines, who no sooner threw themselves into Ferrara than they resolved to attack the camp of the besiegers. The victory was so complete, that all Romagna revolted from the legate; and Bologna would have followed the example, had it not been kept in awe by John's German horse [b]. While John was thus employed in assisting the legate, Castruccio's sons having drawn together a large body of their father's friends, who were still very numerous in Italy, surprised Lucca; but the citadel holding out, John made a quick march, and dispossessed them of their new conquest. This year was remarkable for prodigious inundations all over Italy. The bridges at Florence, over the Arno, being broken down, the place appeared like two cities, a circumstance which gave some uneasiness to the jealous plebeians, lest the nobles, who lived in a separate quarter, should make use of that opportunity to cabal against their liberty; but the public resumed its tranquillity when the loss was repaired by temporary bridges.

The Florentines defeat the Germans.

SECT. V.

Containing the History of the War between Florence and Scaliger, Prince of Verona. The Florentines purchase Arezzo; they are defeated by the Pisans; chuse the Duke of Athens for their Governor; Conspiracies against him; he is driven out. Dissensions in Florence. Ascendancy of the People.

IT was now high time for the confederate states to consult measures for their future operations, and to divide their conquests. Deputies from all of them met at Lerici, then belonging to the Genoese. Here great disputes arose; at last it was determined, that Visconti of Milan should keep possession of Cremona, the prince of Verona of Parma, the duke of Mantua of Reggio, the duke of Ferrara of Modena, and the Florentines of Pisa. It is to be observed, that some of those territories remained still to be conquered; but the confederates agreed not to lay down their arms till each should be in full possession of his allotment. They began with the legate, a Frenchman by birth, and in his manners insolent, severe, and haughty beyond expression. He had fled to Bologna, after the victory the confederates had obtained near Ferrara; but the emperor

A. D. 1332.

A general confederacy takes place.

[b] Aretin. p. 126.

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being now returned to Germany, he was so unpopular at Bologna, that the inhabitants ran to arms, routed his guards, and forced him to fly to the citadel, which he had built for bridling that city, and to which the Bolognese laid close siege. The Florentines, though they had no reason to be satisfied with the legate's person, yet paid some respect to his character. They sent four deputies, with three hundred horse and a large body of foot, to Bologna, where the deputies mediated for the legate; and with infinite difficulty, it was agreed, that he should have free passage, upon his surrendering the citadel to the townsmen. The people, however, held the legate in such abhorrence, that they would have torn him to pieces, had he not been guarded by the Florentines night and day. He was first carried to Florence, and from thence to Pisa, where he embarked for Avignon, where the pope still resided.

The German mercenaries mutiny.

Amongst the unconquered places, partitioned out by the treaty of Lerici, was Parma, which the confederates invested, while the Florentines undertook the siege of Lucca; but the legate, by his intrigues and money, had debauched the German mercenaries who served in the confederate army, so that they mutinied, and threw themselves into Parma. Their desertion obliged Scaliger (A), prince of Verona, to raise the siege of Parma, and the Florentines to desist from that of Lucca. The siege of Parma was soon after resumed by Scaliger, and the Florentines made dispositions for carrying on that of Lucca; upon which John, king of Bohemia, as sovereign, made a present of

A.D. 1334. that city to the French king. But this monarch being informed by the king of Naples that John had disposed of a territory in which he had no legal property, the claim was dropt. In the course of this year died pope John XXII. and his death gave a great turn to the affairs of Italy. He was succeeded by Benedict XII. who, like his predecessor, resided at Avignon. The Florentines, the better to succeed in their designs against Lucca, negociated a treaty with Peter, the governor or prince of Arezzo, who had employed the great treasures, left him by his brother the bishop, in dispossessing the neighbouring noblemen of their fiefs and castles. This oppression drove them, particularly Nerio Fagiolani, the son of the Fagiolani who had been

(A) This was his true name, and the two learned Scaligers, Joseph and Julius, pretended that he was their immediate ancestor. He was called the Mastino, or Mastiff of Verona, from a dream, concerning a mastiff dog, which his mother pretended she had when she was with child by him.

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dispossessed by Castruccio, to league themselves with the Perugians, who hated Peter. Nerio surprised Burgo, a town about four miles from Arezzo; but the castle holding out, Peter prepared to march to its relief. The Perugians endeavoured to divert him, by invading the territories of Arezzo, but were defeated with great slaughter. The Florentines, mindful that the Perugians had been their ancient allies, took part with them, and broke off their treaty with Peter, who was supported by the Genoese. This attachment of the Florentines to their allies, was to them more honourable than advantageous. Scaliger was by this time in possession of Parma, as the duke of Mantua was of Reggio, and the Ferrarese of Modena. In short, all parties, Florence excepted, were in quiet possession of the spoils allotted them by the confederacy [c].

Honourable conduct of the Florentines.

When John king of Bohemia left Italy, he committed the government of Parma and Lucca to three brothers, called Rossi, nobles of Parma. Two of them commanded in that city when it was taken by the Veronese; and it was agreed that the third brother should surrender Lucca to Scaliger upon certain terms. The Florentines, far from opposing this convention, forwarded it, in hopes that Scaliger would make no other use of it than that of facilitating their taking possession of Lucca. Scaliger, accordingly, having promised to repay to the three brothers a large sum they had advanced to the king of Bohemia, took possession of Lucca; but when the Florentines, by their deputies, demanded that the terms of the confederacy should be fulfilled, he required that the money he repaid should be refunded. The sum was no less than three hundred and sixty thousand crowns of gold, which may answer to about one hundred thousand pounds sterling. The cunning Veronese thought that the mention of so much money would deter the Florentines from prosecuting their demand; but it is almost incredible to think to what extremes their public spirit often drove them; for they, who, but twelve or fourteen months before, had refused to pay the fourth part of that sum to the Germans for the same end, offered for aise it for Scaliger; who thereupon invented other pretexts for delay; and the Florentine deputies, perceiving they were trifled with, returned home. Scaliger foresaw the consequences, and was the first to take the field; upon which the Florentines immediately declared war against Scaliger, the Veronese, and all his abettors.

A.D. 1335.

[c] Villani, lib. x. cap. 224.

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Power of Scaliger.

Scaliger was at this time one of the richeſt and moſt powerful princes in Lombardy. Being in poſſeſſion not only of Verona, but of Parma and Lucca, beſides a vaſt number of other places along the Appennines, his dominions had a ready communication one with another, and he was ſure of having the Piſans for his friends. Add to this, that his court and army were rendezvouſes for all the malcontents of Italy; and, being naturally vain as well as ambitious, he was in hopes of becoming maſter of all Tuſcany.

After the many expenſive and bloody wars that the Florentines, for half a century paſt, had maintained by turns againſt almoſt all the ſtates of Italy, and ſometimes againſt the moſt powerful princes in Europe, it is aſtoniſhing to think with what ſpirit they entered upon hoſtilities with their new enemy of Verona. But we are to conſider, that, by means of their foreign commerce, they were now prodigiouſly rich. They proceeded to war with the greateſt œconomy, regularity, and reſolution. They appointed twelve treaſurers for raiſing the public money, and ſix managers for diſtributing it in the ſervice of the field, and for attending the camp and councils of war. They ſent deputies to Milan, and to all their confederates in Lombardy, to demonſtrate the falſhood and treachery of Scaliger; and they renewed their alliance with Perugia and Sienna, in order to give a diverſion to Peter of Arezzo, if he ſhould join with Scaliger. The Perugians, animated by the Florentines, attacked the territory of Arezzo, and ſurpriſed Citta di Caſtello; an event which diſcouraged the Arezzians ſo greatly, that many of their forts fell into the hands of the Florentines.

We are not to forget, for the honour of Florence, that while ſhe was thus proſecuting an expenſive war, ſhe was cultivating the arts of peace, to more perfection than they were to be found in any other part of the world. Though the Greeks had not yet imported their literature into Italy, the Florentines had reformed themſelves from that barbarous taſte that ſtill continued to infect all the reſt of Europe.

The marble tower built by Giotto.

Giotto at this time worked in Florence, where he was in great reputation; and though he cannot be ſaid to have carried the arts of architecture and painting to the perfection they afterwards attained, yet the good manner he introduced in both had more merit over the barbarous ſtate in which he found them, than any after-improvements had over him. At this period he laid the foundation of the quadrangular

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quadrangular tower of marble, called la Torre de Santa Reparata, which stands by the cathedral of Florence [d].

Scaliger attacks Florence.

The war still continued; and the scene of action lay in the Arezzian territories, which the Florentines and Perugians ravaged without mercy. Intelligence came, in the mean time, that Scaliger was advancing through the Romagna, against Florence, with eight hundred horse; upon which the Florentines sent an army to join their allies the Bolognese, and to intercept his march. This circumstance encouraged the garrison of Lucca to make some incursions upon the Florentine territories, and the Florentines attempted to transfer the seat of the war to Lombardy; but Scaliger was so formidable there, that they could prevail upon no state to join them but that of Venice, which became now jealous of the neighbourhood of Verona. In consequence of this alliance, a body of Florentine troops marched to Treviso, where they were joined by some Florentines, and entered into hostilities against the Veronese. By this time, the brothers, the Rossi, finding that Scaliger trifled with them, as he had done with the Venetians, and refused to pay the money he had promised them, made animated representations on that head, for which they were expelled out of Lucca, and threw themselves into the town of Pontremoli, where they were besieged; but were upon their application, taken into the alliance of the Florentines and Venetians [e]. The siege of Ponremoli still continuing, Peter Rosso, who was esteemed an excellent officer, repaired to Florence, and offered to the magistracy there to give them possession of Lucca, if they would put him at the head of a body of troops for that purpose. He accordingly received eight hundred horse, and marched against that place. His true design was to make a diversion from the siege of Pontremoli. The Italians. as yet, knew little of the art of besieging places farther than blockading them, and forcing them to surrender by famine; so that the governor of Lucca, leaving a few to man the walls, fell, with all the other troops he could assemble, upon the Florentine territories. This diversion obliged Rosso to draw off from Lucca, and a battle soon followed; in which the Florentines, with great difficulty, came off conquerors, Scaliger's general being made prisoner, with many others, and a great number killed in the pursuit. Two days after this action, the Florentine army returned in triumph to that city, where Rosso, on the credit of his late victory, was appointed general of the combined army of the Venetians and Florentines, serving

Hostilities continue.

A.D. 1336.

[d] Machiavel, delle Historie, lib. ii. [e] Villani, lib. xi. cap. 44.

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againſt Scaliger in Lombardy. Roſſo behaved ſo well in his new command, that he gained a great number of advantages over the enemy, and drove them to the walls of Padua, which was then in poſſeſſion of Scaliger. However he could not bring the Veroneſe, though they were greatly ſuperior to him in number, to a battle; and therefore he beſieged Bovolenta, which lies within ſeven miles of Padua. His attacks were ſo furious, that Scaliger thought now of nothing but covering Verona. He found means, however, to bring over, by the force of money, to his intereſt one thouſand German horſe, who ſerved as mercenaries in Roſſo's army, and who, ſetting fire to the camp of the confederates, marched off in the night. Roſſo, undaunted by this deſertion, repaired the damage his camp had ſuſtained, and continued his operations, being ſtill at the head of a formidable army. The other ſtates of Lombardy, now ſeeing the danger of Scaliger, whom they all hated, entered into the confederacy againſt him; and a great army of Milaneſe, Ferrareſe, and Mantuans, with Lucheno Viſconti at their head, rendezvouſed at Mantua, intending to proceed againſt Verona itſelf. At the ſame time Charles, ſon of John king of Bohemia, took Belluno and Feltri.

A.D.1337. Scaliger, though ſurrounded by ſo many powerful enemies, was not deficient in his conduct, either as a warrior or a ſtateſman. As Luchino, who by this time had been joined by a detachment of two thouſand four hundred horſe, under Marſilio, the brother of Roſſo, had advanced within a few miles of Verona, he left that city at the head of three thouſand horſe and a body of foot, and offered battle to the confederates, which Luchino declined, though his army was greatly ſuperior to that of Scaliger[f]. This cowardice, or treachery of Luchino, ſo diſguſted the troops under his command, that they immediately quitted the ſervice. Scaliger, to improve this opportunity, took poſt three miles below Bovolenta, where Roſſo was ſtill encamped, with a view of intercepting Marſilio in his return to join his brother[g]. In this emergency, Roſſo ordered his ſoldiers to gather great quantities of bitter herbs, which grew in the neighbourhood, and throw them into the waters of the Brent, which ſupplied Scaliger's army, and which thereby became ſo bitter as to be rendered unſerviceable both to man and horſe; ſo that Scaliger was obliged to decamp, and Marſilio rejoined his brother. Roſſo, without loſing time, marched directly to Padua; where the citizens, in-

The courage and conduct of Scaliger.

[f] Murator. Annal. ad an. 1337. Chron. Veron. tom. iii.
[g] Leonard. Artetin. p. 134.

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ſtigated by Ubertino da Carrara, opened the gates to his army, and cut in pieces Scaliger's garriſon, commanded by his brother Alberto, who was ſent priſoner to Venice. But the joy which this important conqueſt occaſioned at Venice and Florence, was quickly damped by the death of Roſſo, who, in ſtorming Monſelice, a place in the neighbourhood, received a wound in his thigh, which proved mortal upon his return to Padua. He was ſurvived but a few days by his brother Marſilio, who died at Venice, and the command of the army devolved to Orlando Roſſo. About this time the Milaneſe made themſelves maſters of Breſcia.

The Florentines purchaſe Arezzo.

Peter Sacone di Tarlati had ſtill poſſeſſion of Arezzo, and was ſtrongly ſolicited by the Arezzians to make peace with the Florentines and their allies. This application ſerved only to render Peter jealous of the Arezzians; and he reſolved to make the beſt terms he could with the Florentines, having many reaſons for not truſting the Perugians. The treaty was ſoon concluded. Peter agreed to deliver up Arezzo, and all its dependencies, for ten years, into the hands of the Florentines, upon condition that he himſelf and his kinſmen, ſhould be be acknowleged citizens of Florence; that they ſhould remain in poſſeſſion of all their private eſtates and effects; that Peter ſhould receive forty thouſand crowns; and that ſeventeen thouſand more, which he had borrowed from the Arezzians, ſhould be paid to his mercenaries for their arrears. This negociation being finiſhed, twelve Florentine noblemen immediately repaired to Arezzo, where, to the great joy of the people, they took poſſeſſion of that government.

The Perugians complained bitterly of this ſtep, as being expreſly againſt the treaties ſubſiſting between them; and ſent deputies to Florence, who exclaimed in very harſh terms againſt that republic. The latter recriminated, by accuſing the Perugians of inſincerity, and telling them, that no terms ought to be kept with traitors. Upon cooler thoughts, however, both parties came to an accommodation, and the Perugians obtained poſſeſſion of ſome towns of no great conſequence in the Arezzian territory. Scaliger, hearing of thoſe tranſactions, reinforced his garriſon of Lucca under Accio, one of his generals; upon which the Florentines again took the field, and ravaged the territories of Lucca.

A D. 1338.

The Veroneſe invaded by the Florentines.

Next year the Florentines and Venetians invaded the Veroneſe; and after having inſulted that city for ſome days, and gained ſeveral advantages, they laid ſiege to Vicenza. This enterprize obliged Scaliger to ſend a deputation to Venice to treat of peace, which was ſo favourably received, that

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that the terms were soon settled. The marquisate of Trevisо, one of the most delightful countries in Italy, with that city and territory, was ceded by Scaliger to the Venetians. A proviso was left in the treaty, that if the Florentines should incline to accede, they should be put in possession of Pescia and Bugiani, and remain masters of all their conquests in the Lucquese territory. It was likewise stipulated that all the Lucquese exiles, who served in the combined army, should be re-admitted to their estates and privileges in that city. The treaty was communicated to the Florentines, who, after long debates, disapproved of it; but sent three of their noblemen to try if they could negociate better terms at Venice. This was found impracticable; and the terms the Venetians had stipulated for them were agreed to, all parties being heartily tired of the war [h].

A D. 1339. The Florentines continued for some years in peace, and unmolested by any of their neighbours. But this tranquillity was soon interrupted by a dreadful plague, which carried off sixteen thousand people in its city and territories. About the same time intestine divisions were excited, on account of a foreign magistrate who had been advanced to the government of the city, for two years, by the heads of the plebeians. This was was Jacomo Gabrieli d'Agobbio, who, under the title of captain of the guard, had ingrossed the whole authority of the state, and acted in the most arbitrary manner. Among others who conceived themselves agrieved, were the two great families, the Bardi and Frescobaldi, who put themselves at the head of the nobility, with an intention to overturn the magistracy; but they were disappointed by the spirit of the people, who immediately ran to arms, and obliged the nobility to abandon their undertaking. The people then returned peaceably home; but the chief of the nobility were impeached before the presidents, and none of them crossing the Arno, to appear in their own defence, sentence passed against them; in consequence of which their houses were demolished, and application was made to all the states confederated with Florence not to receive or protect them; so that the exiles were obliged to take shelter in Pisa, the ancient and natural enemy of Florence [i].

Tumults in Florence.

Soon after this transaction, the Mantuans encouraged the people of Parma to throw off Scaliger's yoke; and he found himself so hardly beset by the Mantuans, who cut off all communication between Verona and Lucca, that it was plain he could not keep the latter. The Florentines and

[h] Chron. Veron. tom. viii. Rer. Italic. [i] Machiavel. delle Histor. lib. ii.

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the Pisans immediately became competitors for the prize, which being put up by Scaliger at public auction, the Florentines outbid the Pisans, by offering for the place two hundred and fifty thousand crowns. *The Florentines purchase Lucca.*

The Florentines being thus in possession of Arezzo, and in a fair way of acquiring Lucca, by means of the wealth they had gained in commerce, began now to be dreaded all over Italy. The Pisans, irritated by their disappointment, set on foot a general confederacy against them, into which Luchino, who, by the death of Azzo, was now viscount of Milan; and all Scaliger's enemies, who were very numerous, entered, as did the Milanese, the Mantuans, the Parmesans, and the Paduans; all of whom sent their contingencies of troops to assist the Pisans in the siege of Lucca, which was now formed. The Florentines, having formally required of the Pisans to raise the siege, invaded the Pisan territories; but the siege was pressed more warmly than ever. Lucca was still in the possession of Scaliger, who now summoned the Florentines to fulfil their articles; and they agreed to pay all the sum they had offered, but seventy thousand crowns, and gave hostages for the payment. Still a difficulty remained of the Florentines taking possession, which at last was removed by their breaking through the Pisan army; and no sooner were they masters of the city and citadel, than they relieved their hostages by paying the stipulated money. A D. 1341.

This event gave infinite joy and spirts to the Florentines. The garrison was so strong, and the place so well provided with every thing, that the Pisan army must have returned home without any farther attempt, had not the Florentines within the city precipitately resolved to attack them in their entrenchments. This attack was made within eight days after the Florentines became masters of Lucca. The Pisans were commanded by Giovanni Visconti, and Enrico, Castruccio's son, served under him; as did all the Florentine exiles, who formed the most considerable part of his army, which was drawn up in three lines, as that of the Florentines was in two. The first line of the latter consisted of two hundred chosen knights on horseback, supported by three thousand cross-bow men; and they made so furious a charge, that they drove the first line of the Pisans back upon their second, where they took prisoners Visconti, the Pisan general, and Enrico, Castruccio's son, with several other persons of great quality; but the third line of the Pisans supporting the disordered troops of their two first lines, victory was snatched from the Florentines, whose second line was so far from supporting their first, that they fled to Pescia without *They are defeated.*

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without striking a stroke. The first line of the Florentines, being thus left exposed, suffered greatly, and victory declared in favour of the Pisans: the remains of the first line, however, bravely fought their way back to Lucca[k].

Notwithstanding this check, the Florentines remained in possession of all their standards, and their illustrious prisoners; and the government having recovered its first consternation, applied, by deputies, to Robert king of Sicily for protection, offering, at the same time to submit, as usual, to any prince of his blood whom he sent as his governor or viceroy to Florence. Robert received the deputies very coldly, and insisted upon the rendition of Lucca to him, as being his property, torn from him by the treachery of Fagiolani. The Florentines had foreseen this demand, and they instructed their deputies to comply with it; but Robert, suspecting they would insist upon the payment of the money it had cost them, declined interesting himself farther than by sending an ambassador to dissuade the Pisans from continuing the siege of Lucca. The Pisans returned him good words, but continued the siege with greater vigour than ever.

Their miserable situation and distress.

The Florentine affairs wearing a bad aspect, the people began to suspect that Peter Sacone, the late lord of Arezzo, would seize this opportunity to reinstate him himself in that government. Peter was then living in one of his castles in the country; and the Florentine magistracy, as if they had been convinced of their danger, ordered the people to take arms and to surround the place. The madness of popular jealousy did not stop here. Tarlati, brother to Peter, was then one of the most distinguished officers in the Florentine army; and it was chiefly by his means that the remains of their first line had made so noble a retreat to Lucca. But his conduct being irreproachable, the people grew the more jealous of his credit in the army, and of the power he might thereby acquire to favour his brother. An order, therefore, was sent from Florence to put him under arrest at Lucca, which was executed without confining him to prison; and he was allowed to ride abroad in company with Giacomo Medici, the Florentine governor of Lucca. One day, as they were reconnoitring on horseback without the gates, Tarlati put spurs to his horse, and fled to the Pisan camp. His escape confirmed the Florentines in their worst suspicions of Peter's designs; after having forced him and all his relations to surrender, they carried them to Florence, where they were committed to prison,

[k] Villani, lib. ii. cap. 137.

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while all their fine palaces in that city were demolished, and their castles in the country taken.

The Florentines being disappointed of assistance from the king of Naples, were advised by Scaliger to apply to the emperor Lewis, who was about this time at Trent, greatly exasperated against the Pisans, as well as a mortal enemy to the pope and the king of Naples. Though this advice was plausible, and supported by a great party in Florence, yet the people were so prepossessed against the emperor, that no progress was made in the negociation. The Florentines, however, took two thousand horse into their pay, besides six hundred they hired of the Ferrarese, and five hundred of Scaliger, which joined to their own troops made a formidable army; and they preferred Malatesta of Rimini, a celebrated general of those times to the command. Early in the spring he marched to the relief of Lucca, which continued still besieged by the Pisans; but the swelling of the rivers, and the badness of the roads frustrated his expedition; and the Florentines were driven to their usual recourse of ravaging their enemy's country. Notwithstanding these ravages, the Pisans still continued the siege of Lucca, which being now reduced to the last extremity, the garrison capitulated to deliver up the place upon honourable terms for themselves, in the ninth month of the siege [1].

Their divisions.

The mutual resentments kindled among the Florentines, by the loss of Lucca, hurried them into far greater calamities, by inspiring them with animosities among themselves, each party blaming the other for its misconduct, and all of them disagreeing about the means of extricating themselves from their distresses, though all of them agreed upon the fatal expedient of preferring Gualtieri, the titular duke of Athens, to be their general. He was by birth a Lombard; and having served in their former wars under Charles prince of Naples, was well acquainted with their dispositions, the nature of their government, and the state of their parties. He was at Naples when the Florentines invited him to take upon him, not only the command of their army, but the government of their city. Their good opinion of him was greatly increased by the modesty of his retinue when he entered their capital. It soon appeared how much they were deceived. That age abounded with soldiers of fortune; and Gualtieri, who was one who erected vast projects upon a very moderate share of abilities. He had long portioned out the dominion of Florence to himself, and his ambition being now gratified in part, he studied how to make himself absolute, and to engross the whole of

A.D. 1342.

They chuse the duke of Athens for their governor.

[1] Aretin. p. 138.

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the government. His history, and that of his new subjects, on this occasion is instructive. The state of Florence, like almost all other states, consisted of three kinds of people. The first were the nobles, who, by the constitution of the government, had been so long accustomed to the exercise of trade and other arts, that, far from thinking it a disgrace to their nobility, they boasted of their industry, and began now to look upon wealth as the best nobility. Not only their fortunes, but their ideas, being raised above those of the vulgar, a kind of antipathy subsisted between them, which was confirmed by the democratical nature of their government. The next class was the middling sort, who, with plain strong sense and great industry, had acquired moderate fortunes, and who, in a regulate state, ought properly to be termed the people: these affected no public changes or revolutions, but such as were absolutely indispensable to the security of their property. The lower class was the plebeians, who hated the first class, and envied the second.

His tyranny and cruelty. Gualtieri had sagacity enough to perceive that the second class would be the great obstacle to his ambition. The nobility had submitted to him, because they thought his power was but temporary, and that they had at any time interest enough to displace him as soon as he should have answered their end, in abolishing the democratical part of the constitution, which they had never ceased to consider as an invasion of their rights. Gualtieri admitted them so far into the secret of his conduct, as to acquaint them that he intended to bend the chief force of his power against the middling citizens, but that he could not succeed without making himself extremely popular amongst the lower ranks, and that, however he proceeded, the nobility must appear neutral. The Arezzians, the Volterrans, and the Pistoians had followed the example of the Florentines in chusing Gualtieri for their general and conservadore del popolo [m]. The titles he assumed were duke of Athens, lord of Pistoia, Arezzo, and Volterra. He governed Florence in person; but had his substitutes in the other three states.

Gualtieri was sensible, that without peace abroad it would be impossible for him to succeed in his ambitious schemes at home. He was, therefore, no sooner formally invested with supreme power at Florence, than he made a most dishonourable peace with the Pisans, to whom he relinquished the possession of Lucca for fifteen years, on their engaging to re-deliver it to the Florentines at the expiration

[m] Villani, lib. xii. cap. 1. Machiavel, delle Historie, lib. ii.

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of that term. He pretended that the ſituation of affairs rendered ſuch a peace neceſſary, and that the miſconduct of certain citizens in the purchaſe of Lucca, as well as in other tranſactions, ought to be puniſhed with the utmoſt rigour. The citizens he hinted at were the moſt reſpectable in all the commonwealth; moſt of them were noble, but without the pride too often attached to that honour, and all of them being devoted to the conſtitution of their country, endeavoured to keep up a balance betwen the firſt and ſecond claſſes of their fellow-citizens. At the head of theſe was Giacomo Medici, who had been lately governor of Lucca, and a principal agent in the Florentine purchaſe of that city. This nobleman loſt his head; and it was with great difficulty that the friends of Oricella and Ricciardo Riccio, who ſtood in a ſtill greater degree of popularity, prevailed with the tyrant not to put them to death likewiſe; but Altovita, another nobleman, ſhared the fate of Medici.

The Florentine preſidents oppoſe the tyrant.

The populace at firſt applauded thoſe acts of cruelty as examples of juſtice, and adored Gualtieri as a man who had no reſpect of perſons. The nobility, though they perceived themſelves miſtaken in their meaſures and connections with the tyrant, durſt not oppoſe him; but the wiſdom of the Florentine conſtitution appeared now in its full luſtre. The preſidents, whoſe authority in judicial caſes never had been aboliſhed, manfully withſtood all the terrors of the tyrant. When he ſummoned the people to a general meeting, in order to take upon himſelf the abſolute government, the preſidents privately told him that he had exceeded his powers, becauſe, by their capitulation with him, none but they could iſſue ſuch citations. The tyrant's anſwer was, that he intended to give the people liberty to declare their ſentiments, without which they could not be called free. After a good deal of altercation it was agreed, that next day, when the aſſembly was to be held, the preſidents ſhould move the government to be decreed to him for one year, under the ſame limitations that had been preſcribed to Robert prince of Naples. The tyrant, however, had taken his meaſures ſo well, that he was uſhered into the aſſembly by ſome of the principal nobility, and his perſon was guarded by a number of plebeians, with arms concealed under their cloaths. One of the preſidents riſing from his ſeat, made the motion agreed upon the night before; but he was interrupted by a general cry, that they would have Gualtieri for their governor without any limitations. The preſidents being thus deterred from farther oppoſition, the nobility carried the tyrant on their ſhoulders to the palace, where they placed him in the chair of ſtate.

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A.D. 1342. Arezzo and Pistoia continued still subject to the Florentines; but Gualtieri, under the plausible pretence of abolishing that subjection, now received them under his own immediate dominion, and placed governors in both. He then made some alterations in the disgraceful peace with the Pisans, importing that they should possess Lucca for fifteen years, and then restore it to its liberty; that in the mean time the Lucquese exiles should be restored, and the Florentine captives released; that the Florentines should keep the forts they had in the Lucquese territories, and that the Pisans should pay them annually nine thousand crowns; but that all the friends of the Pisans, who had been expelled from Florence, should be restored to their country and effects. To qualify those and some other shameful conditions [n], it was agreed, that the Florentines should name the chief magistrate of Lucca during the fifteen years; but, as Aretin very justly observes, this privilege was in reality next to nothing, as the Pisans were in possession of the citadel and the military power. The numbers of captive and other nobility which, by this peace, were restored to Florence, strengthened the tyrant's party, as they thought they owed their liberty to his interposition. He then invited into his service all his countrymen who were in Tuscany, and out of them he formed a body-guard of about eight hundred horse. He afterwards entered into a league with the Pisans, the real intention of which was to bridle the Florentines.

Gualtieri seizes Arezzo and Pistoia.

Having proceeded thus far, he turned the presidents out of the palace allotted for them, and took possession of it for himself. He was too prudent to abolish their office; but he left them only a shadow of power. He totally abrogated the institutions of the companies and their gonfaloniers. He deprived their citizens of their arms, and made himself the sole fountain of preferments and honours in the state. His avarice was insatiable: he appropriated all the public money to his own private use, and cancelled all pecuniary contracts
A.D. 1343. that had been made by the public. The collectors and receivers of his taxes were all of them foreigners. Part of his great wealth he employed in fortifying his palace, so as to render it, to all intents and purposes, a citadel; and he was so shamefully neglectful of the public faith, that he suffered the hostages, who had been given to Scaliger, to be detained for non-payment of the money for which the state was engaged.

It may seem surprising that Gualtieri should succeed in this tyrannical proceeding with a people so quick-sighted

[n] Aretin, p. 140.

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and ſo jealous of their power, as the Florentines were; but he was as artful as he was ambitious, and played off each party in Florence againſt the other, with ſo much dexterity, that he prevented their uniting in any common plan of oppoſition. His inſolence and cruelty, however, got thebetter of his prudence. When any of the citizens complained of his officers, he ordered the complainants to be publicly ſcourged, without ſo much as enquiring into their grievances. He ordered a citizen's tongue to be pulled out by the roots; and having baniſhed another upon ſuſpicion, he ſeemingly pardoned him; but no ſooner was he returned to Florence than he put him to death. At laſt deſpair and hatred baniſhed every conſideration of fear amongſt the Florentines. The tyrant ſeldom appeared abroad, and his guards always attended his own perſon. This their conſtant employment gave the Florentines of all ranks opportunities of caballing againſt him; but the ſubject of their meeting being diſcovered to him by means of one Burneletti, a Florentine nobleman, ſeveral of the conſpirators were ſeized, and, by the force of torments, diſcovered all they knew, before the others were aware of the detection. The quality and numbers of thoſe concerned in the conſpiracy were ſo great, that the tyrant was aſtoniſhed, and at a loſs how to proceed. His firſt care was to call into Florence, troops from all the neighbouring garriſons: he then ſummoned to his palace three hundred of the principal citizens, all or moſt of whom were conſpirators, with a deſign to ſtrike off their heads, but under the pretence of taking their advice concerning the conſpiracy. All theſe proceedings took up ſix days, and upon the ſeventh the citizens, inſtead of obeying the tyrant's ſummons, as one man roſe in arms. It then appeared that three ſeveral conſpiracies had been formed, each without the knowlege of the other; but all now united againſt the tyrant, and, with what arms they could command, beſieged him in his palace or citadel. At firſt he endeavoured to make reſiſtance; but finding them reſolute, and that there was not in all Florence a family that had not entered into a general conſpiracy, he propoſed to treat. For this purpoſe he ſet at liberty all thoſe whom he had impriſoned on account of the conſpiracy, and particularly Antonio Adimari, one of the greateſt men of Florence, and the preſidents, whom he diſmiſſed with unuſual marks of regard.

A conſpiracy is formed againſt him.

The head of the conſpirators was the archbiſhop Agnolo Acciavioli; and no popular conſpiracy was, perhaps, ever ſo regularly carried on. The citizens laughed at the tyrant's compliances and offers; they met in the great

He is beſieged and expelled.

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church, where they choſe fourteen of their number, the biſhop being their principal, for reſettling the government of the ſtate. Notwithſtanding this precaution, the ſiege went on with more fury than ever; and the tyrant, finding at laſt that he ſhould be obliged to yield, thruſt out of the citadel thoſe officers and guards whoſe cruelty had rendered them moſt obnoxious to the people, by whom they were inſtantly put to death (A). Their puniſhment ſomewhat ſoftened the fury of the beſiegers; and the biſhop, with his aſſeſſors, ſoon brought them into ſuch a temper, that, upon a parley, Gualtieri conſented to deliver up the citadel into the hands of the fourteen, and to diveſt himſelf of all power over Florence. It was wiſely, at the ſame time, ſtipulated by the fourteen, that he ſhould ratify thoſe articles as ſoon as he quitted the Florentine territories. All that he demanded in return was his life, which the fourteen with difficulty preſerved, by keeping him for two days within the caſtle, under a ſtrong guard, and ſending him off in the night to Caſantino, where he ratified the articles. His tyranny over Florence continued above nine months. It is remarkable that the Arezzians, the Piſtoians, and the Volterrans, as if all had acted in concert, recovered their liberties, and expelled the tyrant's troops at the ſame time [b].

Though the Florentines had been unanimous in expelling their late tyrant, they were far from being ſo as to the manner in which their government ſhould be re-eſtabliſhed. Their city and ſtate were at this time in the utmoſt confuſion; nor could they be ſaid to have any other magiſtracy than the fourteen they had choſen. To them was referred the care of reſettling the government. Upon deliberation they agreed, that the power of the preſidents, who had

[b] Villan. lib. xii. cap. xv. Chron. Senaſe apud Murator. tom. xv. Machiavel, Hiſt. de Ferenza, lib. ii.

(A) Before the populace would liſten to any terms of accommodation, they inſiſted upon his delivering up to their vengeance three or four individuals who had eſpouſed his cauſe, among theſe was Gulielmo de Suſi, and his ſon, a youth of eighteen, of extraordinary beauty, and the moſt amiable diſpoſition. This unhappy victim, whoſe only crime was being ſon to Gulielmo, no ſooner came forth, than the ſavage multitude fell upon him with ſwords, daggers, and knives, and not only cut him in pieces, but devoured his fleſh, like wild beaſts (1).

(1) Machiavel, delle Hiſt. lib. ii.

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made so glorious a stand against the late tyrant, should be restored: thus far the government was to stand on its old foundation. Something new, however, was proposed to be introduced, and that the nobility, who had been highly instrumental in expelling the tyrant, should, for that reason, as well as to prevent future dissensions, which had been so fatal to the state, be capacitated to act as presidents, and fill other posts of the magistracy. This innovation was likewise agreed to: no measures, however, were taken for restoring the courts of justice, and the institution of companies, it being alleged that such precautions were now rendered useless, by the nobility's being consolidated with the commonalty in the government. The number of the city wards was reduced from six to four; of which the Transarnine ward was one. When the general election of presidents came on, four were chosen from the nobility, and eight from the commonalty; and they took possession of the palace, and all the badges of authority they had been deprived of by the tyrant. All those regulations took place by the sole authority of the fourteen; but they were more specious than lasting, and though well meant, found to be impracticable [e].

Civil dissensions.

The people, seeing four noblemen upon the bench of the presidents, exclaimed against adding to a power that was even too formidable before. Heats and animosities soon revived in Florence, where it was publicly said, that by driving out one tyrant they had admitted hundreds. The bishop saw, that civil commotions were upon the point of breaking out again. Though he himself was of one of the noblest families in Florence, he advised the fourteen to submit the modelling of the state to an assembly of the people, as the only means of retaining somewhat, whereas by an obstinate perseverance they might forfeit all. This moderate counsel was rejected with great acrimony, and some marks of contempt for its author, whom they put in mind how scandalously the plebeians had supported the late tyrant. The prelate, who was a man of resolution, retorted on the nobility their conduct on the same occasion; and words grew so high, that they reached the ears of the people without doors, who were already ripe for insurrection. In an instant they broke into the palace, pulled the nobility from the bench of the presidents, and ordered them to return home in a private station. This attack was what the nobles had so little foreseen, that they could that night come to no general resolution. Next day, the people resolved to

[e] Aretin, p. 143.

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loſe no time, and attacked, one by one, all the houſes of the nobility, ſituated on this ſide the Arno, which they eaſily reduced, but without offering any violence to their perſons.

The nobility expelled from the magiſtracy.

The nobility being more powerful on the other ſide of the river, the people found more reſiſtance there; at laſt they prevailed, after an obſtinate engagement, and, though they plundered and deſtroyed a few palaces where they met with the greateſt oppoſition, yet they treated the nobles and their families with becoming reſpect, declaring that they fought from motives neither of hatred nor revenge, but of love to their country, the conſtitution of which was dearer to them than their own lives (B).

The Florentines reſtore Arezzo to its independency.

The firſt care of the people was to reſtore the ancient forms of their conſtitution, with ſome immaterial variations; and the chief poſts in their government were beſtowed on ſuch plebeians as affected the leaſt pomp, and poſſeſſed the leaſt power.

Ever ſince Arezzo had been under their dominion, they had been embroiled on its account, as Sacone, its former maſter, was ſtill powerful enough to maintain his pretenſions. The Florentines, therefore, came to a reſolution of reſtoring to the city its independency. For this purpoſe a ſolemn deputation was ſent from Florence, to compliment the Arezzians upon having ſo nobly recovered their liberty, and to preſent them with a public inſtrument, by which the Florentine people reſigned for ever all title to any right of dominion over that city. The deputies executed their commiſſion in the moſt ſolemn manner, and the preſent was received by the Arezzians with the utmoſt raptures of joy and gratitude. Soon after a league was formed between the Perugians, the Sienneſe, the Arezzians, and the Florentines, who were placed at the head of the confederacy.

Make peace with Piſa.

The Florentines, on farther conſultation, conſidered themſelves as being ſtill in a ſtate of war with the Piſans, becauſe they did not think themſelves bound by the peace the tyrant had made. As the Piſans, however, had concluded it upon the principles of good faith, the Florentines conſented to renew it with very few alterations.

A.D. 1344.

Severities againſt the nobility.

Next year the Florentines paſſed ſome very ſevere laws againſt their nobility, one in particular, importing that ſuch of them as were in foreign ſervices ſhould, on being ſummoned, repair to Florence, on pain of forfeiting all their eſtates

(B) Machiavel expreſsly ſays that the populace, on this occaſion pillaged, burned, and deſtroyed the palaces of the nobility in ſuch a manner, that the moſt inveterate enemy of Florence would have been aſhamed to practiſe ſuch barbarity.

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and effects. The motive of this law was, lest those noblemen should acquire such power and interest abroad, as might enable them to disturb the peace of the state at home. About the same time a prosecution was ordered against the governors of all forts and castles belonging to Florence, most of whom were nobles who had been appointed by the tyrant. History is silent as to the penalty inflicted upon them; but we are told that several noblemen, were condemned on that account.

Mean while, the expelled tyrant was soliciting his cause at the court of France, where he represented the Florentines in the most odious colours, insisting upon being indemnified for all his losses out of the estates of the Florentines who were settled in that kingdom. His complaints were so well received, that the latter sent advice of their danger to the magistracy of Florence, in the most affecting terms. This remonstrance provoked the Florentines to pass what we may call an act of attainder against the tyrant, and to set a price upon his head. At the same time he was publicly executed in effigy, with all the marks of abhorrence and detestation. These proceedings, however, did not prevent the Florentines from sending an ambassador to vindicate their conduct at the court of France. Soon after his departure ambassadors came from the king of France, demanding restitution of what had been taken from the tyrant, to the amount of a prodigious sum. The Florentines received and treated them with all the respect due to their master; but exposed the cruelty, avarice, ambition, and oppressions of the tyrant with such strength of eloquence and evidence, that the ambassadors had nothing to reply. They then shewed them his act of abdication, which he had ratified at a place where he could be under no apprehensions of danger.

Gualtieri solicits the court of France.

In the course of this year the Florentine government surmounted a difficulty which in that age would, perhaps, have been unsurmountable by any other people. The state had borrowed from its subjects a large sum of money, amounting to about sixty thousand pounds sterling. The low state of the public finances, at this time, did not admit of the government's paying off the debt, yet there was a necessity for supporting the public credit. As a middle way, every creditor had assignments made to him, on the public revenue, at the rate of five per cent. These assignments were transferable like our stocks, and negociated in the same manner, their value rising or falling according to the prosperity or distresses of the state. The Florentine stock was negociated in the same manner as bargains are for any

Original of paper credit.

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other mercantile commodity [p]. Here we, perhaps, have the first rise of paper credit.

A.D. 1345. In the beginning of the following year, the Florentine people seem to have been so much intoxicated with their prosperous situation, that they forgot their usual moderation. Their historians exclaim against one law they then passed, as being unjust, and against another as being ungrateful. By the former the clergy were abridged in all their privileges. The latter was a kind of an act of resumption, which cancelled all grants that had been made by the public to citizens for their past services, so that many were obliged to return great part of their estates, to the ruin of their families.

Great bankruptcy on account of England.

The same year is noted for an event not much to the honour of England. The Florentine family of the Bardi were then the greatest bankers in Europe, and had partnerships in most trading nations. They had lent Edward III. king of England, about seven hundred thousand crowns of gold, to assist him in his French wars; and his majesty not being punctual in his remittances, the Bardi became insolvent. As there was scarce a family in Florence that had not money in their hands, the calamity was general, and occasioned such distrusts between man and man, as amounted to a stagnation of public credit. It appeared, however, upon inspecting the bankrupt's accounts, that the company owed about two hundred thousand crowns less than their demand upon Edward [q].

To add to the misfortunes of the Florentines, they understood that Philip, then king of France, had so far taken part with their late tyrant, that he had ordered all Florentines and their goods to be seized, who should be found sixty days, after the date of the order, within his kingdom. He was induced, no doubt, to this severity by the vast support the Florentines had given to his enemy and rival the king of England.

A.D. 1346. Next year a general famine prevailed all over Italy, and the Florentines were obliged to buy up grain in Africa, Sardinia, and Sicily. Their humanity on this occasion deserves to be recorded: they gave bread to incredible numbers of women, children, and poor people, who flocked to their city from the country and the neighbouring states, who had not been so provident. All their charitable precautions, however, could not hinder a pestilential disease from breaking out in the city, which is generally the consequence of famine, and of a place overstocked with numbers of strangers.

A famine.

[p] Aretin, p. 146. [q] Id. ibid.

During

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During this year the Florentines received a fresh mortification. Their hereditary enemy, Charles of Luxemburg, son to John king of Bohemia, and grandson to the emperor Henry, was raised to the imperial dignity. This elevation, however, was productive of no immediate ill consequence to their state, which about this time acquired the sovereignty of the town of St. Miniato, which was delivered to them in consequence of the irreconcileable dissensions that reigned in that place. But the plague continued to rage among them to such a degree, that, in the course of this year, three parts in five of the inhabitants perished [t]. Many of these being men of the first rank in the state, there was for some time an almost total cessation of public business. All that the citizens could do, was to repress the incursions of some robbers, who came from the Apennines to make their advantage of the public distresses. Next year passed in almost the same inactivity, only the people of Colle and Gemmiani submitted to the Florentines, their former masters, being impelled thereto by their domestic dissensions. Some strong places belonging to the Ubaldi, which sheltered robbers upon the Apennines, were likewise taken.

Charles of Luxemburg chosen emperor.

A.D. 1347.

A.D. 1348.

Giovanni Visconti, lord of Milan, was the most powerful prince then in Lombardy, having added Bologna to his other dominions. The Florentines, alarmed by the neighbourhood of so powerful and arbitrary a prince, consulted how to oppose him if he should attempt to extend his territories, and for that purpose planned an alliance with Scaliger, and the other Tuscan states, who were equally jealous of his power, and, amongst others, with the pope himself. A general meeting of deputies from all the confederates was held at Arezzo, where the pope's legate likewise assisted; but, Scaliger's death and many difficulties intervening, the negociations came to nothing. Visconti availed himself of a juncture so favourable to his ambition, and detached Scaliger's son and successor from the confederacy. All this while he affected to maintain a good correspondence with Florence; and, that he might disguise his true designs, he ordered his general Bernabo to besiege Imola, a strong city in the Romagna, his army then lying at Bologna. Amongst his troops were many of the Bolognese, and others, who were over-awed or suspected by him, particularly the inhabitants of Faenza and Friuli, whom he obliged to serve in his army, lest they might excite commotions against him in his absence. The troops,

A.D. 1350.

Visconti's artifice.

[t] Matt. Villani, apud Muratori Annal.

however,

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however, he chiefly depended upon were three thousand horse and four thousand foot, chiefly mercenaries, headed by Bernabo. The garrison of Imola made a vigorous defence, so that he was obliged to turn the siege into a blockade. While this lasted, the Florentines had intelligence that the Pisans were about to declare for Visconti, and that he was concerting measures for making himself master of Pistoia and Prato. The last is a small city, but in those days well fortified, and of all others of the greatest importance to the Florentines, because of its neighbourhood to Florence. They knew that the inhabitants were divided into factions, which circumstance was the great encouragement Visconti had; and they resolved, if possible, to be before-hand with him. A large body of troops were instantly in arms, and marching to Prato with the greatest expedition, pitched their tents before the town, without offering the smallest hostility. The Pratonese were equally surprised by their friendly, as they had been by their hostile appearance; and the Florentines reasoned with them so mildly, but effectually, that, opening their gates, they received them as their protectors.

The Florentines secure Prato.

They secure Pistoia.

This important and unexpected success encouraged the Florentines next to attempt Pistoia. A sedition, that had lately happened there, gave the Florentines a pretext for offering its magistrates a body of troops for preserving the peace of their city. The offer was accepted; but a very few of the Florentines were introduced into Pistoia, and these were bound by an oath of fidelity to the magistracy. The Florentines, despairing to accomplish their aim by this expedient, resolved to act in a different manner. They privately sent for the exiles, who had been driven from Pistoia in the late insurrection; and it was agreed, that they should surprise that city in the night by scalade. One Peter, who was a commissary of the Florentine army, was sent before to dispose the Florentines there to favour the attempt: but he never discharged this commission. The exiles, however, thinking themselves sure of the Florentines within, performed their part with the utmost intrepidity; but after the greatest part of them had got over the wall, the Pistoians took the alarm, and a fierce encounter ensued, which was manfully sustained by the exiles, in a sure confidence of their being joined by the Florentine part of the garrison. The latter, however, knowing nothing of the conspiracy, fought as bravely against them as the Pistoians did; and, at last, the exiles were obliged to retreat. The Pistoians, at first, imagined the attempt was the act of their own exiles; but discovering the truth, by examining their

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their priſoners, they became doubly intent upon guarding their city and liberty. Nevertheleſs, though they were exaſperated to the higheſt degree, they gave an honourable diſmiſſion to the Florentine part of their garriſon, on account of their fidelity and courage.

It was perhaps this failure of ſucceſs that opened the mouths of the Florentines againſt their preſidents, as if they had by their treachery rendered the Piſtoians their enemies, and driven them into the arms of Viſconti. The wiſer amongſt the Florentines, however, reflecting that there was now no hope of gaining over the Piſtoians by fair means, counſelled the people to lay aſide all animoſities, and to attempt to gain their point by force. This counſel was approved of, and in three days Piſtoia was beſieged by fifteen thouſand Florentines; a prodigious number, when we conſider the havock of the late peſtilence. The Piſtoians prepared to make a brave defence; but the Florentines ſeemed ſo unwilling to commit hoſtilities, that daily conferences paſſed between the beſiegers and the beſieged. At laſt all difficulties were got over, by means of the friends the Florentines had in Piſtoia, and the Piſtoians unanimouſly received a Florentine garriſon[u]. A.D.1351.

Before this event, Viſconti and his chief officers had always mentioned the Florentines in terms of great reſpect and friendſhip; but he now ſummoned together his friends all over Tuſcany and Lombardy. He acquainted them, that he had diſcovered a conſpiracy formed by ſome Bologneſe lords, for betraying that city to the Florentines, whom he inveighed againſt with great bitterneſs. He then made a kind of a deduction of all that their ſeveral countries had ſuffered from the Florentines, and told them, that their only way to have reparation and revenge was for every ſtate to exert itſelf all at once to fall upon them, and that he himſelf would lead the way. His ſpeech was received with great applauſe; a great army was aſſembled, and the command of it given by him to Olegiano, one of his relations. His expedition was ſo great, that he paſſed the Appennines, and encamped near Piſtoia, before his march from Bologna was known. All that the Florentines, under their great aſtoniſhment, could do, was to throw a ſtrong reinforcement of horſe and foot into the city, and to ſend a deputation to expoſtulate with Olegiano. He declared he was come, by order of the biſhop of Milan, to obtain ſatisfaction for the loſſes and outrages his friends and *Viſconti ſends an army into Tuſcany.*

[u] Matt. Villani, lib. i. cap. 95.

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allies had received from the Florentine people; and that they must either take him for their arbiter, or expect the consequences. The deputies, upon this declaration, left the camp; and he made dispositions for besieging Pistoia. His real intention, however, was to excite a revolt within the city in his favour; but being disappointed of that hope, and finding the garrison prepared for a vigorous resistance, he broke up the siege, and marched directly through the the Pratonese towards Florence[x]. His army consisted of above ten thousand horse and six thousand foot, besides a great number of auxiliary troops and volunteers. But it soon appeared, that Olegiano depended more upon the Florentine dissensions than upon his own army, for the reduction of the city. All he did was taking a few inconsiderable places, and ravaging the open country; for after his troops had paraded for some time before Florence, he drew them off towards the vale of Mugelli.

Olegiano besieges Pistoia, and marches against Florence in vain.

This unsuccessful expedition of Visconti against the Florentines occasioned commotions all over Lombardy and Tuscany. Sacone took the field against the towns of the Upper Arno. He was opposed by the people of those parts, and by three hundred Florentine horse, with some Arezzians, under the command of Ricasolani, who immediately prepared to give him battle. Sacone stood upon the defensive; and Ricasolani, knowing his troops were but raw, forbore to attack him, so that Sacone in the night drew off his army. Ricasolani afterwards took Agnani. Visconti, all this while, was not idle: he sent an ambassador to persuade the Pisans to renounce their league with the Florentines, in which case he promised to assist them with a strong body of troops under Bernabo. The Gambacurti were then the most powerful family in Pisa, friends to the Florentines, and no strangers to Visconti's ambition. By their advice and influence, his ambassadors were dismissed, without any other reply than that the Pisans would send their answer by deputies of their own. Visconte finding he was trifled with, sent other ambassadors to Pisa with more splendid retinues, and with instructions to address the people in a general assembly. Their discourse was artful, and adapted to the innate hatred the lower ranks of Pisa had to the Florentines. But Francesino Gambacurti, the head of that family, demonstrated, with great eloquence, that the ruin of Florence would be but a prelude to that of Pisa. When his harangue was finished, the

Continuation of the war.

Visconti baffled at Pisa.

[x] Aretini, p. 152.

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queſtion was put, and it was unanimouſly carried, that the peace with Florence ſhould be inviolably preſerved on the part of Piſa.

The Florentines augment their army.

The Florentines, perceiving the practices and deſigns of Viſconti, increaſed their domeſtic forces; and took into their pay two thouſand five hundred German horſe, who were joined by two hundred Sienneſe, and ſix hundred Perugian cavalry were hourly expected. Scarperia, which had been long beſieged by Viſconti, ſtill continued to hold bravely out, and the Florentines had reſolved to employ all their power to raiſe the ſiege, when Sacone defeated the Perugians, as they were marching to join their allies. The Arezzians, therefore, were obliged to detach themſelves from the main army, and to return home, that they might baffle any attempts that might be made againſt them. This defeat obliged the Florentines to alter their meaſures, and damped the Scarperians, who were now reduced to the greateſt diſtreſs. Vicedomini, a Florentine nobleman of great ſpirit, to ſet a generous example to his countrymen, broke through the beſiegers camp in the night, and entered Scarperia with thirty horſe. Medici, a Florentine of great courage, taking advantage of a ſtormy night, entered the enemy's camp, where it was weakeſt, with one hundred horſe, and, with the loſs of twenty, carried the reſt ſafe into the town. Thoſe reinforcements, though but inconſiderable, gave ſuch ſpirit to the beſieged, that they baffled the moſt vigorous attempts of their enemies with unparalleled courage and perſeverance; ſo that the beſiegers were at laſt obliged to repaſs the Apennines, and return to the Bologneſe. A.D. 1352.

Raiſe the ſiege of Scarperia.

Their generoſity.

The Florentines made noble acknowlegements for the ſervices performed on this occaſion. They doubled the pay of every common ſoldier of the garriſon; they freed the townſmen from the payment of all taxes for ten years; they preſented John and his brother Silveſter Medici, who were honoured with knighthood, with five hundred crowns of gold each, to be expended on their arms and equipages, and one hundred and fifty for their table: but ſome noblemen, who had likewiſe ſignalized themſelves, particularly the Donati, the Roſſi, and the Vicedomini, were miſrepreſented to the people.

About this time the family of the Brandali, then the moſt powerful in Arezzo, entered into a correſpondence with Viſconti, and ſome other of their diſcontented countrymen, for ſeizing that city. One of the conſpirators happened to be appointed keeper of a tower, that commanded a gate leading into the country, a circumſtance which gave their

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their fellow-conspirators an assurance of success that they could not dissemble. As the magistrates were examining those they suspected, Visconti's troops appeared before the gate, and the conspirators stood to their arms within the city. The Arezzians, however, attacked their foreign enemies, who were in number six hundred foot and three hundred horse, so resolutely, that they obliged them to retreat. The tower and the houses of the conspirators continued, nevertheless, to make a resolute defence; and, after three days assault, it was agreed, that the conspirators should depart safe out of Arezzo. Sacone, however, about the same time, succeeded in surprising Burgo, a town of some consequence belonging to the Perugians; and the town of Anglari surrendered to him likewise.

Arezzo preserved.

The Tuscan confederacy renewed.

Winter drawing on, it was agreed amongst the confederate states of Tuscany, namely the Florentines, the Arezzians, the Perugians, and the Siennese, that they should make the most vigorous preparations for continuing the war next year. The Florentine magistrates, on this occasion, acted impolitickly in dismissing their native troops, and taking a body of foreigners into their pay. The confederates sent deputies to Avignon, where the pope then resided, to invite him into the confederacy against Visconti; but they returned with promises, and nothing else. During these transactions, Scarperia, which had been so bravely defended, was surprised by a party of Visconti's troops, who had been encouraged to the attempt by the dissensions subsisting between the townsmen and the garrison; but the latter, forgetting all animosities, soon recovered the place, and expelled the enemy. During the same winter, Sacone, having ravaged the Perugian territories, obliged, or engaged, the people of Cortona to declare for Visconti [y].

Negociations with the emperor,

It was now known at Florence that the pope and the French court had been prevailed upon, by Visconti, not to intermeddle in the affairs of Tuscany; so that the confederates were obliged to have recourse for assistance to a power, whom they had some time before considered as their capital enemy: this was the emperor Charles IV. He had no reason to be well satisfied with the Visconti family; and when the confederates secretly applied to him, he agreed to send a private agent to Florence, to concert measures for their relief.

and the pope, who overreaches the confederates.

The Florentine deputies now renewed their solicitations at Avignon, as their last effort with the pope, who prevailed upon them to agree to his mediating a peace be-

[y] Aretini, p. 159.

tween

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tween Viſconti and the emperor. The former being excommunicated, his holineſs abſolved him of all the eccleſiaſtical cenſures, and even remitted to him the poſſeſſion of Bologna for twelve months, in conſideration of a great ſum of money paid him by Viſconte. All hope of a peace vaniſhed; and the Florentines plainly ſaw that they had been deceived and over-reached by his holineſs. As they themſelves had been partly acceſſory to their own diſappointment, they were almoſt aſhamed to complain; but they rejected a truce for a year, propoſed by the pope, between them and Viſconti. The confederates then renewed their applications to Charles; and, after various negociations, it was agreed, that he ſhould march to their aſſiſtance with an army againſt Viſconti, upon their paying him a ſubſidy, and acknowleging him as head of the Roman empire. Meanwhile the war was maintained in petty exploits and predatory excurſions.

During thoſe tranſactions, the reputation of the Florentine government gained ground. Viſconti ſaw he had been miſinformed; and that the riches brought them by foreign commerce were inexhauſtible, and would always enable them to maintain powerful armies in the field. He was now infirm in his health, and had loſt all hopes of gaining the Piſans: he therefore applied to Franceſino Gambacurti, his former oppoſer at Piſa, to mediate a peace between him and the confederates. That nobleman readily undertook the office, and the Florentines as readily embraced the propoſal. Deputies from all the parties met at Sarzana. After violent altercations, it was agreed, that a peace ſhould be concluded between the Florentines and their confederates on the one part, and the biſhop of Milan, his adherents, and dependents, on the other; that the biſhop ſhould withdraw all his troops and garriſons from Tuſcany, and never after make war upon any of the Tuſcan ſtates; that he ſhould reſtore all he had taken from the Piſtoians, and leave Burgo to its ancient freedom; that if the Florentines ſhould attack the Piſans or the Lucqueſe, the prelate might ſend them aſſiſtance; and the Florentines had the ſame liberty, if either of thoſe ſtates ſhould be attacked by the prelate. All the Florentine and Perugian exiles on account of the late war, were to be reſtored; but no other, unleſs expreſsly named in the treaty. Sacone and his family were to be reſtored to all their poſſeſſions in the Arezzian territory; but none of them were to come nearer than the diſtance of four miles to that city [z]. Such were the general

A.D. 1353.

Terms of peace between the Florentines and Viſconti.

[z] Aretin, p. 162.

terms

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terms of this treaty, which contained a great many other articles and precautions, with regard to the exiles.

False musters punished.

So honourable a peace gave the Florentines some respite to look into their domestic concerns. Their first inquiry was into the state of their army, where they found the most scandalous abuses had been committed by their commissaries, and others, who had made false musters. Some of the delinquents were brought to condign punishment; and the Florentines honourably discharged all mercenaries from their service, and entirely betook themselves to the arts of peace, which they were allowed to cultivate only for a few months.

Original of the Florentine war with the German banditti.

The discharge of the foreign mercenaries, though a measure wise and equitable in itself, brought great troubles upon all the Tuscan states. Their banditti finding now no employment in Italy, and consisting of outlaws from Germany, France, and other nations, united themselves under the command of one Moriali, a Lombard, and resolved to lay all Italy under contribution. They were soon joined by many Italians, so that their numbers amounted to above eight thousand horse and four thousand foot, all of them veteran troops, besides an immense number of servants and attendants upon their camp. They set out upon the principle of rapine; but each state was at liberty to redeem itself from their ravages, upon paying the contributions at which it was taxed. Having ravaged some parts of Italy, they passed the Appennines, and invaded the territory of Perugia, which was obliged to pay them the contributions they demanded. The Florentines in vain endeavoured to form a confederacy against them; they advanced within eight miles of Florence; and the Florentines, as well as the Sienneſe, were obliged to satisfy their lawless demands. They met with the same success at Arezzo, and at Citta di Castello, where they divided their plunder; and about the beginning of October went into winter-quarters, wherever they could make them good.

Conduct of the emperor Charles.

About this period the Genoese, who had for some time maintained an unequal war with the Venetians, and other enemies, submitted to the protection of Visconti, and put him in possession of their city. Upon this occasion, the Venetians, the Paduans, the Veronese, and the Ferrarese, with all Visconti's ancient enemies, applied to the emperor Charles, who at their request entered Italy; but stopt at Padua, till he should see what turn affairs would take. In this critical conjuncture Visconti died, and was succeeded in his dominions by his brother's children. Their unanimity was so great, that Charles, despairing of any revolution

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revolution in his favour, effected a truce between the Milaneſe and their enemies; and then marching to Piſa, was admitted into that city. While he remained in that place, the Florentines, the Sienneſe, and Arezzians, ſent him a joint deputation; but it ſoon appeared that the Sienneſe had ſeparate views, and intended to put themſelves under the emperor's protection. The people of Volterra and Miniato, without the knowlege of their allies the Florentines, ſurrendered themſelves and their territories to Charles; and at laſt it was found, that the Florentines and the Arezzians were the only ſtates who remained firm to the principles of their confederacy. On the other hand, Sacone and Fagiolani complained to the emperor of the hardſhip of the terms impoſed upon them by the treaty of Sarzana; but Charles, whoſe great aim was to get money, gave no ſatisfaction to either party, though he ſeemed rather to incline to the cauſe of the Arezzians. The Florentines applied to him with better ſucceſs; and, by the aſſiſtance of a round ſum, obtained all they requeſted. From Piſa Charles marched to Volterra, then viſited Miniato; from whence he went to Sienna, where he was likewiſe received, but not without oppoſition. The Florentines at this time were, of all the Italian ſtates, his favourites, for having furniſhed him with money, which carried him to Rome, where, with his empreſs, he was ſolemnly crowned.

A.D. 1355. *Death of Sacone.*

About the beginning of the year 1355, Charles ſet out from Rome for Germany, and, paſſing through Tuſcany, indulged the Florentines and their allies by granting all their demands; for which he is blamed by the German hiſtorians, as having bartered all the imperial demeſnes in Italy for money. This year the Florentines fortified Caſſiano, which had proved a retreat for the banditti, who, during the emperors abode in Italy, ſeem to have been pretty quiet. About this time Sacone, formerly lord of Arezzo, died, aged above eighty years, which he, almoſt without interruption, ſpent in the field. The day of his death was celebrated by the Florentines as that of their deliverance. The terrors of the banditti were again renewed, and the Florentines fortified ſome other places againſt them. But other dangers threatened the ſtate. The emperor, in all his proceedings, had declared himſelf a Guelph; and that faction at Florence had power enough to carry an act againſt any Ghibelin, or the deſcendant of one, holding any place of truſt or profit in the ſtate. This diſtinction renewed all the public diſtractions there, and freſh acts paſſed to ſtrengthen the power of the plebeians.

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The Florentine staple removed to Telamone.

About this time the Florentines, whose trade had now arrived at a prodigious height, finding that the Pisans wanted to extort unreasonably for the liberty of landing goods in their ports, ordered their merchants to land them at Telamone, now a small fortified town in the Stato de gli Presidii. The Pisans, perceiving that they were deprived of that valuable intercourse, gave frequent interruptions to the Florentine traders, who were obliged to carry their commodities by a long land-carriage to Florence. But the Florentines, with a spirit becoming a free people, resolved not to be braved by the Pisans, even at sea; and hired of the Provençals fifteen ships of war, with which they not only protected their own trade, but carried terror into Pisa itself.

Progress of the banditti;

The dread of the German banditti still hung over the heads of the Florentines. They now again appeared in the kingdom of Naples; from whence they proceeded to Lombardy: having ravaged the Milanese, they marched to the Bolognese, from whence they endeavoured to penetrate into the Florentine territories; but the Forentines had taken care to fortify the passes of the Appennines so well, that they found it impracticable to proceed. Thus hampered they promised to retire towards their own country, without scarcely touching on the Florentine grounds, by the Casantine. The Florentines either could not, or would not, oppose this proposal; but, after they had entered upon the mountains, the country people, who had suffered so greatly by their depredations, fell upon the second division of them so furiously, with stones from the tops of the rocks, which every way surrounded them, that most of them were killed, without being able to make the smallest resistance; and all their booty fell into the hands of their conquerors. The first division however, reached Decumani, a small village belonging to the Florentines, carrying along with them the Florentine deputies, who had agreed to their march, and whom they threatened with destruction, as soon as they heard of the total discomfiture of their companions. Nothing could have saved them, had not the robbers been here surrounded in the same manner as their companions had been by the country people, equally intent upon revenge and plunder. The deputies interposed, and by saving the banditti from their rage, saved themselves, though with great difficulty, and without being thanked by either party. The country people were exasperated at being disappointed of their prey, and the banditti upbraided the Florentines with breach of faith.

part of whom are destroyed.

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The overthrow of one part of the banditti served but to inspire the other with thoughts of vengeance; and their rage was increased by the count de Lando their general, a German soldier of fortune. He had been taken prisoner, and stript of his all, when their second division was destroyed; but, finding means to escape, he now rejoined his followers. The late peace between the Siennese and the Perugians, added three thousand German horse, who were then dismissed, to the banditti. By this junction they were so formidable, that they resolved no longer to hazard themselves in mountanious marches, but to force their way through the campaign country into Tuscany, which they proposed to invade by the way of Perugia, to avoid the danger of passing the Appenines. The vast circuit which this plan obliged them to take was of little inconvenience to men who lived by plunder, and who were marching through the finest countries in Europe. They met with no interruption on their march, and before they arrived at Perugia, the inhabitants sent deputies, who paid them a sum of money for the ransom of their city. Their example was followed by the Siennese and the Pisans. Thus the fairest and most populous provinces in Italy were laid under contribution by a set of lawless ruffians, whose progress increased their numbers, as their barbarity did the horror in which they were held. Wherever they met with the least resistance, ruin to the inhabitants was the certain consequence: they demolished towns, desolated countries, slaughtered people, and nothing but money could restrain their ravages.

Their force increased.

A.D. 1358.

At length, they collected together all their force, and declared that Florence was the only object they had in view when they undertook their long march, and that she was to expect no favour. The most respectable citizens of the Florentine allies came to Florence, to persuade the people and magistrates that they had no way to avoid certain destruction, but to send deputies to treat with the ruffians; and that they might buy their peace cheaper than their quarters for a single day in their territories would cost their state. These and many other specious arguments were disdained by the Florentines, who continued their warlike preparations, and chose Pandolfo Malatesta for their general. Instead of waiting within their walls, Malatesta led his troops to the field against the banditti, and arrived at the Pesa just at the time when they had begun to march from Sienna towards Florence with their full force. But when, contrary to their expectations, they understood that the Florentines had even imposed silence upon all advocates for

Magnanimity of the Florentines.

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an accommodation with them, and were waiting for them in order of battle, they were ſtartled; and, after having loitered for ſome time in the Sienneſe, turned off towards the Volterran, from thence to proceed to Piſa. The Florentine army followed them; and paſſing the Alſa at St. Miniato, again offered battle to the banditti, who declined it, and marched off towards the Lucqueſe. They were purſued by the Florentines; and now it appeared, that no true courage can animate a lawleſs ſet of men; for the banditi ſtill continued retreating.

Admired by all Italy.

The attention of all Italy had for ſome time been employed upon the firm conduct of the Florentines, and it now became their admiration. The moſt diſtant ſtates intereſted themſelves in the fate and ſupport of ſo much magnanimity, and wanted to ſhare their glory. The king of Sicily, Bernabo duke of Milan, the Paduans, and the Ferrareſe, ſent troops to ſerve in the Florentine army. Thoſe of Bernabo were headed by his ſon Ambroſini. The Arezzians ſent them two hundred horſe, and as many foot, all of them choice troops; and fifty of the greateſt Neapolitan nobility ſerved as volunteers in the campaign. The Germans, at laſt took poſſeſſion of a riſing ground, where they thought it was impracticable for the Florentines to aſſault them; but while diſpoſitions for attacking them next day were making, the banditti ſet fire to their camp in the night, and drew off with precipitation towards Lucca, from whence they fled into the Genoeſe territories in their march towards the duchy of Monferrat[f].

The banditi repulſed.

A.D. 1359.

It its probable, that had the banditti prevailed againſt Florence, a new kingdom, ſuch as that of the Lombards, would have been erected in Italy; and nothing but their want of a proper head, and ſome other colour to their cauſe than that of mere robbery, could have prevented their ſucceſs. All Europe was then full of ſoldiers of fortune, who, in time of peace, had no means of ſubſiſting but by rapine and plunder.

The banditti invade Pavia.

The Florentine general and his army, upon their return from the campaign, made a triumphal entry into Florence, were handſome preſents were beſtowed upon all the auxiliary troops; and never did the Florentine name appear with greater luſtre, nor their ſtate with more authority, than they did on that occaſion. Soon after the army's return to Florence, intelligence came that the banditti had made their appearance near Pavia, then belonging to Bernabo. Upon

[f] Matt. Villani, lib. ix. cap. 36.

which

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which advice, the Florentines immediately ordered a detachment of one thousand horse to Bernabo's assistance.

Bibienna taken by the Florentines.

But the expedition against the banditti was not the only war this year carried on by the Florentines. The Ubertini and Tarlati continued still to be leading families in the Arezzian state; the chief of the Ubertini had served the Florentines against the banditti, and had lost his son in the campaign. This circumstance ingratiated his family so much with the Florentines, that they gave the youth a most magnificent burial, and bestowed the honour of knighthood on his surviving brother. Great animosities subsisting between the two families, the Ubertini persuaded the Florentines to declare war against Bibienna, then a strong place in the Casantine, held by the Tarlati. The siege continued for two months; but the place was at last taken, and delivered up to the Florentines. Its reduction was followed by the surrender of the neighbouring forts held by the Tarlati, which were given to the Arezzians, and the two sons of Sacone were carried prisoners to Florence.

A D. 1360.

War in the Bolognese.

Next year, differences broke out between Bernabo and Olegiano, Visconti's nephews and successors; and Olegiano found himself obliged to make a surrender of Bologna to the pope's legate. Bernabo marched with an army into the Bolognese, to dispute his taking possession of it; and a desperate war ensued; in which, notwithstanding the recent connections between the Florentines and Bernabo, the former could not help wishing success to the legate, as being the less formidable neighbour. This war, however, did not divert their attention from their domestic concerns. One Nicola Acciaioli, who had been long first minister to the king and kingdom of Naples, a man of great power and abilities, had for some time resided in Florence, on the part of the legate; and had acquired so much authority there, that the people imagined he aspired to a seat in their magistracy. Upon this suspicion they passed a law, that no man could be a magistrate of Florence, who was the governor of, or held a post in any other town. Next year Volterra was reduced to the obedience of the Florentines, through the dissensions of its own citizens. By this time, through the removal of the Florentine staple to Telamone, the Pisan state was rendered almost a desart, and their ports were abandoned. They had, for some time, interrupted the Florentine navigation into Telamone; and such heart-burnings arose between the two states; that it was plain an open breach would be the consequence; a colourable pretext now being only wanting, which soon presented itself. The castle of Petrabona, belonging to the Pisans, had been

Law passed in Florence.

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seized by some privates person, and was now besieged by their former masters. Pietro Gambacurta, being then an exile from Pisa, lived at Florence; from whence he made several incursions, at the head of his own followers, into the Pisan territory. His being protected by the Florentines, gave the Pisans a pretext for commencing hostilities; and the Florentines undertook to raise the siege of Petrabona, which, however, was taken by the Pisans in their sight.

War with Pisa.

The Florentines looked upon this event as a disgrace to their arms, and fell into the Pisan territory with a great army, in which were eight hundred horse and four thousand foot, all of them mercenaries. They encamped near Pecciole, and reduced most of the neighbouring garrisons.

A D 1362.

Their general in this expedition, Bonifacio Lupo of Parma, being a regular bred soldier, seldom deigned to consult with the Florentine presidents, who always attended their generals in the nature of field-deputies, or any of the other Florentines. This reserve rendered him disagreeable to the state, and Rodolfo Varanio of Camerino took his command. The new general instantly led his troops to the walls of Pisa, and having forced his enemy's lines, ravaged the open country.

Understanding from intercepted letters, that the town of Pecciole, was much weakened by the absence of a strong detachment, which had been made from the garrison to plunder the territory of Volterra; he marched thither, and arrived time enough to make such a disposition of his troops as to cut off the return of the detachment; and thus the town being reduced to great streights, it was agreed, by a capitulation, that the place should be given up, if it was not succoured by a certain day. The commandant of the citadel refused to agree to this capitulation; but a large breach being made in the walls, the Florentines entered the place sword in hand. But the townsmen, who had made the capitulation, throwing themselves upon their knees before Varanio and the Florentine presidents, and laying the whole blame of the resistance upon the commandant, they were saved from plunder. This act of compassion ruined the authority of Varanio in the army, especially with the mercenaries; and though he took a few more places in the neighbourhood, yet two thousand horse deserted from him; and he was at last obliged to resign his command to Pietro Farnese, esteemed one of the best officers in Italy.

Pecciole taken by the Florentines.

The Florentines enter the port of Pisa.

The war between the Florentines and the Pisans all this time, was prosecuted with great vigour by sea. The former had hired two great galleys from the Genoese, commanded

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manded by Perino Grimaldi, and two others were sent them from the kingdom of Naples, through the credit of Acciaioli. These four great vessels proved an overmatch for all the Pisan marine. They made descents all along the enemy's coasts, where they took some places of strength and importance; and at last they even entered the harbour of Pisa. The great iron chain that secured it, they carried off, and hung up in the old temple of Mars at Florence, as a trophy of their maritime power.

Exploits and death of Farnetio.

Early in the spring, after Farnese received his command, he attempted to surprise Lucca, but miscarried; and five hundred Florentines were defeated by their enemies in the neighbourhood of Barga, then besieged by the Pisans. Those checks served only to rouse the spirit of Farnese. He entered the Pisan territory, and came to a general engagement with their whole force, which he totally defeated. He took their general, with a great number of their soldiers, and almost all their military ensigns, which he carried back in great triumph to Florence[g]. His modesty was equal to his glory. The Florentines, who, in all affairs of government and war, affected to imitate the Roman republicans, in a full assembly offered him a crown of laurel; but he refused it, as being too great an honour, till he could perform some service of greater consequence to the state.

Soon after this victory, Farnese again invaded the Pisan territory, and skirmished with his enemies at their very gates. We know not, however, that he made any dispositions for besieging the city: but it is certain, that, instead of celebrating, as was the custom of the Italians in those days, affrontive abusive games before the places they could not take, he struck under the walls of Pisa some coins, which carried his own device. His successes delivered Barga, from the long siege it had sustained; for no sooner were they made known to the besieged, by a detachment of horse thrown into it by Farnese, than the garrison made so furious a sally, that they drove their enemies out of their entrenchments, and forced them to abandon the siege. The Pisans must now have submitted to whatever terms the Florentines had pleased to impose upon them, had it not been for two events. The first was the death of the brave Farnese, who was carried off by a pestilental disease, in the midst of his victories. The history of the next event had its rise in England[h].

[g] Matt. Villane, lib. ii. cap. 42.

[h] Aretini, p. 173.

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Case of the banditti, and the English mercenaries.

Upon the conclusion of the treaty of Bretigny, in 1360, between Edward III. of England, and king John of France, a peace succeeded between the two nations, in consequence of which a great number of soldiers were dismissed from the service of both princes. All France at this time was filled with robberies by those disbanded soldiers, who, in the spring of the year 1361, assembled at Givry in Bresse, to the number of sixteen thousand; many of them headed by the same leaders who had commanded them in time of war. Their first intention was to march to Avignon, to plunder the pope's treasures. King John sent against them James of Bourbon, one of the most considerable noblemen in France; but the companions, or late-comers (for they went by both names), defeated his army with great slaughter, and he himself was killed, together with his son. It is hard to say what the consequence might have been, had not the English, to the number of four thousand horse and two thousand foot, detesting the cruelties and excesses of their companions, separated themselves from the main body, who soon after dispersed into different parties, and were taken either into the pay of the pope, or of other princes.

Account of Sir John Hawkwood.

The English were commanded by Sir John Hawkwood, a native of Heningham in Essex. His father was a tanner, and he himself had been bound apprentice to a taylor; but enlisting as a soldier, he distinguished himself so greatly that he received the honour of knighthood, and before the peace of Bretigny had acquired considerable property as well as rank. His first design, and that of his officers under him, was to offer their services to Florence, preferably to all other states, on account of the great losses the Florentines had sustained by the money they had so generously lent to the English. According to Aretin [d], they actually made the offer immediately upon the death of Farnese; but their demands being too high, the Florentines rejected them, and they were obliged to enter into the service of Pisa.

Hawkwood did not enter Italy, as is commonly thought, single and unattended, but at the head of a very respectable force, which soon turned the tide of success against the Florentines. The Pisans, without difficulty, granted them all their demands; and the English no sooner took the field, than they marched through Lucca, Pistoia, and Prato, and encamped within two miles of Florence. The manner in which the English made war was very different from what

[d] Aretin, p. 173.

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the Florentines had ever seen before, and incredible was the terror they spread wherever they advanced. They proceeded, it is true, with fire, sword, and rapine, in which they did no more than copy the practice of the Italians themselves, but returned to Pisa with a much greater booty than had ever been acquired before in such an expedition. The richness of it allured them to a second enterprize. They marched from Pisa to Empoli, which lies between the rivers Elsa and Pesa; and leaving Florence on the left hand, advanced to Figline, in the vale of Arno, so that they took it without much difficulty, and made there an incredible booty. The boldness and rapidity of these expeditions struck the inhabitants with such consternation, that they abandoned many of their towns, and the English took others almost without resistance. The Florentines marched their army to Ancisa, in the same vale, where they entrenched themselves, but in so aukward a way, that the English forced their entrenchments, took their camp, and drove them into Ancisa. In this engagement the Florentine general Pietro Farnese, brother to the former general of that name, was made prisoner, together with a great number of other officers and soldiers, and the Florentines lost all their carriages and baggage. Next day the English broke through a wall and ditch that reached from Ancisa to the Arno, which opened their way to Florence, which was filled with amazement and dismay. Some blamed the generals, others the soldiers, and all agreed that they were betrayed, without allowing the valour of their enemies to have contributed to their misfortunes. Eight hundred German horse, who served in their camp, were immediately cashiered; and Pandolfo Malatesta, who happened to be at Florence during the late overthrow, was appointed to succeed the captive general. The Pisans gave out that they would come by the way of Arezzo to Florence, by a certain day which they named, and desired the Florentines to be ready for their reception. The Florentines, who really believed them to be in earnest, fortified St. Miniato with five hundred soldiers, and threw up strong entrenchments for defending all the avenues to their city, waiting for their enemies with the utmost anxiety. But the Pisan soldiers having no stomach for the expedition, the English left them at Figline, and forcing all the Florentine entrenchments in the night, penetrated by break of day to Ripoli, within two miles of Florence, before their march was known. The whole city was instantly filled with uproar, and every man who could carry arms appeared before the gate; so that, including the army which was then in Florence, their number

A D. 1364. *He defeats the Florentines.*

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number could not be fewer than thirty thousand men, against six thousand English; but they never once thought of attacking the enemy; all their care was to defend themselves. From Florence the English returned to Figline, with a great many captives, and a large booty; and from thence marched to Arezzo, so that, to use Aretin's own words, they knocked by turns at the gates of Florence and Arezzo, taking Figline in the midway, and nothing, continues he, could be more terrible than the sound of their name.

Stratagem of the English.

By the close of the campaign, however, the captives the English had made were so numerous, and their booty so unwieldy, that they were at some loss in contriving how to carry them back to Pisa, especially as the way was encumbered and difficult. They therefore had recourse to the following extraordinary stratagem. They sent a formal message to Florence, inviting the presidents to assist in celebrating mass with them in Salviano's church at Florence, on the 13th of November. Were not the fact so well attested as it is by their own historian[a], one could scarce imagine that the Florentines were absurd enough to give implicit credit to the message; instead of making dispositions for harrassing and preventing the retreat of their enemies, they thought of nothing but of preparing to defend themselves by the appointed day, while the English, setting fire to their camp at Figline, returned unmolested to Pisa with all their plunder and prisoners.

The Florentines defeat the Pisans.

It is astonishing that a people, who, but a few months before had behaved with such firmness and intrepidity against a numerous German army, should tremble within their own walls at the sight of a handful of English, whose motives for fighting were much the same as those of the Germans had been; but it is impossible to account for the difference of dispositions, which the alteration of circumstances may make amongst a people. The English were received in triumph by the Pisans, and by them admitted to winter in their city. According to our author, the Pisans had no reason to be fond of their new guests; for they had nothing they could call their own; the English engrossing all both without and within doors. As to the Florentines, they no sooner heard that the English were gone into winter-quarters than they took the field, and totally defeated the Pisans, who were besieging Barga. The Pisans applied to the English, who refusing to make a winter campaign, their allies were every where worsted.

[a] Aretin, p. 174.

During

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During the winter both parties prepared for a vigorous campaign. The Florentines hired troops in France and Germany, and the Pisans took into their pay three thousand German horse. Thus reinforced, they encamped between Prato and Pistoia; and the Florentines were obliged to divide their troops; part were allotted for the defence of the city, and part to check the depredations of the English, who ravaged the country in a separate body. The rest of the campaign consisted as usual of horrid depredations. The Florentines, from their walls, had the mortification to see their territory all in flames around them, and to hear the voices of their enemies, while they were besieging their city. Mean while, however, a Florentine body of horse scoured the country round Pisa, and attempted to take Leghorn, but were obliged to return home without success.

The English bought off by the Florentines.

It is probable that the Pisans, before the end of this campaign, would have made themselves masters of Florence, had not the Florentines tampered with the English, by offering them large sums to change their party. The English pleaded their honour, and refused to fight against the Pisans; but were prevailed upon not to fight against the Florentines, and offered to enter into their service against any other enemy than the Pisans. But the English general, Hawkwood, rejected a neutrality of any kind, and, at the head of one thousand of his countrymen, remained in the Pisan service. The defection of the English from the Pisans, gave the Florentines great spirits, and they made Galeoto Malatesta general of their army, which now amounted to above ten thousand foot and four thousand horse, all regular troops. Malatesta was one of the best officers then in Italy, and he led his army without loss within four miles of Pisa. The Pisans of late had learned to despise the Florentines; and now determined to give their enemies battle. Hawkwood, knowing how much his army had been weakened by the defection of the English, proceeded cautiously: he ordered a few squadrons of his horse to make frequent incursions towards the Florentine camp, and then to retire. These were repeated so often, that the Florentines at last disregarded their alarms, then Hawkwood ordered the assault to be renewed, and made dispositions for supporting his squadrons with his whole force. The Pisans, who made the attempt, were repelled by the valour of the Arezzians in the Florentine army, and these, being seconded by the Florentines, eight hundred Pisans were killed, and two thousand taken prisoners. Upon this disaster Hawkwood gave a signal for a retreat, which was performed in such good order to Sabino

A.D. 1364.

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bino, where the main body lay, that Malatesta ordered no pursuit should be made. After this victory, the Florentines returned home, and made a pompous exhibition of their prisoners along the streets of their city. Malatesta then again took the field; but he scarce had entered the Pisan territory when his army refused to march farther, unless they were gratified with double pay. With great difficulty he appeased them; but in a day or two the mutiny again broke out with such fury, that bloodshed ensued, and Malatesta, not chusing to proceed while his army was in such a temper, returned to Florence [g].

Magnanimity of the Florentines.

The Florentines retained so much of the Roman republican spirit, that when defeated they refused to treat of peace; but now that they had gained the victory, great numbers amongst them began to talk of an accommodation, and some urged it in the strongest terms. Political considerations intermingled with this desire of peace; for the more sensible of the Florentine magistracy became apprehensive, that if the Pisans were too far pushed, they would throw themselves under the protection of Bernabo duke of Milan, who only wanted such a pretext to make himself master of Tuscany. At last, by the mediation of the pope, the Pisans sent deputies to Pescia, where they conferred with those from Florence. During those conferences Bernabo prevailed with John Agnelli, a Pisan, a creature of his own, to make himself chief magistrate, and this step hastened the conclusion of the peace, which was both honourable and advantageous for Florence. Petrabona was given up to the Florentines; some Pisan fortifications were erazed, and the Pisans were re-admitted to all their former immunities in Florence. Ten thousand ducats of gold were agreed to be paid in five years by the Pisans to the Florentines; and the latter had the glory of hearing the peace proclaimed at Pescia, in their own territory, while their army was in that of Pisa [h]. The common people of Florence, however, were so far from being satisfied with those terms, that Carlo Strozza, who had mediated the peace under the auspices of the pope, was in danger of his life from their rage. Soon after this pacification his holiness invited the emperor Charles IV. into Italy, to defend him against Bernabo, and persuaded the Florentines to send four of their principal citizens to attend him. The pope was at great pains to bring the Florentines to an immediate declaration against Bernabo; but they declined it, and

Their peace with the Pisans.

[g] Filippo Villani, lib. ii. cap. 97. Cronica di Siena. Murator. tom. xv. [h] Murator. Annali. ad ann. 1364.

thereby

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thereby highly incenſed both him and the emperor. The latter, who had depended chiefly upon the Florentines, being ſo poor that he could not pay an army, was obliged to clap up a peace with Bernabo, diſbanded his ſoldiers, and repaired with a very mean retinue to Rome. Lombardy being now at peace, Charles intimated a deſign to viſit Florence. The citizens immediately gueſſed the truth, which was, that his viſit would end in a demand of money, and they ſent ſome deputies to him to ſound his diſpoſitions towards their republic. Charles received them with a ſtern aſpect, and upbraided their government for having uſurped upon the imperial authority. He at the ſame time demanded that they ſhould deliver up to him all the Pratoline, the Volterran, and Lucqueſe territories. A.D. 1368.

The emperor's hoſtilities with the Florentines.

To give weight to this demand, he raiſed ſome troops and marched to Lucca, where he was honourably received; but his ſoldiers committing ſome hoſtilities at St. Miniato, the Florentines aſſembled their army and repelled force by force. This and ſome other events that fell out, about the ſame time, at Sienna and Piſa, involved all Tuſcany once more in war; but all thoſe ſtates united againſt the emperor, who was obliged to return to Germany. It is ſaid, however, not without probability[1], that the Florentines, before Charles left Italy, made him a preſent of money for confirming their privileges. A quarrel at this time happened between the Florentines and the inhabitants of St. Miniato, which being beſieged by the Florentines, Bernabo advanced to its relief, on pretence of being invited thereto by the Miniateſe. The Florentines upbraided him for the ungenerous return he had made to their not ſiding with the pope and the emperor againſt him; and underſtanding his army was in motion to relieve the town, they preſſed the ſiege with more vigour than ever. Bernabo's general on this occaſion was the famous ſir John Hawkwood, a name ſtill terrible to the Florentines, whoſe troops were commanded by Giovanni Malatacca, reckoned likewiſe an able ſoldier. When Hawkwood approached the Florentine camp, he found it fortified in ſuch a manner that it could not be attacked with any proſpect of advantage; he therefore drew off to the diſtance of about ten miles. This retreat gave the Florentine magiſtrates and common ſoldiers ſuch ſpirits, that they upbraided Malatacca with cowardice, for refuſing to lead them againſt the enemy. Finding that all his remonſtrances were vain, "Let us march then, ſaid he, ſince it muſt needs be ſo. Thoſe giddy-headed blun- A.D. 1376.

Hawkwood defeats the Florentines.

[1] Annales de l'Empire, par Voltaire. Vie de Charles IV.

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derers shall soon find that I am destitute neither of courage nor conduct." He then left a sufficient number for defending the camp, and began his march by break of day against Hawkwood, who no sooner saw the Florentines advance in order of battle, than he assured himself of victory. He ordered his regular troops to take a plentiful refreshment, and to contain themselves within their trenches; but sent out his irregulars of all kinds to skirmish with his enemies, and thereby to increase their fatigue occasioned by so long a march, during a sultry day. This stratagem had the desired effect, and Hawkwood, at the critical minute, fell with his fresh troops upon the Florentines with so much fury, that he obtained a cheap and a complete victory. The Florentine general was taken prisoner: the number of the slain and captives was very great, and the rout was total [j].

St. Miniato taken.

Notwithstanding this victory, the Florentines before St. Miniato maintained so good a countenance, that Hawkwood durst not attempt to raise the siege, which, after the Florentine manner of proceeding, was carried on with greater spirit after their defeat than it had been before. Even Hawkwood's falling in with his victorious army into their country, did not shake their resolution; and at last the place being betrayed to them, the authors of the revolt were carried to Florence, and put to death.

The Florentines purchase freedom for the Lucqueſe.

Lucca was then possessed by an imperial governor, who had strengthened his garrison with some of Bernabo's troops, which were dismissed from that service upon the governor's discovering that they designed to make themselves masters of the city. Upon their dismission the governor offered to restore the Lucqueſe to full freedom, upon paying him twenty-five thousand crowns of gold [k]; but the Lucqueſe, having lost their liberty, were consequently without property; and that noble city and fertile territory was not able to raise so poor a sum, though it was to purchase the inestimable blessing of freedom. The Florentines generously and disinterestedly lent it to them, and sent it by some of their ablest citizens, who assisted the Lucqueſe in new modelling their state, they having, during their long thraldom, forgotten all the original principles of their constitution and government. The first step the Lucqueſe took to secure their recovered liberty, was to demolish the fort that Castruccio had built to over-awe their city [l].

A.D. 1370.

The Florentines at this time held the balance of power in Lombardy, if not all over Italy, and it is wonderful with

[j] Chron. Estens. tom. xv. Rer. Italic. Ammurat. Istor. Fiorent. lib. xiii. [k] Aretin, p. 176. [l] Ammurat. Istor. Fiorent. lib. xiii.

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what addreſs and reſolution they managed it. In reſentment of Bernabo's having ſtirred up the revolt of St. Miniato, they entered into a treaty with pope Urban at Viterbo, and ſent eight hundred horſe to the aſſiſtance of his legate at Bologna. Bernabo was at that time beſieging Reggio, in the Bologneſe; and while the Florentine horſe were on their march, ſome of his party appeared about Piſa. Thoſe gueſts obliged the Florentines to recall their cavalry for ſome time, but Bernabo's troops declined an engagement; and the Florentines reſuming their march to Lombardy, came time enough to aſſiſt in defeating Bernabo, and in raiſing the ſiege of Reggio. The exceſſive heats and fatigues of this campaign coſt Donati, the Florentine general, his life. Soon after this event, a peace ſucceeded between the pope and Bernabo; and the Florentines, having withdrawn their troops from Lombardy, ſent deputies to Avignon, to congratulate Gregory XI. upon his acceſſion to the popedom. Thoſe deputies found his holineſs diſſatisfied with regard to the ſtate of affairs in Tuſcany; but matters were ſomewhat cleared up when the Perugians, for want of the neceſſaries of life, were obliged to ſubmit to his legate. A kind of an accommodation, however, was effected between his holineſs and the Florentines, in which were included the Piſans and Sienneſe, the Arezzians and the Lucqueſe.

Great policy of the Florentines.

The Florentines had now long preſerved the face of domeſtic unanimity; they had met with no blows but what were eaſily recoverable, and the riches of their ſtate at this time were beyond belief. The democratical part of their government was in ſome reſpects perhaps too prevalent; but it had the effect of preſerving unanimity amongſt the noble or great families. Some of thoſe families, however, by accommodating themſelves partly to the manners and partly to the profeſſions of the plebeians, had riſen to prodigious wealth and credit with their fellow-citizens. Of theſe the chief were the families of Albizi and Ricci, who, having ſeparate intereſts, ſplit the whole ſtate into factions. The Florentine plebeians, upon recollection, had good ſenſe enough to conclude that one or other of thoſe families might invade their conſtitution, and therefore a public act paſſed, that neither of them ſhould be admitted into any poſt of truſt or power in the ſtate [m]. This reſolute but rational determination was ſucceeded by ſome years of ſo great tranquillity, as to afford nothing material for hiſtory, farther than that all the power of the Ubaldi, the ancient

A.D. 1372.

[m] Machiavel, delle Hiſtor. lib. iii.

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enemies of the Florentine state, was then extinguished in the Casantine; and that many noble edifices were erected in that infant-age of taste and science.

A.D. 1375. Ever since the time of Clement VI. the popes had generally been either Frenchmen, or in the French interest; and, residing at Avignon, had managed their Italian possessions by legates, or governors, who of all mankind were the most execrable and oppressive. Under the specious shew of papal authority, they extended their tyranny over free states; they took the banditti, with which Italy then swarmed, into their pay; they justified the most infamous actions, when unsuccessful, by their master's orders, and when successful, by the plenitude of their own power, both which they knew to be indisputable. Their excesses put the Florentines to great inconveniences. They had always professed themselves Guelphs, and so artfully had they managed matters, that the popes had never been able to dissolve their constitution. The papal court and legates, sensible of the Florentine system of policy, durst not break with their state, and depended upon accidents for bending them to the pope's will. An accident of that kind presented itself in the course of this war. The Florentine state was afflicted with famine, and had repeatedly applied to the legate of Bologna for some relief, which he as often flatly refused. The autumn promised well; but the legate, determined to impose the papal yoke on the necks of the Florentines, sent a great army into their territories, to prevent their reaping their harvest. All Italy continued still to be full of mercenary soldiers, and such were they whom the legate employed on this occasion; the Florentines, therefore, wisely resolved to see rather than fight their enemies, who, for money, became their good friends, to the legate's great surprize and disappointment [n]. About the same time it was discovered, that the legate had practised with the inhabitants of Prato to revolt from the Florentines, a defection which might have been attended with the ruin of the Florentine state.

Great spirits of the Florentines against the pope.

They engage the Italian states to assert their liberties.

The free spirit of the Florentine government and people again manifested itself on this occasion. All orders and ranks united in a hearty detestation of the clergy; but at the same time without any virulent expressions of their indignation. They chose eight of the ablest and most unexceptionable men in their state as a council of war; and employed all their art and assiduity in exciting the neighbouring states to assert their liberties. Impelled and assisted

[n] Machiavel, ubi supra. Murator. ad An.

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by them, the inhabitants of Citta di Castello took arms against the garrison that restrained them, and expelled it. The pope's legate at Perugia sent a body of troops to reinforce the garrison, and the Perugians seized that opportunity of taking arms, expelling the legate, and making themselves masters of the strong citadel he had built to enslave them; all which aims they effected by the assistance of the Florentines. The people of Spoletto, Gubbio, Forli, Viterbo, and a great many other places in the papal dominions, especially in the Pescara, declared themselves independent of the pope. In short, the flame that had been long smothered, now blazed forth in full fury. The Italians had long detested the pride and haughtiness of the legates, who employed no arts of government but soldiers and citadels[o]. The people of Granaruola took arms against the legate, and he sent Hawkwood, who, with his small band of Englishmen, was now in the pope's pay, from Bologna, to reduce them. Scarce had Hawkwood left Bologna, when the Bolognese, having been before prepared by the Florentine council of war, took arms and asserted their own independency, which they had no sooner done than they received a powerful reinforcement from Florence.

Hawkwood, perceiving that Granaruola was irrecoverable, took up his quarters in Faenza, where a great many acts of violence, and some of cruelty were committed; and he sold the place to the Ferrarese [p].

Pope Gregory at Avignon was minutely informed of every thing that had happened in Italy, and had thundered out his excommunications against Florence. In consequence of these bulls, the republic appointed Alessandro Antilla and Donato Barbadorio, two of the most learned and eloquent men of their state, to go and plead their cause before the pope; but, notwithstanding all they could urge, the interdicts against Florence were confirmed, and their effects sentenced to be confiscated wherever found. The spirit which Barbadorio manifested on this occasion was great and memorable. As soon as the pope had pronounced the sentence against his country, he turned round to an image of God, and, in the hearing of his holiness, exclaimed, "Oh God! we, the deputies of the Florentines, appeal to thy equity from this unjust sentence of thy vicar. Thou who art subject neither to deceit nor anger; Thou who lovest the liberty, but not the slavery of thy people; Thou who hatest

A.D.1376.

Courage of a Florentine deputy.

[o] Aretin. p. 181. [p] Idem ibid.

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hateſt tyrants, and the luſts of tyrants, defend at this time the liberty of the Flotentine people, and become their auſpicious guardian."

A. D. 1377. The pope, in order to reduce the Bologneſe, whoſe revolt he entirely imputed to the Florentines, hired a body of Bretons, who, in autumn this year, arrived in Italy; upon which the Florentines ſent the greateſt part of their own troops to defend Bologna, and blocked up all the paſſes of the Appennines, to exclude the enemy from their territory. The legate of Geneva headed the Bretons, who conſiſted of ſix thouſand horſe and three thouſand foot; but he affected to proceed with vaſt tenderneſs towards the Bologneſe. He ſuffered no ravages to be committed in their territory, and ſent ſeveral meſſages, offering them pardon and amneſty for all that had paſſed, which inclined a great number of the inhabitants to ſubmit; and at laſt a conſpiracy was formed for that purpoſe, which was defeated by the vigilance of Varano of Camerino. The legate ſtill continued to hover round the city. About the ſame time another conſpiracy was diſcovered, for putting Arezzo into the hands of Sacone's ſons; and the conſpirators were brought to condign puniſhment. Towards the end of the ſummer, the Bretons, being baffled in all their attempts againſt Florence, retired to Ceſena, which opened its gates to them. The new gueſts, however, behaved with ſuch brutality in their quarters, that the inhabitants ran to their arms, and having killed about fourſcore of them upon the ſpot, drove the reſt out of their city. The crafty legate ſeemed to ſide with the townſmen, and at laſt perſuaded the latter to lay down their arms, which they had ſcarcely done when the legate again introduced his Bretons into the city, where they maſſacred three thouſand of the townſmen [q].

The pope takes the Bretons into pay.

Comes to Italy.

While the flames of war were thus ſpreading, the pope having taken a freſh body of Engliſh into his pay, left Avignon, and came to Italy, in hopes of reſtoring the papal authority in that country. Being arrived at Rome, he invited the Florentines to treat of peace with him, and deputies were named accordingly; but, after a month's conferences, his demands were ſo high, that they returned to Florence without having come to any concluſion; upon which the Florentines made preparations for continuing the war with redoubled vigour. In theſe they were ſecretly aſſiſted by Bernabo of Milan; and they found means to bring over to their ſervice the Engliſh who were in the pope's pay.

[q] Cronic. de Rimini. apud Murator. tom. xv. Rer. Italic.

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This defection gave his holineſs great uneaſineſs. The eight Florentines, who had hitherto acted as field-deputies, had behaved ſo well, that their commiſſions were continued by the magiſtracy, to the great diſcontent of the people. The pope laid hold of this variance to widen the breach between them, and ſent letters by his agents, directed not as uſual to the magiſtracy, but to the people of Florence, loading the deputies with grievous accuſations. But this expedient failed of ſucceſs, and raiſed the people's indignation, not ſo much againſt the deputies as againſt the pope. The interdict ſtill continued; but by the authority of the magiſtracy and people, all religious ordinances were celebrated in the churches as uſual. At laſt the pope intrigued with John, the biſhop of Arezzo, to bring that city over from its alliance with the Florentines; but the Arezzians no ſooner underſtood his intent than they took up arms, and not only expelled the biſhop and all his adherents, but burned down their houſes, and put ſome of his relations, who had been engaged in the conſpiracy, to death.

The Florentines ſeize Fabriano.

That ſame year Ridolfo of Camerino, the Florentine general, ſeized Fabriano, by conſent of the citizens, who wanted to put themſelves under the Florentine protection; but when the Florentine field-deputies demanded, on the part of the republic, poſſeſſion of the place, he not only refuſed to give it up, but went into the ſervice of their enemies, and received from the pope the command of five hundred horſe. The Florentines ordered him to be hanged in effigy, with all the marks of infamy, through the moſt public parts of the city, and deprived him of Fabriano. Towards the end of the year, by the mediation of Barnabo of Milan, a treaty was ſet on foot between the Florentines and the pope, who had now recovered full poſſeſſion of Bologna, and the conferences were held at Sarzana; but when both parties were on the point of an accommodation the pope died, and the negociation was broken off [r].

[r] Amurat. Iſtor. Fiorent. lib. xiii.

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SECT. VI.

Two Popes elected; Intrigues of the Emperor Charles IV. and his Journey to Rome; Disturbances at Florence renewed; the Duke of Anjou arrives in Italy; Death of Lewis of Anjou; the Florentines lose and recover Arezzo; Revolutions of the Visconti Family in Lombardy; Distractions of Italy; great Power of Galeazzo, Duke of Milan; Death of Urban, the Antipope; the Florentines engaged in a War with the Milanese; Successes of the Florentines; Peace between Galeazzo and the Florentines, who enter into a league with the French King in the Year 1395.

A.D. 1378. UPON the death of pope Gregory XI. the cardinals being met to chuse his successor, the inhabitants of Rome beset the conclave, and demanded that he should be a Roman, or at least an Italian, and not a Frenchman or foreigner; upon which clamour, Bartholomew Prignano, archbishop of Bari, a Neapolitan, was chosen. Being a proud intractable man, the cardinals pretended that they were under constraint when they chose him; and retiring to Fundi, proceeded to a new election, which fell upon Roberto, cardinal of Geneva; the same who had been the pope's legate in Tuscany, headed the Bretons, and acted on all occasions with the most brutal barbarity. The first took the name of Urban VI. and the latter assumed that of Clement VII. and thus the foundation of a schism was laid, which lasted from competitor to competitor to the year 1417. The Florentines, however, acknowleged Urban for the true pope, and the schism so wholly ingrossed the minds of the public, that all farther thoughts of war between the pope and the Florentines were dropt.

A schism in the popedom.

Civil dissensions begin at Florence.

A state of tranquillity thus succeeding, civil commotions as usual arose amongst the Florentines. The power of the eight officers, whom we have called field-deputies, became now formidable to the nobility, who loaded them with the blame of all that the Florentines had suffered from the interdicts of the popes; and their party being very powerful in the state, they renewed an absurd ill-grounded law, by which the posterity of those who had been proscribed, were disqualified from any share in the magistracy. Their proceedings were attended with great rigour and injustice, and admonitions were sent round to all they disliked, discharging

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ing them from the public posts they held, or disqualifying them for any such offices in time to come. This tyranny at last became intolerable, and Silvester Medici, who was then the gonfalonier, resolving to restrain it, presented some proposals to the magistracy for that purpose. These meeting with opposition, a general insurrection of the people ensued, in which the houses of those who had been the most forward in exercising this admonitory law were burnt or destroyed, and their owners would have undergone the same fate, had they not saved themselves by flight. An end being thus put to the admonitory law, eighty citizens were chosen to form a kind of court of appeal, to redress the grievances of all who had suffered by it. But this triumph of the populace was attended with fatal effects to the state. The lowest of the rabble, and men of the most desperate fortunes, thought they had as good a right as the most creditable citizens, to places in the magistracy, and began to form cabals and nightly meetings, each carving out the post he designed for himself in the government. The presidents having proof of those nightly meetings, four of the principals were ordered to be apprehended, that the bottom of their designs might be known. The populace took arms, and demanded that their fellows should be released; but this demand not being immediately complied with, they burnt down the house of Luigi Guicciardini, who happened then to be gonfalonier, as well as those of a great many rich citizens; and they had even the insolence to hang, in the sight of the presidents themselves, one of the magistrates, who had been active in endeavouring to suppress them. They then proceeded to the palace of the presidents, and other public offices, which they broke open and plundered, and forced the presidents to resign their authority, and to return back as private men to their own houses. Finally, they entered the palace in triumph, and chose Michael di Lando, one of the meanest amongst themselves, gonfalonier, and the rest of the magistracy out of their own order; but seemed still to have some regard for Silvester Medici and Benedict Alberti: but their authority could not prevent the effects of the rich from being plundered, the best of the citizens from being driven into exile, and the most horrid outrages from being perpetrated [r].

Alterations of its government.

Michael Lando chosen gonfalonier.

Michael di Lando (A), the rebels' gonfalonier, though chosen by them for the desperate state of his fortune, and the

[r] Aretin, p. 190.

(A) Machiavel, who, for particular reasons of his own, is more minute in describing those tumults than perhaps becomes

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the intrepidity of his conduct, happened to be a wife, worthy, and brave man. He had served long abroad; had studied the nature both of men and government; and he had somewhat noble and commanding in his manner and person. Had it not been for his virtue, there would have been an end of the constitution and government of Florence, as the ungovernable passion of the people for blood, rapine, revenge, and devastation, appeared every day to gather strength. Lando seems to have foreseen this evil, and endeavoured to stop its progress. Far from being daunted by the fury of his countrymen, he chastized it with so much dignity of behaviour, that, desperate as they were, they durst not resist him. The mob, however, resolved to wreak their rage upon the presidents, whose palace they beset, commanding them to come down to their tribunal, to pass such laws as should be proposed to them, and which were in themselves detestable. The presidents having barricadoed their palace, answered from a window, that they were resolved not to appear in public till the rioters had laid down their arms, and should attend them in a respectable manner, promising they would then pass such good laws as should be legally proposed. The rioters perceiving those presidents not to be of the same timid cast with their predecessors, departed, and, in a few days after, created eight presidents of their own, whom they invested with all the badges of public power. It is wonderful to consider the effects that even the appearance of public authority has upon the minds of men; for some of the most respectable citizens in Florence complied with the mock tribunal, which proceeded in the regular dispatch of business. This acquiescence gave the usurpers so much encouragement, that they ventured to send some of their officers and clerks to the legal presidents, demanding they would swear to the validity of their decrees and proceedings. The formality and solemnity with which this demand was made, startled the presidents so much, that they were inclined to comply, when the gonfalonier Lando, drawing his sword, cut one of the messengers across the face, ran another through the body, and drove the rest out of the house. He had now gone too far to stop: he snatched up the standard of justice, and carried it into the

His magnanimity.

becomes the dignity of so great a writer, tells us that this very extraordinary person, when he was elected, happened to have the standard of justice in his hand; that by trade he was a comber of wool; that he was barefooted, and had scarce a rag to cover him.

street

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ſtreet in one hand, with his drawn ſword in the other, and being mounted on a very fine horſe, ſummoned all who wiſhed well to their country to attend him. Being ſoon ſurrounded by a band of brave worthy citizens, he reſolutely proceeded to the place where the mock tribunal was held, but found it abandoned; for the party, underſtanding what treatment their meſſengers had met with, had taken arms, and were then marching through other quarters of the town, with a deſign to attack the palace of the preſidents on its weakeſt ſide. The gonfalonier therefore returned to the palace, but found the avenues to it beſet by the faction. That magiſtrate had put every part of the palace in a ſtate of defence againſt any popular attempt during his abſence, and he attacked the rioters with ſo much intrepidity, that they were put to flight and totally diſperſed [s]. *He ſubdues the rabble.*

The peace of the city being thus reſtored, a new magiſtracy was regularly choſen at the ſtated time; but a law paſſed that from thenceforth no preſident ſhould be choſen out of the lower ranks of the people; and even two, who had been elected, were on that account exauctorated, and their places ſupplied by two nobles, one of whom was Gregorio Scala, one of the greateſt citizens in Florence, and a profeſſed enemy to the admonitory laws. The peace of the city was greatly confirmed by pope Urban's relieving it from the interdict under which it had been laid by his predeceſſor [t].

At this period the fine arts appeared in no part of Europe but amongſt the Florentines, who were by far the moſt reſpected people in Italy. Their civil diſſenſions, however unhappy, increaſed their courage, and added to their experience. In matters of religion, though they profeſſed themſelves votaries to the ſee of Rome, they exerciſed the independency that became a free people, and were, perhaps, the moſt void of ſuperſtition of any we read of in hiſtory. When the pope touched upon the ſtring of ſovereignty over them, they acted with the ſame ſpirit againſt him as they had manifeſted againſt the emperors and their own tyrants; and, what is almoſt incredible in that bigotted age, his fulminations and interdicts ſerved but to increaſe their unanimity in deſpiſing them; while in other countries they were dethroning princes, and ſubverting conſtitutions [u].

[s] Machiavel, delle Hiſtor. lib. iii. [t] Aret. p. 191. [u] Annales de l'Empire, par Voltaire ad an. 1375.

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State of Florence.

From the foregoing part of this hiſtory, our readers will eaſily perceive that there exiſted at this time in Florence three different ranks of men, the nobles, the commons or plebeians, and the rabble. The former excelled in dignity and riches, the ſecond in ſpirit and integrity, and the latter were diſtinguiſhed by brutal force and unſteady counſels. The commons beheld with horror the precipice from which they had lately eſcaped, and to which they had been led by their too violent averſion to the nobility. Aretin and Machiavel are very juſtly profuſe in their commendations of Michael di Lando, who, had he not been proof againſt all ambition and incapable of diſhoneſty, might have erected at this time, over his country, a tyranny worſe than any ſhe had yet experienced, nay worſe than what ſhe was threatened with by the duke of Athens. His wiſdom was equal to his integrity. By his influence the corporations of the meaner ſort of people were annulled, as were all the offices they had beſtowed, his own and that of Ludovico di Puccio, and ſome others of high quality, excepted. In other reſpects the diſtribution of public honours was wiſe and politic. It was divided between the greater and the leſſer trades; five of the latter and four of the former were always to reſide in the palace with the magiſtracy, which now conſiſted wholly of nobility. This preference of the lower trades had a wonderful effect in ſettling the minds of the poorer ſort; but it laid the foundation of a new diſtinction in Florence, between the popular and the plebeian faction; the former conſiſting of the rich citizens, and the latter of the poorer: but Florence at this time lay under another inconveniency, which may be ſaid to have been inherent in its conſtitution. Placability and forgiveneſs formed no part of that people's character; and, during thoſe civil diſſenſions, which laſted three years, a great number of citizens had been driven into exile.

Proceedings of the exiles.

Thoſe exiles naturally united in a body, and, having a ſtrong party within the city, became very formidable to the magiſtracy. At firſt they rendezvouſed near Sienna, and attempted to make themſelves maſters of Fighini, but were diſappointed. Part of them afterwards entered into the ſervice of Charles of Durazzo, who, at the inſtigation of pope Urban, was then making preparations for a war againſt the unhappy Joan, queen of Naples, becauſe ſhe adhered to his rival Clement. This circumſtance increaſed the uneaſineſs of the Florentine government, as Charles was ſtrongly ſupported by his kinſman the king of Hungary. The Florentines, however, without being diſconcerted by the difficulties they had to encounter, ſent deputies to wait upon

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upon Charles, under pretence of mediating a peace between the Venetians and the Genoese; but, in reality, to discover his sentiments towards their state. The deputies were Strozzi, Barbadori, and Benevenuto. Having discharged their commission, they returned to Florence, where they differed in their report. Strozzi made light of Charles and his power; but inveighed bitterly against the exiles. Barbadori was of a different opinion as to Charles and his views; but said he had not given himself the trouble to enquire about the exiles, a report by which he incurred the suspicion of favouring their interest. Gianazzo of Salerno, then lieutenant-general to Charles in Italy, assembling all the Florentine exiles, made dispositions for marching from Bologna to Florence. The magistracy being informed of his design, and that a great party within the city was ready to receive him, the whole state was thrown into confusion. The informer was Antonio, count of Bruscoli, a man of very bad principles, who named amongst the conspirators some of the greatest nobility, particularly Peter Albizi, Charles Strozzi, Capriani Mangioni, Giacomo Sacchetti, Donato Barbadori, Philip Strozzi, and John Anselmi. Albizi was then the most respected citizen of Florence, and lived upon his own estate in the country, where he was seized by the Florentine soldiers. Though his tenants could easily have rescued him, yet so conscious was he of his own innocence, that he commanded them to desist, and went along quietly with his guards. Carlo Strozzi alone escaped. To increase the terror of the citizens new levies of troops were made, and four persons were appointed, with a kind of dictatorial power, to command the army and militia, and to take care that the state should receive no prejudice. The trials of the illustrious prisoners then came on, and all the horrors of a democratical government appeared in their strongest colours. The judge appointed to try them acquitted them, even of the suspicion of treason; but such was the fury of the multitude, that, besetting the tribunal, they would have torn him to pieces, had he not found them guilty; and they were accordingly put to death. The populace then laid down their arms, and each returned to his own home: but they soon resumed them when the time for the election of new presidents approached. The Florentine historians very justly bewail the state of their country at this time. They who presided in the government were conscious that that they had been guilty of murdering the noblest and most innocent persons of the state, and trembled at the consequences. Then they added crime to crime for their own

The Florentine ambassadors differ.

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own security: they banished all whom they suspected; and every law they could devise was passed for their indemnification, and the continuance of their power. At last, by the advice of the council of four, forty-six magistrates were created[x], who, with the presidents, and the other magistrates, were to purge the state of all disaffected persons, and to settle the government as they should think proper. This new council made full use of their powers: they disqualified thirty-six citizens, reduced twenty noble families to the rank of plebeians, and raised an equal number of plebeians to that of nobility; besides enacting many severe laws against the unfortunate exiles, and, to render their power as stable as possible, they made sir John Hawkwood general of all the troops of the republic.

A D. 1379. *Charles of Durazzo patronizes the exiles.*

About this time Gianazzo of Salerno enrolled in the service of his master Charles of Durazzo, all the Florentine exiles, and seemed to make dispositions for besieging Florence itself with a great army of Italians, Germans, and Hungarians. He fell first into the Siennese, and then into the Pisan territory, and both gave him a sum of money to prevent their being ravaged. Gianazzo then approached Florence, which likewise sought to buy its peace, Hawkwood being not yet arrived; but Gianazzo rejected all pecuniary offers, and insisted that the exiles should be re-admitted into the city. This demand was not complied with; and the Florentines having sent an express for Hawkwood, put their city in a posture of defence. It appears, that neither Charles nor his lieutenant-general, had any real design upon the Florentines, farther than to keep them neutral in the quarrel between him and Joan, queen of Naples, whom he intended to dethrone. Gianazzo, however, marched within nine miles of Florence; but Hawkwood, by this time having entered upon his command, soon checked his progress, and obliged him to retire. Charles of Durazzo was now returned from Hungary to Italy, and very earnest in soliciting the friendship of the Florentines, who declined taking any concern in the quarrel between him and the queen of Naples. Charles knew the vast influence the Florentines had in the affairs of Italy, and, taking advantage of some domestic dissensions at Arezzo, made himself master of that city. This near neighbourhood to Florence occasioned many hostilities between his troops and the Florentines, and he continued to take into his pay all the Florentine exiles, who were so insolent that they put to death one of the deputies sent from

[x] Machiavel, lib. iii.

Florence

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Florence to Charles. This outrage increased the resentment of the Florentines both against the exiles and Charles.

At last Hawkwood took the field, and acted with so much spirit, that he checked the progress of Charles, who sent ambassadors to Florence to solicit its friendship. He even pretended, that the Florentines had made him a promise of assistance. The Florentines received the embassy with great politeness; but observed, that their promise was upon a condition which had been rejected by his cousin the king of Hungary, and, therefore, was no longer binding: they, however, made him a present of forty thousand ducats, on condition that their territory should not be molested by his troops. Upon this gratification Charles returned to Arezzo, where he made an apology to the Florentine exiles for being at that time obliged to drop their cause, on account of his expedition against Naples. From thence he moved to Rome, where he was most kindly received by pope Urban, and at last he made himself master of the kingdom of Naples, and the person of the unhappy queen Joan, whom he put to death. *Hawkwood takes the field.* A.D. 1381.

The Florentines were the more alarmed at his success, as they knew that all the hopes of their exiles depended on him. They resolved, however, if possible, to keep well with him, and sent him a deputation, at the head of which were Roberto Aldobrandini and Bettino Covonio, to congratulate him on his accession to his kingdom. He received them with seeming friendship, and, upon their return to Florence, the jealousy of the state towards Charles was somewhat allayed.

Florence had now, in fact, nothing to fear but from faction, and that soon blasted all the benefits she enjoyed from peace. Every day produced new plots against the government; and the wiser and nobler part of the citizens chose to live retired and private, rather than enjoy the highest preferments in the state. Two noblemen of great rank and family, George Scali and Thomas Strozzi, had discovered a new path to power, by declaring themselves the patrons of the plebeians. They were attended by guards, and their proceedings against their fellow-citizens were unjust and arbitrary; nor was any subject in the state safe, if they had conceived umbrage against him. One John Cambio, a citizen of note, was by one of their spies or guards accused [y] of designs against the state. The charge was found to be malicious and groundless, and the judge, who had cognizance of it, was inclined to have put *New troubles in Florence.*

[y] Aretin. p. 197.

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the accuſer to death, when the two demagogues, his patrons, reſcued him out of cuſtody, and would have killed the judge could they have found him; but he retired to the place of the preſidents, where he laid open the danger to which the city was expoſed from the exceſſive power of thoſe tyrants, and offered to reſign his office.

Scali put to death.

The magiſtrates, ſenſible of the public danger, inſtantly reſolved to ſeize that opportunity, and free their country from the power of its two tyrants. The houſe of the judge, or gonfalonier, had been plundered. They counſelled him to remain in his office, and promiſed to indemnify him for all his loſſes. They afterwards fell into ſerious conſultations amongſt themſelves, and determined to act up to the dignity of government. They placed guards about their palace, and ſent a party to arreſt George Scali, who had been the moſt active in the late reſcue. His inſolence, and that of Strozzi, had, by this time, made both of them obnoxious, even to the citizens whom they patronized; and ſo fickle is popular favour, that Scali was apprehended without the leaſt reſiſtance, none of his numerous attendants daring to act in his defence, and Strozzi made his eſcape. All of a ſudden the people demanded juſtice upon their late tyrants, whom they execrated. Scali, the very day after his apprehenſion, was publicly put to death, and ſome of his dependents were torn in pieces by the enraged multitude[z]. The ſtate of Florence was now in a critical ſituation, for the commonalty, always in extremes, proceeded to violences which threatened the deſtruction of the city. The admirable wiſdom of the preſidents interpoſed. They knew their countrymen would cool if they had but leiſure; and they ſummoned ſeveral public conventions, or aſſemblies, to give them time for recollection. The event was, that after ſome of the inſtruments of the late democracy had been brought to condign puniſhment, one hundred citizens were choſen for reforming all the evils of the ſtate. The ſtandard of juſtice was then produced, and a perambulation was performed by the new magiſtrates all over the city, which paſſed with great tranquillity and public approbation. After this ceremony many of the popular laws againſt the nobles were reſcinded, and great numbers of captives were freed from priſon; ſo that there was a general expectation that all the exiles would be reſtored. Mean while two new companies of trades, which had been erected out of the ſcum of the

[z] Machiavel. delle Hiſt. lib. iii.

people,

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people, were abolished, so that the whole number was now reduced to twenty-one.

The Neapolitan party of Charles of Durazzo took advantage of the unsettled situation of affairs in Florence, and moved from Arezzo to Marciali, to the number of three thousand five hundred. Hawkwood was dispatched with some troops to observe their motions, and he encamped in their sight; but as they would not hazard a battle, he pursued them into the Arezzian territory. All this while matters were in so violent an agitation in Florence, that it can scarcely be said, with propriety, that any form of government existed. Every day produced skirmishes, sometimes between the old and new nobility, sometimes between the plebeians and the more wealthy citizens. The exiles, without leave, returned, being sure of protection from one or the other party. At last the nobility prevailed. All the upstart corporations were disenfranchised; the Guelphs were restored to all their honours and dignities; the plebeians were reduced to a third share of the government, and rendered incapable of succeeding to certain high posts, particularly that of gonfalonier; and all who had been exiled since the time that Silvester Medici was in that post, were re-admitted into the state [a].

Hawkwood opposes the Neapolitans and exiles.

It is often the misfortune of popular governments that they run into extremes. The nobles of Florence now prevailing, carried matters with as high a hand as the plebeians had done before. All the friends of the ancient constitution now suffered a kind of proscription; and even the great services which Michael di Lando had done his country, could not screen him from the rage of his enemies. The wiser and better part of the citizens disliked this sudden revolution of power, and some, amongst whom was George Alberti, a great nobleman, exclaimed against it; a circumstance which made the ruling party resolve, if possible, to ruin him. While matters were in this untowardly situation at home, the Florentines received an alarm from abroad, that Lewis of Anjou was marching, as the adopted son of queen Joan of Naples, to drive Charles of Durazzo out of Italy. The Florentines, having no reason to expect any favour from the French, stood on their guard, and invited all the states of Tuscany to unite with them against Lewis, in case he should make any attempt on their liberties. Perhaps their precautions at this time saved them. All that Lewis did was to require them to observe a strict neutrality; and Charles of Durazzo,

Tyranny of the nobles.

A.D. 1382.

[a] Machiavel, ubi supra.

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now king of Naples, asked no more. The Florentines at this time held the ballance of power in Italy, being courted by four great princes, namely, pope Urban, the duke of Anjou, the king of Naples, and the king of Hungary. Their own inclinations led them to side with pope Urban and the king of Naples; but they prudently adhered to their neutrality; and, having prevailed on the other Tuscan states to join in the proposed confederacy, they gave good words to all, but declared for none. The Bolognese, who had come into the general alliance, were apprehensive that Lewis designed to seize their city; but the Florentines acted towards them with so much honour and firmness, that they remained unmolested. Lewis had entered Italy at the head of a great army, and being joined by all the friends of queen Joan, his party was very powerful. Pope Urban, next to the king of Naples, had the most to fear from the French; and he earnestly applied to the Florentines for money to defend himself, his solicitation being backed by the king of Naples. This request could not be granted consistently with the neutrality the Florentines had embraced; and yet they thought it necessary to prevent the French from getting footingin Italy. They, therefore, privately supplied Hawkwood with the money the pope had requested; and he, paying his soldiers with it, entered into the service of his holiness, to the great joy of Charles and the displeasure of Lewis.

The Florentines join Charles of Durazzo.

The French now saw that the real sentiments of the Florentines were unfavourable to them, and Lewis applied to the French king for a confiscation of all the effects of the Florentines in his country. This step served only to unite them more strictly with Charles, who was still in possession of Arezzo. The Florentines disliking such a neighbourhood, would willingly have regained that city; and some steps were concerted for that purpose, but not executed, the Neapolitan governor's instructions not being sufficiently clear on that head. The Florentines, however, took possession of many fortresses in the Arezzian territory, but avoided giving the smallest umbrage to Charles, who about this time, succeeded to the kingdom of Hungary.

A.D. 1383. A severe pestilence now broke out in Florence, which drove most of the inhabitants into the country. The government became apprehensive, that the plebeian faction might take advantage of this depopulation to resume its power, and many laws were passed for detaining the inhabitants within the city; but the pestilence being more dreadful than the penalty of the law, it was, in a manner, abandoned; and all public offices being shut up, scarce any thing

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thing was transacted worthy of mention in history. Next year a strong reinforcement came to the duke of Anjou from France; and, in their passage to Naples, endeavoured to make themselves masters of Arezzo, by the assistance of some of the banished Arezzians. They succeeded so far as to seize the city; but could not reduce the citadel. This attempt spread consternation amongst the Florentines; but they were somewhat comforted by receiving certain intelligence of the death of Lewis of Anjou, which they communicated to the French without being believed. The siege of the citadel of Arezzo was continued with more fury than ever; but the French, being convinced that the duke of Anjou was dead, entirely changed their system, and sold Arezzo to the Florentines; upon which the garrison gladly capitulated, and thus Florence again became mistress of that city [b]. But a great revolution now took place in Italy. A.D. 1384. *Siege of Arezzo.*

John Visconti, the son of Galeazzo, a young man of disguised ambition, had now thrown off the mask, and deprived his uncle Bernabo of his life and the principality of Milan. The Florentines, who had rather dreaded than loved Bernabo, at first beheld his fate with indifference; but afterwards they began to think that the young Galeazzo's power was too formidable. In order to check him they endeavoured to renew their union with the other states of Tuscany. In the mean time Charles, king of Naples and Hungary, died, to the great mortification of Florence. A difference arose between the prince of Urbino and the the duke of Gaetta, which the Florentines endeavoured to compromise; but the prince of Urbino having, in defiance of the Florentine mediation, made himself master of his antagonist's person, the Florentines declared war against him, and carried it on with so much success, that he was at last reduced to reason. About the year 1386, pope Urban came from Genoa to Lucca, where he began to raise soldiers, to the great terror of the Tuscan states, who held the papal tyranny in the utmost detestation: all but Perugia submitted to his power. The Florentines in vain exhorted the Perugians to defend their liberties, and demolished a great number of fortresses towards the foot of the Appennines, which they could not maintain, lest they should be seized by their enemies. Those fortresses belonged to the family of Ubaldini, the head of whom, John Azzo, began now to make a great figure in Italy. Those commotions did not divert the attention of the Florentines A.D. 1385. *Great power of the duke of Milan.* A.D. 1386.

[b] Murator. Annal. adann. 1384.

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from their domestic concerns; for we are told that this year the area before their public palace was enlarged and beautified.

Alberti banished. Civil dissensions succeeded. The Alberti family was now the most powerful in Florence, and Benedict Alberti was its head. He had been elected gonfalonier of the city companies; and his son Magaloti, a sprightly young nobleman, had been chosen gonfalonier of justice; so that the two principal posts in the state were vested in one family. The other magistrates voted Magaloti incapable of the office to which he had been chosen, on account of his youth; and substituted Bardo Mancini in his place. Not content with this measure, they banished Benedict Alberti out of Florence; a disgrace which he bore with great magnanimity. His banishment was followed by numberless acts of injustice inflicted upon his friends and family. The fear of Galeazzo of Milan now engrossed the attention of Florence. He was encouraged by the civil dissensions of the citizens, and by his own good fortune, which had already rendered him master of Verona and Vicenza, to attempt the sovereignty of all Tuscany. The Florentines opposed him; but the Siennese were inclined to submit to his power. The people of Cortona were then under the protection of the Siennese; but perceiving their inclinations for Galeazzo, they applied to the Florentines, who were so generous as to refuse the government of their city; but sent them some troops to protect their independency. This step exasperated the Siennese so much, that they privately treated with Galeazzo about the surrender of their city. Giovanni Ricci, a noble Florentine, endeavoured to rouze his countrymen to a sense of their danger, by painting Galeazzo in his true colours, and laying open at once his power and ambition. He then advised them to enter into a league with the Bolognese, and as many of the Tuscan states as they could bring over to the party of freedom and independency, and even to solicit assistance from the French, who, he said, were undoubtedly uneasy at the great power of Galeazzo in Italy. Above all, he counselled them to make new levies, and to be upon their guard at home. Ricci's speech was approved of, and his countrymen followed his advice, as far as it was practicable. Even the Siennese now made some overtures for renewing their ancient league with Florence; and some measures were taken for carrying the war into Lombardy, and for rescuing Pavia, which was then besieged by Galeazzo. But that scheme was too great for the power of the confederates, and came to nothing; so that Pavia fell into Galeazzo's hands.

Danger of Florence.

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This event did not prevent the negociation from going forward between the Florentines and the Sienneſe; but it was thwarted by Galeazzo, who ſought to make himſelf maſter of Polenza. The Polenzans were then under the protection of the Sienneſe; but having an inſuperable averſion to Galeazzo, they offered to admit a Florentine garriſon into their city. The Florentines did not readily comply with this propoſal, being afraid of diſobliging the Sienneſe; but the Polenzan deputies formally came before the magiſtrates of Florence, when they were aſſembled in their town-houſe, and demanded that Polenza ſhould be enrolled in their public inventory, as part of the Florentine property, which was accordingly done; and thereby Polenza being annexed to the dominion of Florence, could not be ſeparated from it without conſent of the people. This enrolment highly diſguſted the Sienneſe, who now courted the friendſhip of Galeazzo, and complained that the Florentines had defrauded them of their property. A.D. 1388.

Courage and conſtancy of the Florentines.

This charge neither diſcouraged nor diſconcerted the Florentines. They entered into an alliance with Barnabo's ſon, and Antonio prince of Verona, who had both of them been diſpoſſeſſed by Galeazzo. He, on the other hand, complained that the Florentines foſtered and ſupported his enemies, and drove all the natives of Florence out of his dominions; while the Florentines made open proclamation, inviting all Galeazzo's ſubjects to reſide in their city and territory. At the ſame time they ſent ambaſſadors to France, to make a league with the French king; and ordered their general Hawkwood to march into Lombardy, to the aſſiſtance of Barnabo's ſon and his party.

A.D. 1389.

Peace concluded.

Peter Gambacurta was then the leading man at Piſa, but a ſtrong advocate for peace. His authority in Tuſcany was ſo great, that the ſtates of Milan, Florence, Sienna, and Perugia, entered into a league at Piſa. It was at this time that pope Urban VI. died, and was ſucceeded by Boniface, though the ſchiſm in the popedom ſtill continued. It ſoon appeared that Galeazzo had entered into the Piſan league, which was to laſt three years, for private ends of his own. His great view was againſt Florence; but to keep the other parties of the confederacy either upon his ſide or neutral, he took occaſion to upbraid the Florentines with a deſign againſt his life, and mentioned the public ſpeech Rioci had made as a proof of his allegation. He then drove all the Florentines out of his dominions. They, on the other hand, not bearing to be branded with ſuch a calumny, wrote to the ſtates of Venice, Genoa, and Piſa, to clear themſelves, and to lay open Galeazzo's wicked purpoſes.

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This incident diſconcerted the league, and the Sienneſe and Perugians refuſed to ratify it. Gambacurta, having been ſincere in all his proceedings, offered to go in perſon to Galeazzo; but was diſſuaded by the Florentines, for fear the latter ſhould take advantage of his abſence to ſeize Piſa. The Florentines ſtrove to renew their league with the Sienneſe and the Perugians, and offered even to reſign Polenza to the former; but they proved quite intractable, declaring that their deputies had been forced by ſir John Hawkwood to enter into the Piſan confederacy. The Perugians, in like manner, complained that the Florentines had harboured and entertained their exiles, and that they endeavoured to ſeduce ſome of their towns.

The Florentines had ordered deputies to repair to France; but they were intercepted, and detained by Galeazzo. The French king, however, ſent ambaſſadors to Florence, offering to take them into his protection upon two conditions. The firſt was, that they ſhould acknowlege the authority of pope Clement; and the other, that they ſhould pay him an annual ſum for his protection.

The French demands and meditation rejected.

Though the Florentines were upon the eve of a war with the moſt ambitious and powerful prince in Italy, though they were ſurrounded by open or ſecret enemies, and though they had not an ally whom they could truſt, yet they magnanimouſly rejected thoſe terms, as inconſiſtent with the good faith and dignity of their ſtate[x]. They even carried their reſentment ſo far, that they refuſed to accept the mediation of France for a peace, when her ambaſſadors propoſed it. This negociation being at an end, Galeazzo ſent a letter to Florence containing a formal denunciation of war againſt the ſtate which he ſaid, was held in ſubjection by a pragmatical Guelph faction. The Florentines recriminated upon him in a moſt ſevere manifeſto they publiſhed, laying open all his crimes and ambition; and thus commenced the war, which was the greateſt the Florentines had ever undertaken.

War recommenced

SECT. VII.

Containing the Hiſtory and Progreſs of the War between Milan and Florence.

A.D.1390. AT this period, the republic of Florence was in a moſt flouriſhing condition, both as to the ſtate of her finances and the abilities of her ſubjects. Before the war was pro-

Flouriſhing ſtate of Florence.

[x] Aretin, p. 208. Ammurat. Hiſt. de Fiorent. lib. xv.

claimed

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claimed, the Milaneſe, the Sienneſe, and the other enemies of Florence, rendezvouſed near Sienna, to the number of three thouſand horſe, and fifteen hundred foot, under the command of Giovanni Azzo, of the family of Ubaldini, and Giantedeſco, a grandſon of Sacone, both of them determined enemies of Florence. Having for ſome time diſguiſed their intentions by marches and countermarches, they on a ſudden paſſed Monte Luco, with a deſign to ſeize upon San Giovanni, where they had ſome confederates. Being diſappointed in their attempt, they marched towards Arezzo, ravaging the country all the way. The Florentines ſent what forces they could ſpare to protect Arezzo; but the deſcendants of Sacone were ſo powerful in that territory, that they became maſters of Liciano.

Steadfaſtneſs of the Bologneſe.

The Bologneſe continued faithful in their alliance with the Florentines; and Galeazzo marched an army againſt them, under the command of Giacomo del Verme, of Verona, who took ſome places in their territory. The people of Bologna immediately advertiſed the Florentines of their danger; and though the latter were in equal danger themſelves, they ordered ſir John Hawkwood, who commanded their troops in Naples, to march to their aſſiſtance. At the ſame time, they invited Rinaldo Orſino, a general of great renown, to take the command of their troops in Tuſcany; and ordered new levies to be made in the Campagna di Roma, in the territories of the church, and all over Italy. Meanwhile, John Galeazzo Viſconti, count of Virtu, died at Sienna, of a diſeaſe he had contracted in the field; and his death changed the face of affairs all over Italy. Rinaldo Orſini accepted of the invitation of the Florentines; but while he was upon his march to take upon him the command of their troops, he was treacherouſly killed at Aquila; ſo that the chief command devolved upon Hawkwood. This general had marched with great expedition from Naples to Bologna, and found himſelf at the head of four thouſand horſe and two thouſand foot, Florentines and Bologneſe. He immediately advanced againſt the enemy, who were beſieging Præmalcore; but, upon his approach, they retired into the Modeneſe with precipitation. They were purſued by Hawkwood, who retook the places which the Bologneſe had loſt.

The Florentines attempt the conqueſt of Milan.

The Florentines at this time meditated a far greater enterprize than any they had ever yet undertaken. Charles Viſconti, the ſon of Bernabo, who thought himſelf the lawful heir of Milan, and Lucino, a prince of the ſame family, ſerved under Hawkwood; and the Florentines apprehended that it would not be impracticable to form a

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party against the reigning family at Milan. This project flattered the high ideas they entertained of their own power and dignity; but they prudently sought to strengthen themselves by foreign alliances. They therefore sent a splendid deputation to Stephen duke of Bavaria, inviting him to march into Italy, and tempting him with a promise of a considerable subsidy, and other advantages. They likewise invited the prince of Carrara, whose father had been imprisoned by Galeazzo, and who himself was then an exile in Germany, to return and assert his family-rights in Italy; and applied to several other foreign princes for assistance.

Arezzo invaded.

The war was all this time raging with great fury in Tuscany, where the Sienneſe and their allies became masters, by treachery, of a strong place called Battifolle, within three miles of Arezzo. By this acquisition they were rendered very formidable to that city. It happened, luckily for the Florentines, that the Arezzians themselves had an invincible aversion to the family of the Tarlati, or Sacone; and therefore, without putting the Florentines to great expence, they made a most admirable defence, though they were surrounded on all hands by their enemies, who had found means to possess themselves of their fortresses. The Florentines acted with equal spirit, in expectation of the assistance they had solicited from Germany and France; so that all Tuscany was at this time engaged in a war, so expensive to the Florentines, that few sovereign states could have defrayed it, for they paid subsidies to almost all the neighbouring princes. The prince of Carrara arrived in Italy at the head of a large body of German horse, and marched with such dispatch, that he surprised Padua; but the citadel held out for John duke of Milan, the eldest son of Galeazzo. At the same time Hawkwood, having secured the state of Bologna, marched through the Modeneſe, and laid siege to Reggio and Parma, while the duke of Bavaria arrived with a fresh army of Germans; so that the family of Galeazzo was in danger of losing all its possessions in Lombardy, excepting Milan. It appears, from the concurring testimony of all historians, that the scheme the Florentines had now laid for the conquest of Lombardy must have succeeded, had they not unfortunately been obliged to commit the execution of it to German mercenaries. The Veroneſe had taken arms for the infant son of Antonio, their late prince; but not being supported, as they expected to be, by the duke of Bavaria, the Galeazzo party had regained the ascendent: and Vicenza was well disposed to revolt, but was obliged to submit to the same power, for want of a head.

The prince of Carrara comes to the aid of the Florentines;

as does the duke of Bavaria.

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The duke of Bavaria, on the other hand, in an embaſſy he ſent to Florence, laid all the blame of his failure upon the obſtructions he had received from the duke of Auſtria, the biſhop of Aquileia, and the Venetians; but pretended that he had come time enough to ſave Padua, where the citadel ſtill held out. He counſelled the Florentines, at the ſame time, to order Hawkwood, who was ſtill in Lombardy with his army, to join him; but the drift of his whole meſſage was a freſh ſupply of money. The Florentines replied, that his advice was ridiculous and impracticable, and his demand unreaſonable: that the citadel of Padua was no object for two great armies, ſuch as his and Hawkwood's; that the prince of Carrara was at the head of a force ſufficient to reduce it; that the ſwelling of the two great rivers, the Po and the Adige, rendered it impracticable for Hawkwood to join him; that, if he intended to do them any ſervice, he ought immediately to march againſt Verona and Vicenza; in which caſe they would take his demand into conſideration, though he knew that they had paid him already all the money they had promiſed, which was ſufficient for defraying the expence of a far greater army than he had brought with him into Italy. *Apology and demands of the latter.*

This anſwer diſobliged and diſconcerted the needy German ſo much, that he refuſed to move from Padua; while the Bologneſe horſe mutinying for want of pay, Hawkwood was obliged to carry them and his Florentine troops back to the Bologneſe; and thus fell to the ground the well-concerted project of the Florentines for the conqueſt of Lombardy. Hawkwood's retreat revived the ſpirits of the Galeazzo party, who aſſembled a great force to relieve the caſtle of Padua, and retake the town. The Bavarian foreſaw the difficulties of the Florentines, and pretended to make preparations for returning home. At laſt the Florentines agreed to pay him ſome money, provided he would remain at Padua. Their perplexities were great on this occaſion. They plainly ſaw that the Bavarian was not to be truſted, and that Padua could be ſaved only by their own troops. They had an army on foot; but the duke of Ferrara refuſed to let it paſs through his territories, and it being in no condition to force its way, the Florentines applied for ſhipping to the Venetians, who denied them, on account of their connections with the Galeazzo family. *Difficulties of the Florentines.*

The affairs of the Florentines wore a better aſpect in Tuſcany, where the Milaneſe had now few or no troops. Their generals, Donati Azarolo, and Biliotto Biliotti, gained ſeveral advantages over the Sienneſe. This conſideration brought many of the latter to think of departing *War in Tuſcany.*

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from their league with the Galeazzo family. Hawkwood, all this time, lay with his army amongst the Bolognese, who were now heartily tired of the war. They therefore sent ambassadors[a] to Florence, pleading their inability to continue it, on account of its expence; and demanding either a loan of money, or leave to make a separate peace. The Florentines reproached the ambassadors with the pusillanimity of their countrymen, represented the prodigious sums they had expended in the war, the near prospect they had of success, and concluded by telling them, the peace they talked of could be no other than a bargain for slavery. This magnanimous answer so much stung the Bolognese, that they resolved to continue the war with more vigour than ever. The effect of this resolution was soon seen, by a peace that was concluded between them and Alberti of Ferrara; by which the latter agreed to give the Florentine army a free passage to Padua, which was now in the most imminent danger.

Embassy from the Bolognese.

Hawkwood was, on this occasion, sent to relieve Padua, the duke of Bavaria being returned to Germany. The Florentine general arrived but just in time to save the city; for his enemies, though very numerous, would not stand a battle. This service being performed, he marched towards Verona and Vicenza, in hopes of being favoured by some commotions in those cities; but the duke of Milan had taken his measures so well, by curbing them with strong garrisons, that he was disappointed, and obliged to take up his winter-quarters in the Paduan.

A.D. 1391.

The French assist the Florentines.

The return of the duke of Bavaria to Germany induced the Florentines to apply to the French, with more eagerness than ever, for assistance. The French nobility were at this time very independent of their king, and had been long practised in war. The count de Armagnac was one of the most illustrious amongst them, and to him the Florentines particularly applied. He readily listened to their proposals, and the fate of Lombardy was once more rendered doubtful. It was agreed, that the count should penetrate into Lombardy, with a great army, by the way of Alessandria, while Hawkwood should maintain his ground in the Paduan; and that, both armies being joined, should attack Milan. Giovanni Ricci and Rinoldo Gianfiliacci were at this time the Florentine deputies with the count, who met with great difficulties in his undertaking. Galeazzo had spared neither money nor pains to raise a party against his expedition at the court of Rome, and to foment a mu-

[a] Aretin, p. 213.

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tiny in his army. The count, however, surmounting all opposition, began his march at the head of a very fine army, which soon passed the Alps, keeping the Appennines on the right hand, and the Po on the left. The Florentine deputies, during this march, which was undertaken to avoid the uncertain passages over the Tessino, the Po, and several other rivers, were at great pains to curb the natural impetuosity of the French, who were perpetually falling out amongst themselves, and undertaking dangerous but useless expeditions.

Galeazzo, more terrified at the French than the Florentines, having provided for the defence of Milan, moved to Pavia, where he took up his head-quarters, and sent the flower of his troops to oppose the French, and to garrison Alessandria. By this time Hawkwood was become master of all the open country of the Milanese, which he laid under severe contributions; but being unprovided of engines, or artillery, he took no strong places, and he was obliged to stop at the river Adda, which he could not pass, within sixteen miles of Milan.

Hawkwood master of the Milanese.

Galeazzo, being thus beset by the French and Florentine armies, was about to have abandoned Pavia, when he was encouraged to stand on the defensive by the prodigious heats of the season, and the great imprudence of the French. After having taken Castelati, which is within six miles of Alessandria, they dismounted from their horses, which were almost rendered unserviceable by the intense heats, and advanced in a square battallion of foot against the city, which had an army for its garrison. The Florentine historian[a] justly observes, that this disposition would have been successful, had the French been to meet their enemies in the field; but the Milanese kept within their walls and entrenchments; and observing that the French had left their horses at a great distance behind them, they sallied out at a different gate from that which the French were to attack, and made prize of them without opposition. This frantic conduct proved the utter ruin of the French. Galeazzo mounted his troops on horseback, and attacked them on all sides. Their valour proved of no service to them, as they could not pursue their enemies, who attacked and retired at pleasure; while the French, through their own weakness, occasioned by the heats of the weather and their fatigues, were unable to pursue. In short, scarce a Frenchman escaped. Many of them were killed, more of them perished through heat and fatigue, and those who survived

The French, through their own imprudence, are totally defeated.

[a] Aretin, p. 216.

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were made prisoners; amongst the latter were the Florentine deputies. As to the count of Armagnac, being disabled and made prisoner, he died in a few hours, rather from the anguish of his mind than the severity of his wound[b]. Aretin says, that, this expedition cost the Florentines, in a very few months, one million two hundred and sixty thousand ducats.

Hawkwood defeats the victors.

Galeazzo, having gained so complete and unexpected a victory, marched against Hawkwood, who not being certain of the truth, did no more than fall back to a little distance from the Adda, and encamped at Paterno, a village in the Cremonese. The Milanese advanced with all the confidence of a sure victory, while Hawkwood ordered his troops to lie in their camp upon the defensive. The Milanese imputed this caution to fear, and for four days insulted his camp; but Hawkwood, taking advantage of their security and want of discipline, at last gave them battle, and defeated them; a great number being killed in the field, and above twelve hundred of their cavalry, with some of their chief officers being taken prisoners. Notwithstanding this defeat, the Milanese were greatly superior to him in strength, and hung upon his rear in his retreat, till he reached the river Oglio, which was difficult to pass in sight of a superior army; but he surmounted even this difficulty, by the help of four hundred English archers, who passed the river, and covered the rest of the Florentine army, in passing it, under the discharge of their arrows. This retreat was, in those days, justly thought to be a masterpiece of generalship; and Hawkwood, without any farther interruption, passed the Mincio.

His admirable retreat.

His difficulties, however, were greatly increased when he came to the banks of the Adige, which the enemy had broken down, and thereby laid the adjacent country under water; but Hawkwood relieved his army, even in this dreadful situation. He marched through the shoal-waters, and came to a rising ground, where he pitched his tents; which leaving standing, to deceive the enemy, he proceeded to Montagnana, a friendly town, where he passed the Adige in boats. Aretin observes, that no general but Hawkwood could have performed such a retreat, which proved him to be the ablest commander of that age[c].

Expedition against Sienna.

The prodigious losses and difficulties the Florentines had sustained, during this campaign, were far from abating their military ardour; for, during their expedition into Lom-

[b] Poggi, Hist. lib. iii. apud Murator. Corio. Hist. Milan.
[c] Chronic, Estinse, apud Murator, tom. xv. Rer. Italic. Ammurat, Hist. Florent. lib. xv.

bardy,

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bardy, they sent Ludovico Campano, with an army of four thousand horse and two thousand foot, amongst whom were twelve hundred Genoese cross-bowmen, against Sienna. These troops began their march towards the end of autumn, when the Siennese, who were perishing by famine expected to get in their harvest. This consideration induced the Florentines to prolong their march as much as possible, that they might render the neighbourhood of Sienna a desert; so inveterate was their hatred towards the Siennese. In the mean time, they took several places in that territory, and made many of the principal Siennese prisoners. But while they thought themselves secure of subduing all their enemies, they received intelligence that the French had been totally defeated at Alessandria, and that Hawkwood was surrounded on the banks of the Adda, without a possibility of retreating. These dismal accounts checked all the towering hopes of the Florentines, who imagined that Galezzo was already in the heart of Tuscany. They recovered, however, from their consternation, when they heard that Hawkwood and his army were safe, and they sent him orders to march directly to Tuscany. While he was upon his march, Galeazzo sent Verme of Verona, at the head of his army, to the assistance of the Siennese, and he arrived at Pisa about the time that Hawkwood reached Bologna. The Florentine army which remained in the Siennese must have been destroyed and Florence itself perhaps taken, had it not been for the courage and activity of the old English general, who, hearing of Verme's expedition, immediately passed the mountains, marched to Pistoia, and from thence to San Miniato, in the neighbourhood of the Milanese army, and offered them battle. Verme at that time declined it, and marched from Pisa to Volterra, from whence he advanced to Sienna, both to cover that city and to join the Siennese troops, which were still in the field. This junction being effected, the whole of his army amounted to ten thousand horse and three thousand mercenary foot, besides a great body of Pisan and Siennese volunteers; and with this formidable force he entered the Florentine territory.

Hawkwood saves Florence.

The Florentine generals and officers held a great council of war in Boneti. They had two generals, sir John Hawkwood and Luigi Campano, who had commanded their army in Tuscany. Their troops, in point of discipline and courage were equal if not superior to those of the enemy; but their numbers were far inferior. It was, therefore, resolved in a council of war to act upon the defensive, and in detached parties, and to keep their strong places always at their backs. This was a wise resolution. They knew their

The Florentines recover.

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their allies were on their march to join them, and that the Siennese territory could not long support their enemy. After many marches and countermarches, both armies encamped within two miles of each other on the banks of the Tessino. While they lay in this situation, the Florentines were joined by count Barbiani, at the head of three thousand Bolognese horse, and four hundred archers, and by several other auxiliary troops. This accession of strength, and the numbers daily flocking to them from Arezzo, and the neighbouring country, rendered the Florentines equal to their enemies, and both sides seemed to prepare in good earnest for a general engagement.

Defeat their enemies.

This, however, was only a feint on the part of the Milanese, who had already resolved upon a retreat, which they performed in the night towards Victolini. Passing the mountains in the neighbourhood, they left troops to guard the passes in case of a pursuit, while the main body continued their march. The Florentines no sooner heard of their enemy's retreat than their camp was in an uproar, from the eagerness of the soldiers for a pursuit, all of them calling out that not a man of the run-aways ought to be suffered to escape. Nothing but Hawkwood's great authority could have diverted them from this pernicious resolution. He strenuously insisted on their enemies being suffered to retreat, and of the danger and folly of pursuing them through a country so fit for ambuscades. It was with the utmost difficulty his advice at last prevailed. It was discovered that part of the enemy had embarked on the banks of the Novola, and that part were still in possession of the mountains. Hawkwood immediately gave orders that the latter should be attacked, a service, which, notwithstanding their strong situation, was performed with such vigour, that they were driven from the passes into the plain, with the loss of three hundred killed, and two hundred horsemen made prisoners, amongst whom were some officers of the highest distinction, particularly Taddeo del Verme, brother to the Milanese general; a great number of foot were made prisoners at the same time. This victory served only to render the Florentines more presumptuous: descending from the hill, against the express command of Hawkwood, they attacked the rear of the enemy in the plain; but were repulsed with some loss, which rendered them a little more tractable.

A negociation for peace.

After this action, the Milanese army proceeded on their march, and the Florentines took possession of the camp they left, greatly exulting at the cowardly flight as they called it, of their enemies. The latter, however, far from flying,

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flying, proceeded no farther than Sarzana; there, turning short, they marched to Cascino, in the territory of Pisa, in the neighbourhood of which they encamped, and gave out that they were returned to fight the Florentines. The latter had thought themselves so secure, that their auxiliaries were on their march homewards, but were soon recalled. Many of them, however, did not return; so that both armies, after having been some weeks within sight of one another, departed, without fighting, into winter-quarters. During this campaign the Florentines besieged Ranco, a strong fortress in the Arezzian territory, belonging to Sacone's family. But the place proving impregnable, both parties grew tired of the war, and inclined to peace. Friends interposing for that purpose, Genoa was pitched upon for the place of negociation; and all parties sent thither their plenipotentiaries. The chief difficulty regarded the captive prince of Carrara, whose deliverance his son Francisco insisted upon; as Galeazzo did upon the rendition of Padua. Some difficulty likewise occurred with regard to the Siennese exiles, who had taken refuge at Florence, and the town of Liciano. At last, after various altercations, the matter was referred to the arbitration of the pope's legate, and the doge of Genoa, and, by way of compliment, a deputy from the people of Genoa. Those referrees having agreed upon their award, demanded who was to be the guarantee of the peace. "The sword, replied Tomassi, one of the Florentine deputies; Galeazzo and Florence now know each other's strength." This gallant speech was approved of by Galeazzo's party, and an award was then pronounced to the following effect:

Its terms.

That the town of Padua, with all the places taken by Francesco prince of Carrara, should remain to him, upon his paying to Galeazzo fifty thousand ducats in five years time. Hopes were likewise given him, though nothing on that head was expressly stipulated, that Galeazzo would, of his own accord, restore the old prince to his liberty. All the places which the Florentines and the Siennese had taken from each other, were to be restored to their original owners, except Liciano, which was referred to a future negociation; and the Siennese, as well as the Paduan exiles were to be restored to their estates. It was likewise stipulated, that Galeazzo's army should not pass a certain boundary towards Florence, unless the Siennese or the Perugians should invite them as auxiliaries against the unjust attacks of the Florentines[z].

[z] Biconcon. Annal. apud Murator. tom. xxi. Ammurat. Hist. de Fioren. lib. xvi.

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Partiality of the Genoese.

Nothing in this treaty was so much censured as the money which was to be paid for Padua, and which the Florentines, it seems, were to advance. Aretin[a] observes, that during the whole negociation, the Genoese discovered a visible partiality for Galeazzo; and even forced the grand-master of Rhodes, who was the pope's legate, to yield some points in his favour. The Florentines in the main, however, were well satisfied with the terms.

Galeazzo's insincerity.

The war between Milan and Florence had, immediately or remotely, affected the tranquillity of all Italy, and every state in it earnestly wished not only for the return but the continuance of peace. For this reason it had been stipulated in the late negociation at Genoa, that when the Milanese and Florentine armies were disbanded, effectual means should be pursued to prevent the soldiers from forming themselves into companies of banditti, or robbers; an evil which had often been fatal to the repose of Italy. It was proposed that this end should be answered by not disbanding the troops all at once, but gradually; and by the respective parties keeping in their service such leaders as were most capable of heading and conducting such bands. The Florentine historian[b] tells us, that his countrymen and their allies were sincere in performing this engagement; but that Galeazzo's mercenaries formed themselves into a body, and demanded a passage through the Bolognese and the Ferrarese. The Florentines, who perhaps refined a little too much upon events, suspected that Galeazzo had connived at this demand, and sent some troops to the assistance of the Bolognese, who had refused to comply with it. Upon this refusal, the companies marched through the Parmesan towards Tuscany, and advanced to the Siennese, their strength every day increasing. They then began to harrass and lay under contribution the inhabitants of Tuscany.

The Florentines were extremely uneasy at those proceedings, especially as it now appeared that neither the Siennese nor Galeazzo were their cordial friends. The former took every opportunity to express their rancour against Florence, and the latter behaved in a manner that was equally mean and brutal. Giovanni Ricci, one of the Florentine deputies who had attended the count de Armagnac, had been made prisoner at Alessandria; and, after the peace of Genoa, Galeazzo not only raised his demand of four thousand florins for his ransom to thirty thousand, but put him in irons; and sent two of his courtiers to tell him, that though he deserved death, yet he would remit that punish-

[a] Pag. 221. [b] Aretin, ibid.

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ment upon the payment of the money. This was a sum so impossible for Ricci to raise, that his punishment amounted to perpetual imprisonment. Galeazzo, at the same time, refused to restore the old prince of Carrara to his freedom, and omitted no means to make the young one uneasy in his possession of Padua, by entertaining and succouring the Paduan exiles.

The Florentines renew their league.

Such a variety of suspicious circumstances induced the Florentines to renew their ancient league with their neighbouring states at Bologna. The parties who came into the confederacy were, besides the Florentines and the Bolognese, the Paduans and the Ferrarese; but liberty was reserved for any other state to enter into the confederacy, which the Mantuans soon after did. This confederacy gave great umbrage to Galeazzo, who, in his turn, publicly complained that the Florentines never had been sincere in the peace they had concluded; and he made preparations for renewing the war with more vigour than ever; but to gain time he named ambassadors previously to treat with the Florentines.

Their great riches and magnificence.

Every page of this history produces instances of the glory attending the encouragement of commerce amongst a free people. Florence had in a manner supported, on her own shoulders, the liberty of Tuscany; and had just finished, with honour, a most expensive and ruinous war with the greatest prince in Italy. She had paid immense subsidies to the princes both of Germany and France, without being benefited by them, and irreproachably fulfilled all the engagements she had entered into: she was dreaded, hated, and envied by many of the neighbouring states, and obliged to keep armies on foot to guard against surprizes; yet she continued so immensely rich, that her citizens, at this time, outshone those of all Europe, in the splendor and elegance of their equipages, in their manner of living, in their buildings and public exhibitions. While they every day expected to re-enter into a bloody and expensive war with Galeazzo, they were celebrating tilts and tournaments, in honour of the birth of the French king's eldest son, with a magnificence that amazed all Europe [c].

Negociation with Galeazzo.

After this magnificent exhibition, Galeazzo's ambassadors came to Florence, where in a public audience, they highly extolled their prince's good faith and good will towards the Florentines, who answered them in terms equally polite and general. The ambassadors expected that the Florentines would have entered upon the subject of their com-

[c] Aretin, p. 222.

plaints

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plaints againſt their maſter; but being diſappointed, they told the Florentines plainly, that their inſtructions were to treat on three ſubjects, namely, the banditti, the behaviour of the Sienneſe, and the detention of the old prince of Carrara and Ricci in priſon. As to the firſt, they pretended that their maſter had done all that was in his power to prevent ſuch illegal aſſociations. With regard to the ſecond, they alleged, he was ſo far from encouraging the Sienneſe, that he had withdrawn his protection from them, to render them more tractable. With regard to the laſt head, they ſaid, it was no juſt ſubject of complaint, as nothing had been ſtipulated by the peace of Genoa: that the miſbehaviour of the young prince of Carrara was the reaſon of his father's detenſion; and that Ricci was the property of an officer, whom Galeazzo could not force to deliver him up.

The Florentines affected great ſurprize, and denied they had given authority to any one to ſay, that they had entertained any ſuſpicions of Galeazzo's friendſhip. Farther, they declined making any reply; and the ambaſſadors upbraided them with their having received the Mantuan, which lay, as it were, in the boſom of their maſter's dominions, into their confederacy. To this laſt charge the Florentines replied, that the Mantuans were their ancient allies; that, by admitting them into their league, they did no more than renew their former alliance with them; and that the whole of their confederacy was no other than defenſive. As to the other parts of their commiſſion, the Florentines informed them that they would ſend a ſatisfactory anſwer to Galeazzo by deputies of their own. Three accordingly were choſen, Felippo Adimar, Rinaldo Gianfigliazzo, and Guido Tommaſi; but an incident happened at this time very alarming to the Florentines.

Death of Gambacurta.

We have, on ſeveral occaſions, mentioned Peter Gambacurta, who had long the chief ſway at Piſa, and, by all accounts, was one of the worthieſt men of his time. He had a ſecretary, Giacomo di Appiano, who had ſerved him ſo long that he was let into all his affairs and ſecrets. This miniſter being employed and truſted by his maſter in his moſt important concerns, privately formed a faction againſt Gambacurta in favour of Galeazzo, by whom he had been corrupted. In the late war Appiano had ſent his ſon to ſerve under Galeazzo; and the youth being taken priſoner, Galeazzo valued him ſo much, that he exchanged Ricci for him. On his return to Piſa, their party openly declared themſelves; and though Gambacurta was often forewarned of his fate, Appiano found means to put him to death, and to

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to seize upon the government[d]. This revolution, so unfavourable to the Florentines, retarded the departure of their deputies. It was now plain, that the whole had been schemed and effected by Galeazzo, whose partizan Appiano professed himself to be. At last the deputies departed, and two or three years passed in a state of neither war nor peace between Galeazzo and the Florentines; each side was civil to the other, and each endeavoured to betray and over-reach its antagonist. We shall, therefore, lay hold of this interval to mention some particulars, which, though of importance to history, cannot properly be interwoven with the narrative of wars or civil transactions. A.D. 1392.

Extraordinary fit of enthusiasm.

The historian Leonard of Arezzo, whom we have all along mentioned by the name of Aretin, informs us[e], that he was at this time a young man, studying the civil law, and therefore we may look upon him as a contemporary author. From him we learn, that the Italians, and the Florentines in particular, had, for some time, laid aside the use of arms, from the great conveniency they found in hiring and employing foreign troops, and that those foreigners were all of them cavalry. This sudden change of character seems to have affected the common people of Tuscany in a most extraordinary manner. Nothing was now to be seen all over the towns but long solemn processions of the inhabitants dress in white. All were wrapt up in the fervours of devotion. All animosities between one place and another were now forgot. Two full months were spent in those mutual peregrinations from town to town. They who before had been sworn enemies, now embraced each other as friends. All gates flew open, and all places were accessible at the approach of the white-robed processionists. Love and friendship seemed to possess every breast, and the universal chorus was peace and pity. They who were the most forward in deriding the accounts of those extraordinary appearances, no sooner saw them than they seemed to be smitten with the contagion, and were the foremost in putting on white garments. The Florentines shared deep in the common infection: no fewer than four processions went out of their city, which was thereby left uninhabited. At last the contagion spread all over Italy; and no certain account could be given of its rise.

The revival of Greek learning at this period in Italy does honour to the Florentine name. The emperor of Constan-

[d] Annali Sanesi apud Murator. tom. xix. ad ann. 1392.
[e] Vide Leonardi Aretini Rerum suo Tempore in Italia gestarum Commentarius.

tinople

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The Florentines the revivers of learning.

ninople had come to solicit assistance against the Turks, and in his train was a noble Byzantine called Chrysoloras, renowned for his knowlege of Greek learning. The Florentines, by a solemn deputation, invited this illustrious scholar to their city, where he was received with all the honours due to his rank and merit, and a salary was allowed him for opening a school for Greek lectures. Chrysoloras kept his school open for above two years; but was obliged to attend his master, upon his return to Constantinople. While we are upon this subject, it is but justice to Florence, and the memory of Aretin, who was a subject of Florence, to mention that this author may be considered as the great reviver of classical Latin in Europe, and that no writer since that time has exceeded his style in purity and precision; nor were his countrymen ungrateful to his merit, for they raised him to the greatest employments in their state.

Death and character of Hawkwood.

The Florentines, during the cessation of their war with Galeazzo, admitted into the confederacy, of which they were the head, the inhabitants of Rimini, Faenza, Ravenna, Imola, and Citta di Castello. This enlargement of the confederacy was the more necessary, as the banditti, privately encouraged by Galeazzo, grew daily more and more formidable. But the Florentines, at this time, sustained an irrecoverable blow by the death of sir John Hawkwood, who was certainly one of the greatest captains of the age. He married the natural daughter of Bernabo duke of Milan, with whom he is said to have received in portion a million of florins[f]. Though he served various states, and in different interests, yet no imputation lies on his memory of being either mercenary or ungrateful. After having been the scourge he became the saviour of the Florentine liberty; and when he died, was, at the public expence, honoured with a noble funeral, and a magnificent monument.

A.D. 1394.

Civil factions in Florence.

After the banishment of Alberti, factions Prevailed in Florence, and many of his friends and party were either exiled, admonished, or put to death, by what Machiavel calls the balia[g], which was an extraordinary power delegated, upon certain occasions, to the lords, the colleges, the eight, the captains of the wards, and the syndics of the trades[h]. Maso Albizi was an enemy to the house of Alberti, on account of the death of Pietro Albizi; and being

[f] Vide Paul Jovius in Barnaba, p. 159, and Barnes's Life of Edward III. p. 718. [g] Vide Machiavel's History of Florence, book iii. [h] Id. ibid.

gonfalonier

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gonfalonier of juſtice, he procured Alberto and Andrea Alberti, to be accuſed of holding a correſpondence with the enemies of the ſtate. This charge brought on a freſh proſecution of the Alberti party, in which ſuch numbers of the lower ranks of people were either diſqualified or put to death, that the multitude took arms. Part of them ran to the great ſquare, where the magiſtrates were aſſembled, whom they forced to give them for their leaders Rinaldo Gianfigliazzo, and Donato Acciaivoli, with the enſigns of the Guelphs and the people in their hands. Others ran to the houſe of Veri di Medici, and beſought him to take upon him the government of the ſtate, an office which he nobly refuſed; but told the people at the ſame time he would do them all the ſervice in his power. He accordingly repaired to the palace of the preſidents, whom he exhorted to moderation. The magiſtrates, on their part, made ſo many fair profeſſions, that Veri, upon his return to the people, perſuaded them to lay down their arms. This interpoſition gave time to the magiſtrates to arm two thouſand citizens, who they knew would ſtand by them; and they proceeded with the utmoſt ſeverity againſt the late inſurgents, many of whom they put to death. They were oppoſed by Donato Acciaivoli, who, being too precipitate in puſhing for the recall of the exiles, was convicted of practices againſt the ſtate, and confined in priſon. Many of the family of Medici, and their friends, were baniſhed at the ſame time. The chief exiles, moſt of whom were young men, retired to Bologna; but we are now to attend the military affairs of Florence, which Machiavel has ſcarcely mentioned.

Affairs of Ferrara.

Upon the death of Alberto, prince of Ferrara, whoſe ſon Nicholas at that time was very young, Azzo, nearly related to the family, was obliged by the guardians of the young prince to abandon Ferrara, and, after having ſpent ſome time at Venice, he came to Florence, where he made a ſplendid appearance. Leaving Florence at the head of ſome followers, and being privately ſupported by Galeazzo, he marched to the Romagna, where his party grew ſo ſtrong, that Nicholas was in danger of being depoſed. The Florentines mediated between them; but finding Azzo intractable, they declared themſelves guardians to Nicholas. Azzo was backed by the inhabitants of Ravenna and Forli, and above all by count Barbiani, and continued to be underhand aſſiſted by Galeazzo. The Florentines, perceiving a war was unavoidable, raiſed an army, but before it could take the field, Brogla and Brandolino, at the head of ſome of the banditti in Azzo's pay, ſurpriſed the caſtle of Gargonza near Arezzo. This event obliged the Florentines to

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divide their army. One part of it was detached to recover Gargonza, and another, under a foreign count called Conrad, was ſent into the Ferrareſe, and twelve field-deputies were appointed to attend their army. The Bologneſe had ſome connections with Azzo, which kept them neutral in this diſpute.

The Florentines jealous of the emperor.

In the midſt of thoſe great preparations, ambaſſadors came from the emperor Winceſlaus, offering the Florentines his aſſiſtance againſt Galeazzo, and to march in perſon into Italy for that purpoſe. Some of the Florentine allies, ſuch as the Paduans and Mantuans, were eager for embracing the propoſal; but the Florentines, ever true to the maxims of independency, were ſhy of giving an emperor of Germany any footing in Italy. They therefore prevailed with their allies to decline the emperor's offer, under the pretext that they were then negociating a peace with the Milaneſe, and that if it ſhould not ſucceed, they would accept of his generous aſſiſtance. In the mean time they entered into a negociation with the French king, as being the leſs dangerous ally, in order to ſecure their independency againſt Galeazzo.

A D. 1395. The Ferrareſe and the Arezzian wars were ſtill continued by the Florentines, and both of them under-hand fed and ſupported by Galeazzo. But on a ſudden he recalled the troops ſerving in the Arezzian territories, and very politically prevailed with thoſe who had ſurpiſed Gargonza to reſtore it to the Florentines.

They ſupport Lucca.

During theſe hoſtilities, Appiano, who was now the governing man in Piſa, attempted to reduce Lucca to his obedience; upon which the Florentines ſent a body of troops to Peſcia, which is but ten miles from Lucca, and a deputy to the Lucqueſe, to exhort them to maintain their independency. The Lucqueſe, ſenſible of this generous interpoſition, admitted the Florentine troops into their city, and drove the beſiegers from their works; upon which the friendſhip was renewed between the Florentines and the Lucqueſe, and the Piſans were deteſted by both.

Commotions in Florence.

Acciaivoli, a noble Florentine, after various revolutions of power in that city, was now at its head. He had long concurred in the general maxims of the ſtate; but now ſuddenly favoured the exiles, and the diſqualified or Ammoniti (C), and joined with Angelo, the gonfalonier's ſon, in

(C) A man being warned not to accept of any place in the magiſtracy, was called Ammonito, and thenceforward deemed diſqualified (1).

(1) Machiavel, Iſt. de Fiorent. lib. iii.

a project

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a project to restore and recapacitate them to enjoy public honours. Their schemes being made known to the magistrates, they unanimously joined to defeat them; and Acciaivoli, with his accomplices, were sent into exile. This severity was the more remarkable, as Acciaivoli was a citizen of irreproachable morals, both in public and private life; and no charge was brought against him but the great credit he had in the state, which his fellow-citizens thought incompatible with the name of a free government. Along with him were banished many other popular citizens, both noble and ignoble, so that at least one half of the Florentine people were at this time deemed exiles.

Milan erected into a duchy.

At this period Galeazzo obtained from the emperor of Germany, who pretended to be lord paramount of Milan, the title of duke, having before that time been designed only count of Virtu, which was his patrimonial inheritance. He formally signified to the Florentines his new accession of honours, and they in complaisance celebrated festivities upon it. But these appearances of joy were checked in the beginning of the year, when the exiles and the banditti invaded the Arezzian territory with fire and sword. They were soon joined by Barbiani, the sworn enemy of the Florentines, with a great force. The Florentines knew that Barbiani's troops were mercenaries, and wisely resolved to deal with them as such. They offered money to their two leaders, Cantelli and Filippo of Pisa, and thereby prevailed with them to leave Barbiani's service, and to enter into theirs. We are not authorized upon the face of history to say what the secret views of the Florentine government were at this time; but it is certain that the Italian states thought they were dangerous. The generals and troops that the Florentines bought off from Barbiani, to the number of fifteen hundred horse, joined their army, which was in Modena, under Bartolomeo of Prato and Antonio Obizi, and made excursions upon the inhabitants of Reggio and Parma, by which means all Barbiani's schemes fell to the ground. Galeazzo complained bitterly of those disorders. The Florentines answered, that Cantelli's men were not in the service of Florence, they having received only as it were a retaining fee, in case their services should be required; a practice they had learned from Galeazzo himself. This apology, however, seems to be very evasive, it being notorious that they were in the Florentine pay; for after having re-established Nicholas of Ferrara in his government, they marched to Tuscany, where they were employed by the Lucquese against the Pisans of Appiano's

A.D. 1396

Views of the Florentines.

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piano's party, whom the Florentines secretly hated. Appiano applied to Barbiani, who marched with his remaining forces to his assistance; upon which the Florentine mercenaries retired to Lucca, and the rest of the season was spent in mutual skirmishes of no great importance.

Galeazzo assists the Pisans.

Mean while, the Florentine deputies at Milan sent advice of a large body of troops, who were marching under the counts of Alberigo and Malespina, by Galeazzo's order, to the assistance of the Pisans. The Florentines, affecting great moderation, not knowing where the storm might fall, mediated a peace, which with some difficulty they at last effected, and Tuscany was evacuated of all those mercenaries. Barbiani marched into Lombardy, where he harrassed the Ferrarese and the Mantuan. The Florentines understanding that in this conduct he was instigated by Galeazzo, protected and encouraged the Pisan exiles against Appiano. Thus, matters for some time stood in a state of neither peace nor war, till Appiano at last persuaded Galeazzo to commence hostilities, and to order all his troops and generals to rendezvous at Pisa, which they did in such numbers as struck terror into Florence.

Preparations of the Florentines.

Nevertheless the Florentine magistrates behaved with great intrepidity. They now openly took Bartholomew of Prato into their pay, and gave the chief command of their troops to Bernardone, a Spaniard of great reputation, who brought along with him six hundred choice horse and two hundred foot, which were quartered about St. Miniato and Fucetti: they likewise applied to the Bolognese, and their other allies; though the assistance received from them was but slow and insignificant. The first storm of war fell upon the Lucquese, who were succoured by Bernardone. Appiano laid hold of this opportunity to attempt to surprise St. Miniato, a strong place of the last importance to Florence. For this purpose he tampered with Benedetto Marigiadori, one of the chief inhabitants of the town, who entered it by twilight, with no more than seventeen accomplices, and killed the first president, expecting, as he had concerted with Appiano, to be supported by a strong detachment from Pisa. This detachment happened, by mere accident, to fall in with a party of Florentine troops; and, imagining the whole conspiracy to be discovered, returned to Pisa. The townsmen of St. Miniato, perceiving the conspirators were not supported, took arms, and drove them out of the
A D. 1397. place; and the Florentines, who, on the first account they received, thought that their liberties were ruined, took care to guard against future surprizes. This disappointment served

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ferved but the more to exaſperate Galeazzo and his generals, whoſe troops now rendezvouſed at Sienna in ſuch numbers, that the Florentine army, unable to keep the field, were obliged to take ſhelter in their fortified places.

Their danger.

It was generally thought at Florence, that the firſt operations of the enemy would be againſt Arezzo, which is at the ſame diſtance as Florence is from Sienna; but, contrary to expectation, they directed their march againſt Florence itſelf, their force being ten thouſand cavalry, and a proportionable number of infantry. As no war had been formally declared, the country people not being prepared for defence, were purſued half-naked into Florence, and the neighbouring towns, by the enemy, who proceeded, wherever they came, with fire and ſword, ſo that the whole country about Florence was in a blaze. The Florentines, perceiving their danger, ordered Bernardone and their army to draw near their city, whilſt, happily for them, their enemies undertook the ſiege of Segna, a ſtrong town near Florence. Not being able to take it, their generals began to differ amongſt themſelves, and their army to moulder away; ſo that they returned to Sienna without ſucceſs [i].

Florence being thus delivered from one of the greateſt dangers that had ever threatened her, had like to have been ruined by the rigorous diſcipline of her general. Galeazzo was at this time entirely bent on reducing Mantua, which he beſieged by land and water; and diſſenſions increaſing amongſt his generals, Paolo Orſini and Biordi, with ſeveral other general officers, entered with their troops into the ſervice of the Florentines. As moſt of them were ſoldiers of fortune, the ſubjects of Florence ſometimes ſuffered equally from them as from their enemies. Bartholomew of Prato was next in command to Bernardone in the Florentine army; but not brooking the other's ſuperiority, he plundered ſome magazines which the general had erected for the uſe of his army; for which miſdemeanor Bernardone put him to death. This puniſhment inflicted on a general officer, who, in his military capacity, was eſteemed to be equal, if not ſuperior, to Bernardone himſelf, highly diſguſted the Florentine auxiliaries and mercenaries. Paolo Orſini and Felippo of Piſa, who was now in the Florentine ſervice, ſeparated from Bernardone; and it was with the greateſt difficulty that the field deputies kept the reſt of the army together; but they acted with ſo much prudence and reſolution, that their country ſuffered but

Bartholomew of Prato put to death.

[i] Ammurat. Hiſt. Fiorent. lib. xvi.

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little in the end, by the example of justice that had been made.

The Florentines succour Mantua.

This was the more wonderful, as the the enemy was still very powerful in Tuscany and Mantua, a state in alliance with Florence. Count Alberigo commanded the Pisan army at Sienna; and a great body of that republic's troops were encamped about Policiano and Cortona. Notwithstanding all the difficulties and dangers that then surrounded the Florentines, they resolved to succour Mantua, and for that purpose gave the command of a body of troops to count Hugues de Montfort, who was soon superseded in his command by Carlo Malatesta, a much abler general. All this while the war was carried on in Tuscany, but generally to the advantage of the Florentines, whose incursions reached to the very gates of Sienna and Pisa.

Conspiracy in Florence.

The more glorious the conduct of the Florentines was abroad, the greater was their danger at home. Maso de Albizi, ever since the banishment of Acciaivoli, had held the chief sway in Florence, where he was hated by a great part of the citizens. The chief of the exiles resided at this time at Bologna, and they held a private correspondence with Piggiello and Baronio Cavicciulli [k], two citizens who lived disqualified and sequestered from the government of Florence. Those two persons invited six young noblemen of great quality, and two citizens of meaner degree, to return secretly to the city, and to begin an insurrection in favour of the exiled citizens, by assassinating Albizi. The names of the conspirators were Pachio Cavicciulli, Thomas de Ricci, Antonio de Medici, Benedetto de gli Spini, Antonio Girolami, and Cristoforo di Carlone. These thoughtless young noblemen met with the fate their rashness merited. Being admitted into the city, one of their spies watched Albizi's house; and, upon his coming abroad, they ran to kill him, but, either casually or advisedly, he slipt into an apothecary's shop, and escaped the danger. This disappointment did not daunt the conspirators. Waving their swords they called out "Liberty and destruction to the tyrants!" and killed two persons of the opposite party. This outrage struck the citizens with horror, so that not a man joined the conspirators, who retired to the church of St. Reparata, determined to sell their lives as dear as they could. The church doors, however, were broken open, and the conspirators either killed or seized, and, after trial, put to death.

[k] Machiavel, lib. iii. Aretin. p. 233.

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Machiavel informs us, that when this insurrection was suppressed, Florence escaped another conspiracy, formed by Galeazzo, against her liberty. His plot was to introduce a company of resolute banditti into the city, where they were to be admitted by accomplices of their own party, and to murder all the magistrates and ministers of state. One Sammiato was Galeazzo's chief agent in this conspiracy, which he communicated to Silvester Cavicciulli, who discovered the whole to the magistrates. Sammiato was taken, and being put to the rack, disclosed all the particulars; but only he and another conspirator, Davisi, were put to death. Though it is probable that this conspiracy was more imaginary than real, yet a balia, or *court of enquiry*, was immediately erected for punishing all concerned in it, and they proceeded with such rigour, that, besides a great number of mechanics, six of the family of Ricci, six of the Alberti, two of the Medici, three of the Scali, two of the Strozzi, together with Bindi Altoviti, and Bernardo Admiari, were found guilty, and the families of Alberti Ricci, and Medici, were disqualified for ten years. Not content with this severity, they condemned Antonio Alberti, though one of the most harmless men in Florence, to the payment of a large fine, and to be banished three hundred miles distance from the city; and they afterwards banished all the descendents of the Alberti family who were above fifteen years of age[1]. *Another conspiracy.*

During those domestic commotions the Florentines were making a great figure in Lombardy, where their general Carlo Malatesta raised the siege of Mantua, with the entire defeat of Galeazzo's army. His camp was taken, as were about two thousand of his cavalry, and about one hundred and twenty small vessels, which had been employed in the siege. Galeazzo, upon this disaster, sent orders for count Alberigo to leave Tuscany, and to march to his assistance His departure left the Florentines at liberty to revenge themselves to the full upon the Pisans and the Sienese, for the dreadful calamaties they had lately inflicted on their state. Their successes in Tuscany, however, were somewhat abated by the unfavourable turn their affairs took in Lombardy, where their troops had neglected to pursue the great advantage they had obtained over Galeazzo. This remissness, together with a great desertion from their service, gave the latter an opportunity of recovering all his shipping, and of shutting up the few Florentines that remained with- *The Florentines defeat Galeazzo.*

[1] Machiavel, delle Histor. lib. iii.

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in their entrenchments. To complete the misfortunes of the Florentines, their general Malateſta was abſent at this time, and their allies were extremely backward in aſſiſting them, becauſe the pope and the Venetians had undertaken to mediate a peace at Imola.

Revolution at Piſa. Though Alberigo had left Lombardy, yet a body of Milaneſe troops ſtill remained at Piſa. Their behaviour was ſo inſupportable to the inhabitants, that a formal battle enſued, in which moſt of the ſoldiers were killed, wounded, or taken priſoners, and they who eſcaped were forced to fly out of the city. Paolo Savelli, their general, was wounded; and, amongſt the priſoners, were ſeveral officers of great rank. The townſmen made themſelves maſters of all the arms, horſes, and baggage that had belonged to the ſoldiers, who, as they gave out, intended to ſeize upon and plunder their city. This event was very agreeable to the Florentines, who immediately ſent a deputation with offers of aſſiſtance and ſupport to the Piſans, whom they congratulated upon their recovered liberty. The deputies were received with great civility; but the addreſs of Galeazzo fruſtrated their ſcheme. He laid the blame of what had happened entirely upon the rapaciouſneſs and imprudence of his own ſoldiers, and highly commended the Piſans for what they had done. By this artful conſtruction and the management of Appiano, who was ſtill the implacable enemy of the Florentines, the war between the two ſtates was renewed; and the Florentines having ravaged all the tract of coaſt between Piſa and Leghorn, returned to Florence loaded with plunder.

A negociation for peace. The negociation for peace ſtill went on at Imola; but Galeazzo, having now recovered his affairs, inſiſted upon ſuch unreaſonable terms as gave umbrage to the Venetians, who had for ſome time been jealous of his power. He was ſtill carrying on the ſiege of Mantua; but the Venetians now ſent a formal embaſſy, requiring him to raiſe it, or to look upon them as his enemies. This denunciation ſo greatly alarmed Galeazzo, that he began to treat of peace in good earneſt, and the conferences were removed to Pavia. The negociation, however, did not ſlacken the preparations of the Florentines for war; for they ſent deputies to hire troops both in France and Germany.

A D. 1398. About the beginning of this year Biordi, a ſoldier of fortune, who had by turns ſerved Galeazzo and the Florentines, was killed by a private inhabitant of Perugia, where he had for ſome time domineered. The townſmen however, did not approve of the manner of his death, which

Biordi's

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Biordi's friends and followers revenged upon the murderer's family, he himſelf eſcaping. The Florentines offered the Perugians a body of troops for their protection, which was accepted of; but ſoon after the family of the Ubertini, and ſeveral noblemen of great intereſt in Tuſcany, declared for Galeazzo, and put themſelves and their poſſeſſions under his protection. This defection alarmed the Florentines the more, as he had found means to ſurpriſe Civitella, a ſtrong caſtle in the neighbourhood of Arezzo. All thoſe events ſeemed to indicate a continuance of the war; but the Florentines being now joined by the Venetians, were encouraged to hope for aſſiſtance from ſeveral powerful princes, both in France and Italy. In the mean time they regained poſſeſſion of Civitella; and it was agreed between them and Galeazzo, that as it was next to impoſſible for them to ſettle the terms of a definitive peace, they ſhould conclude a truce for ten years [m]. This meaſure being determined upon, the Florentines countermanded the troops that were preparing to march to their aſſiſtance; but that ſtep was far from reſtoring the tranquillity of Tuſcany. Galeazzo, and the enemies of the Florentines, ſoon perceived that all the view of the Venetians was to keep the war out of Lombardy, and that the Florentines were to expect no aſſiſtance from them in Tuſcany. The troops, therefore, which had been diſmiſſed by Galeazzo, by his connivance broke into Tuſcany, and took quarters in the Sienneſe, while the Ubertini, and the other noblemen in the Caſantine, finding that they were ſurrounded by the Florentine fortreſſes and territories, took arms to open themſelves a free egreſs and regreſs to and from their eſtates, which had been refuſed them by the Florentines.

A truce concluded.

By this time Appiano of Piſa, and his eldeſt ſon Vanni, being dead, his ſecond ſon Gerardo ſucceeded to his power. Pretending to be well affected towards the Florentines, and jealous of Galeazzo, he ſent Graſſolini, one of his friends, privately to Florence, to confer with ſome of the leading men of that city about entering into a league. The condition he propoſed was, that the Florentines ſhould, at their own expence, furniſh him with ſix hundred horſe and two hundred foot; but the Florentines thinking the demand mercenary and diſhonourable, rejected it, though they offered to become the hearty allies of the Piſans upon an equal honourable footing.

Revolution at Piſa.

[m] Murator. Annal. ad an. 1398.

Galeazzo's

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A.D.1399. Galeazzo's party in Pisa coming to the knowlege of this negociation, prevailed with Gerardo, who was unequal to the post he held, partly by force and partly by persuasions, to resign to him the government of the city. The Florentines considered this acquisition as a threatening blow to the independency of their state, and the rather, as Galeazzo made no secret that he would soon render himself master both of Sienna and Perugia. As to the Siennese, they had been long his allies, but never his subjects, and they still retained an appearance of independency. The Perugians were in a worse situation. The pope claimed the sovereignty of their state, as having been formerly annexed to the see of Rome, and gave his general orders to reduce it by force. The Perugians applied for protection to the Florentines, who, unwilling to embroil themselves with his holiness, declined being concerned in the affair. The Perugians, who mortally hated all subjection to the pope, were then forced to apply for protection to Galeazzo, which he readily granted them, before the Florentines, by the persuasion of some of their best patriots, could repair the false step they had made when they rejected their demand of protection. The consequence of those great acquisitions made by Galeazzo was, that the Bolognese renounced their league with Florence, and entered into his alliance, and the Siennese submitted to his dominion. Thus he became more powerful than ever in Tuscany, without giving the Florentines any handle for complaining that he had violated the truce [n].

State of Tuscany.

[n] Bonincourt. Annal. apud Murat. tom. xxi. Rer. Italic.

SECT.

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SECT. VIII.

Containing the Distresses of the Florentines; a Conspiracy discovered; the Florentines invite the Emperor into Italy; the Duke of Milan complains of the Florentines; War in the Bolognese; Death of Galeazzo; Conquest of Pisa by the Florentines; War between the Florentines and the Milanese; Peace concluded; the Emperor Sigismund arrives in Italy; Tuscany invaded by Nicholas of Picino.

A.D.1400. THE fifteenth century opened with a very gloomy prospect to the Florentines, through the growing power of Galeazzo, on one hand, and that of the Ubertini and the Casantine lords on the other. To add to their distresses, Uguccio, who was then the leading man of Cortona, seemed disposed to favour Galeazzo, by prohibiting provisions or merchandize of any kind to be carried through his dominions to Florence, unless the Florentines would subscribe to very unreasonable terms. To oblige them to comply, he prevailed with some of the Arezzians to surprise Montagnana, a strong place, extremely convenient for either party, when at war with the other. This act of hostility brought on others from the Florentines. They sent one of their generals, with a party of horse, to open the passages of the lakes and rivers that Uguccio had dammed up. In the mean time, Galeazzo sent four hundred horse into the Casantine, to act as an opportunity should present, and fostered a war between the Bolognese and Astorgi of Faenza.

Danger of the Florentines.

During those commotions, so terrible a pestilence broke out at Florence, that it threatened to depopulate the city. It swept off equally the old and young of both sexes; nor was there any avoiding it, but by flight. All the principal inhabitants retired to the Bolognese; and of those whose circumstances did not permit them to fly, no fewer than thirty thousand died in a few weeks. This pestilence ceasing in other places of Italy, as well as in Florence, the war raged with more violence than ever.

A terrible pestilence.

The pestilence, however, had given the disaffected Florentines an opportunity of caballing against the government. A party of them, who had fled to the Bolognese, entered into a conspiracy for murdering the magistrates, and altering the whole system of the civil government. The conspiracy was discovered by Silvestro Adimari, who had

A plot discovered, and the conspirators punished.

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had been solicited to enter into it by Ricci, one of the faction, and who, disclosing the whole to the government, they seized and put to death the ringleaders, and sentenced to banishment many of their confederates, who had not yet returned to Florence.

Revolution at Bologna.

Towards the end of the year, Giovanni Bentivoglio seized upon the government of Bologna. This was an event of so great importance to the Florentines, that they sent an extraordinary deputation, composed of the ablest and greatest men of their state, to congratulate him upon his accession to that government, and to offer him their friendship and assistance. Galeazzo was not backward in the same professions; and his deputies seemed to vie with those of Florence in courting Bentivoglio's friendship; but he leaned towards the former. The affairs of Italy were now about to assume a new face.

German affairs.

The emperor Charles IV. was succeeded in the empire by his son Wenceslaus, whose wicked disposition was heightened by an insanity of mind, contracted through intemperance. After various revolutions of fortune, he was deposed from the empire, and the electors chose Robert count palatine of the Rhine, and duke of Bavaria, for his successor. Amongst other marks of misgovernment, Wenceslaus was charged with having, to the prejudice of the imperial dignity, sold the rights of the empire over Lombardy to Galeazzo for one hundred and fifty thousand crowns of gold, and given him the title of duke of Milan. The deposition of Wenceslaus gave the Florentines hopes of assistance from the new emperor, who sent ambassadors to Rome to signify his election to Benedict, one of the popes, for there were two then in Europe. The Florentines, hearing his ambassadors were on the road, treated them with extraordinary civilites, and sent deputies of their own into Germany to invite the emperor into Italy. He heard them with great complacency; but, like his predecessors, all his answers implied that he expected they were to give him money.

A D. 1401.

The Florentines assist Bentivoglio.

Soon after this event, Bentivoglio continued the war that had been entered into between Astorgi of Faenza and the Bolognese, and both Galeazzo and the Florentines sent him auxiliaries; but Astorgi being well supported, a peace was concluded between him and Bentivoglio, to the great dislike of count Alberigo, who commanded a separate body of twelve hundred horse, and was Astorgi's bitter enemy. His resentment went so far, that he persuaded Galeazzo to take part against Bentivoglio, whose chief dependence now was upon the Florentines, as theirs was upon the emperor.

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ror. They, therefore, being every day apprehensive that Tuscany, if not all Italy, would fall under the power of Galeazzo, pressed the emperor more than ever to come to their relief, and a bargain between them was at last struck, The Florentines obliged themselves to pay to the emperor two hundred thousand golden ducats, part in hand, and part as soon as he entered Galeazzo's dominions in a hostile manner [a]. The payment of this prodigious sum was to be made at Venice by the hands of Bicci, a Florentine merchant of great credit and reputation. The emperor, that he might obtain the money, filled all Italy with the news of his preparations; but, after the first payment, they were somewhat slackened. He arrived, however, at Trent; and, in order to be intitled to the residue of the money, he advanced against Brescia, a town belonging to Galeazzo. There the latter opposed him with a strong body of Italian cavalry; and though the emperor's army, having been joined by Leopold, duke of Austria, and other German princes, was very numerous, yet it was entirely defeated by Galeazzo's generals, and obliged to retire to Trent with great loss. Ashamed to return to Germany, without doing something worthy his great name and preparations, he was persuaded by the Florentine deputies, and Francesco of Carrara, to march to Padua; where a new deputation, consisting of the four greatest men in Florence, attended him with six hundred Italian horse, commanded by the famous Sforza. Those deputies, in conferring with him, found that he had nothing really in view but to get the remainder of the money; and that he was so miserably poor he could not keep his army together, without depending on the Florentines.

The Florentines invite the emperor into Italy.

This inability of the emperor was a tender point for the Florentines; and therefore Albizi and Vittori, who were at the head of the deputation, returned to Florence, where they gave a verbal account of their negociation. The Florentines, unwilling that the emperor's indigence should be publicly known, sent fresh instructions to their deputies, who remained with him at Padua, promising to gratify all his demands, provided he would continue with his army in Italy, all the winter, and recommence hostilities against Galeazzo early in the spring. But he insisted not only upon the residue of the money being immediately paid, but that they should enter upon a new subsidiary treaty with him, if he remained in Italy. The Florentines refused to comply with

He deceives them.

[a] Ammurat. Ist. Fiorent. lib. xvi.

his

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his terms; and, after mutual altercations, he ordered his army to retreat towards Germany; while he himself went to Venice, where he complained most bitterly of the insincerity of the Florentines, and their breach of good faith. The Florentines, who greatly depended on the Venetians, took care to send two deputies to undeceive them. In a public audience they complained, though with great decency, in their turn, that the emperor had not fulfilled his engagements. They insisted, that he had received more than half the money that had been promised him; and that the remainder was to be paid only after he should have begun hostilities against Galeazzo with a powerful army; that his army was weak, and that he had retreated from their enemy upon the first appearance of danger. The Venetians seemed to take part with the Florentines; but strenuously endeavoured to make up matters between them. All their mediation was fruitless, and the emperor left their city [b].

The emperor returns to Padua.

Nothing but the imminent danger of the Florentines could have prevailed with them to continue this negociation. The event was, that the emperor, upon his receiving the money he demanded, countermanded the march of his troops, and returned to Padua, where he passed the winter.

It was no sooner known that the emperor and his army were on their return to Germany, than Galeazzo declared open war against Bentivoglio of Bologna, with whom he had hitherto kept some measures. He was now reconciled to the prince of Mantua, whom he sent into the Bolognese at the head of a powerful army, commanded, under him, by some of the best general-officers in Italy. The Florentines, as usual, were faithful to their allies; and sent their general, Bernardoni, to the assistance of the Bolognese. Some other states, the allies of Florence, followed their example, till the Bolognese auxiliaries grew so powerful, that the Florentines seemed to rest the fate of Tuscany and of Italy, upon that of Bologna. The Florentines, and their allies, took post at the village of Casaleci, about four miles from Bologna, as being the most proper station for covering that city from the attempts of the enemy. But there was no comparison as to the goodness and discipline of the troops. The Florentines, and their allies, were attacked with such fury by their enemies, that they were entirely defeated, and all of them, except a very few who escaped to Bologna, cut in pieces. Bernardone, and

The Florentines are totally defeated.

[b] Mut. Histor. Germ. lib. xxvi.

some

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some of the chief Florentine generals, were made prisoners. The consequence of this great defeat was, that the enemies of Bentivoglio within Bologna took arms, and, having killed him, opened their gates to Galeazzo's party, who now made themselves masters of Bologna [c]. A.D. 1402.

The Florentines were struck with the greatest consternation at the news of the defeat of an army, on which was all their dependence. But their enemies were commanded by so many leaders of different interests, that, far from pursuing their blow, they gave the Florentines leisure to provide for their own safety. The first thing they did was to quell the attempts of the Ubaldini and the Casantine lords, who had taken arms after they heard the Florentines had been defeated. They next resumed their old system of politics, in applying for assistance to the pope and the Venetians, who, they knew, were very uneasy at the great increase of Galeazzo's power; but though the friendship of both was sought with extreme earnestness by the Florentines, both of them seemed to dread the horrors of a war. The pope's strength lay chiefly in his spiritual arms, and he had seen both Bologna and Perugia wrested from the papacy. The Venetians, pretending they had suffered greatly by their late wars with Genoa, and the checks their trade had received, declined entering into any engagements with the Florentines against Galeazzo, unless the latter would be at almost all the expence of the war. The Florentines thought it ignominous to submit to such conditions, and rejected the terms. *They recover from their consternation.*

Mean while, Galeazzo sent ambassadors to Venice with proposals for peace, in which the Florentines were to be included. These tidings were at first discredited at Florence, and Galeazzo's intention was distrusted. At last the Florentines ordered their deputies at Venice to enter upon a negociation with Galeazzo and the Venetians, at the same time. But a great event now happened, which rid them of their anxieties: this was the death of Galeazzo, who survived the taking of Bologna but a few weeks [d] (D). The Florentines found means to come at the certainty of Galeazzo's death, though it was kept very private; and they dispatched orders to their deputies at *Galeazzo proposes a peace.* *His death.*

[c] Murator. Annal. ad an. Murat. tom. xix. p. 11.

[d] Aretin, p. 248. Billius apud

(D) The Florentines were suspected of having taken him off by poison (1).

(1) Vide Murator. Annal. ad an. 1402.

Venice

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Veniee to proceed no farther in the negociations, either with the Venetians or the Milaneſe.

Diſorder of Galeazzo's court.

But the ſafety of Florence muſt have ſtill been precarious, had it not been for the diſſenſions that prevailed amongſt the generals and grandees of Milan. Galeazzo had left to his eldeſt ſon, John, the greateſt part of his dominions; and bequeathed to his ſecond ſon, Philip, Pavia, Novarra, Vercelli, Aleſſandria, and other places in the neighbourhood. He had made his natural ſon, Gabriel, lord of Piſa, Luna, Sazana, and other places on that coaſt. He left the tutelage of his ſons to Peter, archbiſhop of Milan, Carlo Malateſta, lord of Rimini, and Giacomo Vermi. The relations of Galeazzo, who were numerous and ambitious, took it amiſs that they had been excluded from all ſhare in the government; and no regard was paid to Galeazzo's widow, the mother of the princes, who were at laſt put under the tutelage of Giovanni Caſſati, a ſoldier, but a man of virtue: but this Caſſati was ſoon murdered by the factious nobility, and the Florentines are accuſed of having fomented rebellions amongſt the Milaneſe ſubjects.

Being well acquainted with the diſſenſions that prevailed at Milan, they entered into a league with pope Boniface, and took the field againſt the Milaneſe, appointing Nicholas of Ferrara their general. Their firſt attempt was on the Parmeſan, where they were ſtoutly oppoſed by Otto, the Milaneſe governor. At laſt a negociation was propoſed; and it was managed between Malateſta, on the part of the Milaneſe, and Gianelli, brother to the pope, on that of the allies. The Florentines demanded the ren-
A.D.1403. dition of Bologna and Perugia. Malateſta acted ſo artfully, that he perſuaded Gianelli that it could be by no means for the intereſt of his holineſs to depend upon ſuch powerful allies as the Florentines; and that the court of Milan was ready to reſtore Bologna and Perugia to the Holy See, provided the Florentines ſhould be left out of the negociation [e]. This propoſal was agreed to, and Gianelli was immediately put in poſſeſſion of Perugia. Upon this event, the allied army returned to Tuſcany.

Great ſervice of the Florentines to the pope.

Whatever reſentment the Florentines might have conceived, upon being excluded from the late negociation, they were ſo far from making any public complaints, that they made a merit of being the means of re-annexing to the Holy See two ſuch valuable acquiſitions, and of having diſmembered them from the Milaneſe. They next at-

[e] Cronic. de Bologna, apud Murator. tom. xviii.

tempted

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tempted to rouse the Siennese to a sense of their liberty, by encouraging and supporting the party there that was in opposition to the Milanese. But failing in this attempt, they declared war against the Siennese, who threw themselves upon the protection of the Holy See and Gianelli. This step being more agreeable to the Florentines than if they had continued their attachment to the court of Milan, a peace succeeded between Florence and Sienna.

Ladislaus, king of Naples, formidable to the Florentines.

Ladislaus, son of Charles of Durazzo, was at this time king of Naples, and pope Boniface was dead. Ladislaus, being a man of parts and ambition, soon grew as formidable to the Florentines as Galeazzo had ever been. Pope Innocent succeeded Boniface in the Holy See; and Ladislaus, under pretence of congratulating him upon his accession, repaired to Rome: but his real intention was to form a party against the pope, which might oblige him to retire in disgust from Rome, and give Ladislaus an opportunity of making himself master of that city. The pope, who was old and indolent, but crafty and experienced, saw that a powerful faction had been formed against him amongst the Romans, and demanded assistance from the Florentines, who sent him a body of horse. Aretin, the historian, was then at the papal court, and a great favourite with his holiness; but he gives us a very indifferent idea of the humanity of that court, when he tells us, that eleven noble Romans, who had been sent upon a peaceable commission to the pope, were, upon their return, made prisoners, and butchered in cold blood, by command of the pope's nephew; and that he himself very narrowly escaped assassination on that account. His holiness, however, was so well served by his Florentine auxiliaries, that he escaped to Viterbo, where he remained for some months, till the Romans, of their own accord, invited him back to their city.

After the loss of the battle in the Bolognese, the Florentine infantry had been rallied by Sforza (E), a soldier of great courage and genius in war, who brought them

(E) Leodrisio Cribelli, who wrote the life of this extraordinary prince, is highly disgusted with our historian Aretin, who, he says, was in the greatest esteem and honour in Florence, for omitting all mention of this Sforza, who, as he tells us, was bred up under sir John Hawkwood. The reason perhaps was, because Sforza was held to be of a very mean original, no better than the son of a farmer; his true name being Attendula. He acquired the name of Sforza from his boldness, or impetuosity.

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safe to Florence. This service, though the Florentine historians have been ungrateful enough to suppress the mention of it, enabled them to recover their affairs, and even to meditate the conquest of Pisa, to which they were encouraged by the dissensions and factions that still prevailed in the Milanese. According to Palmerius (F), the scheme was suggested to them by the Genoese, and the anti-pope Benedict, who then resided in that city, with a view of bringing the Florentines into Benedict's interest, and to divert them from joining with the Venetians. The matter, at first, was proposed by way of negociation, and that the Florentines should pay a considerable sum of money, by the hands of the pope and the Genoese, to Gabriel, the natural son of Galeazzo, on condition of his yielding up all his property in Pisa. This proposal was communicated by Benedict to the Genoese, and by Bouccicault, the French governor of Genoa, to a Florentine merchant, named Alderotti, then residing at Genoa, who transmitted it to Florence. The magistrates of Florence thought the affair of so much importance, that they sent a trusty officer, one Caponi, to confer with Alderotti; but, above all, to scrutinize into the right which Bouccicault and the anti-pope had to dispose of Pisa. Caponi accordingly addressed himself to Bouccicault, and desired to know whether he was empowered to sell Pisa to the Florentines. The Frenchman told him he was not, but that he would soon be empowered; because pope Benedict proposed to reside at Pisa, in which case the Pisans would certainly offer him the command of their citadel, which he would deliver up to the Florentines, upon their paying four hundred thousand ducats of gold; half of which was to go as a subsidy to Carrara, prince of Padua, and the other half, by way of indemnification, to Gabriel, lord of Pisa.

A.D 1405.

Shameful conduct of the French.

The Florentines were not to be imposed upon by so fallacious a proposal. They ordered their agent to inform Bouccicault, that the money should be forth-coming, upon the surrender of Pisa. Mean while, Gabriel, hearing of the anti-pope's and Bouccicault's treachery, and, conscious of his own deserted condition, applied for advice and assistance to the Florentines. Albizi, at this time, continued to have the chief direction at Florence; and, sensible of Gabriel's motives, obtained leave of the magistracy to have a secret interview with him [f]. Though it was very

[f] Palmerius, ubi supra, p. 171.

(F) Palmerius, a Florentine historian, who wrote at that time a little tract, called De Captivitate Pisarum, published by Muratori, tom. xix.

artfully

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artfully managed, the Piſans came to the knowlege of it, and a report immediately aroſe that Gabriel was about to ſell Piſa to the Florentines. The Piſans took arms. Gabriel was obliged to fly to the citadel; and, deſpairing of all aſſiſtance from the Florentines, applied to Bouccicault, who ſent a body of troops to his aid. Upon this occaſion, the Florentines ſent two deputies, one to Gabriel, the other to Bouccicault, to treat of the ſurrender of Piſa and its territory. Petraſanta was pitched upon for the place of treaty; where, after various altercations, it was agreed, that the Florentines ſhould pay to Gabriel a certain ſum for the town, territory, and caſtle of Piſa. Part of it was paid upon the ſurrender of the citadel by Gabriel, and part was to be diſcharged by monthly payments, upon the bargain's being performed on Gabriel's part. The citadel of Piſa was put into the hands of Lorenzo Ruffoſani, one of the Florentine gonfaloniers; and the firſt payment was made by Caponi. The Piſans, however, did not think that Gabriel had a right to ſell their liberties and country. They therefore took arms, and beſieged the citadel, which had been ſurrendered to the Florentines. It was garriſoned only by a company of raw country militia, who held it out for ſome time; but were at laſt obliged to ſurrender.

The Florentines buy Piſa;

and loſe it again.

The news of this loſs created great diſcontent at Florence, where ſome were ſo generous as to approve of the ſpirit and courage of the Piſans; but the majority called out for an immediate war, againſt which the graver citizens ſtrongly remonſtrated. While this matter was under deliberation, five of the principal citizens of Piſa came as deputies to Florence, and demanded a public audience, which was granted. The deputies boldly juſtified what had been done by their countrymen, and demanded back ſuch of their caſtles as, by the contract made with Gabriel, had been delivered up to the Florentines, and were ſtill in their hands. This ſpirited behaviour, however equitable it might have been, reconciled all parties amongſt the Florentines; ſo that it was unanimouſly reſolved to loſe no time in declaring war againſt Piſa. Ten field-deputies were accordingly created, and an army was raiſed, the command of which was given to Bertoldo Orſini, who marched into the Piſan territory, and laid ſiege to Vico, a town which ſerved as a key to Piſa itſelf. Winter, however, coming on, very little progreſs was made in the ſiege, and the Florentines were obliged to wreak their indignation upon Ruffoſani, and the militia who had garriſoned the citadel of Piſa, by condemning them to death.

War declared againſt the Piſans.

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The siege of Pisa undertaken.

The Pisans were not wanting to themselves on this occasion. All civil dissensions amongst them were abolished; families, at variance, were obliged to intermarry with each other, that they might unite in the common defence of their country; and religious processions were every day made to implore the assistance of Heaven. All other human means for their defence were provided, and a considerable army was raised. The Florentine army being better disciplined and conducted, at first, defeated the Pisans in every encounter. The latter, however, raised fresh troops, and marched along the sea-coast to attack the Florentines, who were still intent upon the siege of Vico. Sforza, who continued to serve as a general officer with great reputation in the Florentine army, was detached to give them battle; and partly by courage, partly by stratagem, he defeated them; but their general, Paccio, with the greatest part of their army, escaped to Pisa, where every thing was now in confusion. After the expulsion of Gabriel and the Florentines, no form of government had been settled, and every one aspired to be master of the city. Gambacurta, a relation of him we have already mentioned, prevailed; and was chosen regent, or, as he is called, rector of the people. He was no sooner established in his power, than he employed it to the most wicked purposes, by secretly putting to death all the principal persons of the state, whom he suspected of being averse to his designs; and this barbarity created such universal detestation of him, that he was soon deprived of his power.

Famine in Pisa, which is blocked up by the Florentines.

In the mean time the Pisans, being threatened with a famine, sent some ships to purchase corn in Sicily. Bertoldo was all this while vigorously pressing the siege of Vico; and it was on that occasion that guns were first made use of by the Florentines. Nevertheless, the place, though not remarkable for its strength, held out for above eight months. This resistance tired out the patience of the Florentines, and Bertoldo was superseded in his command, which was given to Obizi; and thus a whole year was spent by the Florentines, at a great expence, but to very little purpose. The spirit of both republics seemed to grow with the difficulties they had to encounter. The besieged held out with amazing resolution against all the power of Florence; and the Florentines, reflecting upon the great expence which the acquisition of so inconsiderable a place had cost them, changed their field-deputies, and resolved, at all hazards, to besiege Pisa itself. Foreseeing that the other powers of Italy might throw obstacles in their way, they entered into negociations with the two chief

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chief of them, Ladiſlaus, king of Naples, and Otto, duke of Parma. They agreed with the former to ſtand neutral in the quarrel between him and the pope, provided he did not aſſiſt the Piſans; and they purchaſed the neutrality of the other with a ſum of money. The ſpring of the year was now approaching, and Vico ſtill held out. The Florentines, to make the campaign deciſive, ordered Obizi to continue that ſiege, and committed the command of the expedition againſt Piſa to Luca Fiaſcani, a Genoeſe; but joined in commiſſion with him Maſo Albizi, and Gino Caponi. A.D. 1406.

Determined to make their chief efforts againſt Piſa, they turned the ſiege of Vico into a blockade, and drew off all the men they could from Obizi's army; ſo that the whole of their troops, excluſive of irregulars, artizans, and workmen, amounted to five thouſand horſe, and ſeven thouſand foot, the place of rendezvous being Caſcia, from whence they advanced to Piſa. Then they made diſpoſitions for cutting off all communication by water with the beſieged, and threw a bridge over the Arno, by which means they intercepted ſeveral ſhips laden with proviſions; ſo that Paccio, the Piſan general, left the city, with all his horſe, for fear of being ſtarved. The Piſans attempted to reſtore their communication by water, and their fleet attacked that of the Florentines; but with ſo little ſucceſs, that the inhabitants were thrown into the utmoſt deſpondency, and nothing but their inveterate hatred of the Florentines could have prevented an immediate ſurrender of their city. *Piſa more cloſely beſieged.*

Without entering into a detail of this memorable ſiege, it will be ſufficient to obſerve, that the Piſans made a reſolute and obſtinate defence; and both ſides acted with all the rancour of animoſity.

While this inhuman war was thus raging, the people of Biento, a town in the neighbourhood, aſſumed the part of mediators, and applied to the inhabitants and garriſon of Vico to perſuade them to ſurrender, in which atrempt they ſucceeded; and Albizi was ſent from Florence to ſettle the capitulation, which imported, that if Vico was not ſuccoured in ten days, it ſhould ſurrender to Albizi, which it accordingly did.

The Piſans, by this time, were reduced through famine to deſpair. Vico being taken, they loſt their chief dependence, and thought at laſt of treating. One Gaſparo, a citizen of Piſa, was ſent out to confer, for that purpoſe, with Caponi, and the other field-deputies; and, after a negociation of ſeveral days, every thing was conſidered to be as good as concluded upon; when, on a ſudden, in *The Piſans treat.*

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the night-time, Pisa resounded with acclamations of joy and musical instruments, and blazed with illuminations and bonfires, and, at day-break, the duke of Burgundy's colours were seen flying on the walls.

The Pisans transfer their sovereignty to the duke of Burgundy.

The Pisans had actually made a surrender of themselves, and their city, to the duke of Burgundy, brother of the French king, who was in no condition to relieve them, but by means of Bouccicault, who still continued to be his governor in Genoa. The Florentines, though they dissembled, knew of the transaction; but did not chuse to break with the French. Their success against Pisa had been chiefly owing to three large gallies [g] lent them by the Genoese, which blocked up the mouth of the Arno; and they likewise had in their army many Genoese soldiers and engineers, upon whom they had great dependence. Fearing, however, that Bouccicault might prevail with the Genoese magistrates to recall their troops and sailors, they obliged all the Genoese in their service to take an oath, that they would, in no event, leave the service of the Florentines within a certain stated time. The

They are forced to resume their negociation with the Florentines; and the terms are settled.

last resource of the Pisans, which lay in the French duke, thus failing, the negociation for a surrender was renewed, and Bindi, a Pisan, was sent by Gambacurta to Caponi for that purpose. He carried in his face every mark of extreme famine; but, though he supped with the Florentine general, all his intreaties could not prevail upon him to give him a loaf of bread. Such misery was no longer to be withstood. Billius [h] says, that Gambacurta treated privately with the Florentines; but if he had not, the place must have surrendered. In a word, the capitulation was settled in the following terms: that Giacomo Gambacurta should deliver up to the Florentines the city of Pisa within three days; that the Florentines should pay to him fifty thousand golden ducats on such delivery; that he himself, and his posterity, should enjoy their private estates in the Pisan territory; and that the Pisans should give twenty hostages to Fiascani, the Florentine general, for the due performance of the conditions.

That public jealousy which is so prevalent in a free state, did not suffer Caponi to conclude this capitulation without the advice of the other field-deputies, who were at Florence; and they, from the same motives, carried the matter before the presidents, who thought proper immediately

[g] Billii Historia, apud Murat. tom. xix. p. 16. Palmerius de Captivitate Pisarum, ibid. p. 185. [h] Billius ubi supra.

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to summon a balia, or *meeting of the people*. The question there put was, whether it was their pleasure to receive Pisa by way of capitulation, or to wait a few days till famine should force the inhabitants to surrender without terms? The former part of the alternative was chosen, as most eligible and humane; and Caponi, with another nobleman, called Corbinello, were immediately deputed to see the capitulation performed. They had, however, a difficult point to manage. Sforza and Tartaglia, though they agreed in nothing else, joined in condemning a peace, by which they were to lose the plunder of the city; but they were restrained by the authority of Caponi from coming to extremities; and at last, a seeming reconciliation between them and the advocates for peace, was effected. This was not the only difficulty that occurred. The twenty hostages were of the noblest families of Pisa; but the public were ignorant of the particulars of the capitulation, or that the hostages were to be imprisoned until all the terms were fulfilled. This consideration startled Gambacurta; but Bindi advised him to throw himself entirely upon the good faith and generosity of the Florentines, which he accordingly did. Caponi, who had the chief management of the negociation, acted on this occasion with a magnanimity and wisdom that did him great honour. He found there was a powerful party amongst the general officers, who were for plundering the Pisans; and the latter, who were still numerous and desperate, were ignorant that their city was to be instantly given up. Caponi, by his address and resolution, got the better of all difficulties in his own camp; but he refused to take possession of Pisa, as Gambacurta would have persuaded him to do, in the night-time, for fear of treachery. This refusal obliged Gambacurta to pass the night, with some of his friends, under the gate which was to be given up; and, by break of day, the Florentine army appeared before it, drawn up in a most tremendous array. Gambacurta then presented Caponi with the steel head of an arrow, as a token of his resigning to the Florentines the sovereignty of Pisa, which the other received in the most polite manner.

Wisdom and magnanimity of Caponi.

The Pisans, at this time, ignorant of what had happened, were drawn up in the great square of the city, and were surprised when they saw their enemies within their gates; but much more so at the peaceable, friendly manner, in which they advanced. Caponi, who had left a strong guard to preserve Gambacurta from the violence of the Pisans, immediately ordered the terms of capitulation to be proclaimed, declaring, that the Pisans should be safe

Pisa surrendered to the Florentines.

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in their persons and properties, and relieved from all their distresses. Upon this declaration, the inhabitants of every age and condition flocked round their conquerors as their deliverers; but never did a more shocking scene of misery appear, than was presented by those emaciated wretches. Almost every thing that was eatable had been consumed, and many of the besieged had subsisted upon dead bodies torn from the graves. The Florentines had brought along with them a quantity of bread, which they threw amongst the people as they passed through the streets. The sight of food, and their eagerness to catch at it, made the Pisans forget all animosities towards their late enemies; and the rendition of their city was completed without tumult.

A.D.1405. Upon a narrow search, it was discovered, that no kind of provision remained, in Pisa the day it surrendered, but three very lean cows, and a pound or two of sugar.

This sudden transition from a state of the most deplorable famine, to one of plenty, ease, and tranquillity, gave some suspicion to the Pisans, that so great a shew of friendship was intended to lull them into a state of security, till the Florentines should find an opportunity of plundering and murdering them. Gino Caponi, to remove those suspicions, called a general assembly both of the magistrates and people, and made a formal speech to assure them of the good faith and friendship of his masters, the Florentines; which had so good an effect, that twenty of the chief citizens of Pisa were named to go to Florence, and there to make a formal surrender of their sovereignty to the magistracy. This was done with great pomp; and for some months, nothing was heard in Florence but music of all kinds, and shouts of triumph; and nothing seen but festivities, justs, tournaments, and magnificent processions.

Affairs of the papacy. According to Aretin[i], the Florentine name never was so renowned and glorious as at this period. Their city became now the rendezvous of all the great and the polite amongst the Italians; and they behaved with so much tenderness and honour towards the Pisans, that they found no difficulty in reducing to their obedience all the Pisan territory, which, according to Palmerius, contained no fewer than eighty-four walled towns. This acquisition rendered them so formidable, that none of their neighbours chusing to disturb them, they for some years continued in a state of tranquillity, excepting when it was disturbed by the schism that still prevailed in the papacy, which, at this time, continued to divide all Europe. Upon the death of the anti-

[i] Areti. Rerum Italicarum Hist. p. 256.

pope

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pope Innocent, the cardinals at Rome chose a Venetian, called Angelo Corrario; but exacted a promise from him, to abdicate the papacy, as soon as his competitor, Peter de Luna, should agree to the same resignation; or as soon as the cardinals should think fit to proceed to a new election. Corrario, being chosen, was in no haste to fulfil his engagement, but trifled most egregiously with his electors, and avoided having any interview, in order to compromise matters. Corrario had taken the name of Gregory, and was attended by Aretin, the historian, on the part of the Florentines, to Rimini, which was then in subjection to Carlo Malatesta, of whom Aretin gives a very high character. In the mean time, the Florentines, as well as the rest of Christendom, ashamed of the conduct of the two antipopes, and the scandal thereby arising to the church, agreed that a council should be held at Pisa, where both popes were solemnly deposed; and cardinal Pietro Filargo, a Greek by birth, being chosen, took the name of Alexander. This new pope was opposed by Ladislaus, king of Naples, who had done all he could to obstruct the meeting of the council at Pisa, and his holiness conferred the kingdom of Naples upon Lewis of Anjou, the son of that duke who had disputed it before with Charles of Durazzo. The Florentines took part with Lewis, and Ladislaus marched with an army into Tuscany, where he sat down before Arezzo, in hopes of an insurrection within that city in his favour; but, though he was disappointed in that hope, Cortona opened its gates to him. He was, however, soon after obliged to return to Rome. Mean while, pope Alexander died, and an Italian contemporary historian [k](G), who knew him well, gives him excellent commendations for virtue and piety; only he tells us, he was such an epicure, that he spent half his time at table; and, that he had forty wenches in his family, all in the same habit; but he attributes that piece of luxury to his being a native of Greece.

A.D. 1409.

Death and character of pope Alexander.

Notwithstanding Alexander's death, the dispute between Lewis of Anjou and Ladislaus, about the crown of Naples, still continued, and the Florentines sent an army to the assistance of the former, under the command of Paolo Orsini and Sforza. Lewis was attended by Baldasar Cossa, as the legate of pope Alexander. This person had been

War between Ladislaus, king of Naples, and the duke of Anjou.

[k] Billius, ubi supra.

(G) This pope Alexander was the archbishop of Milan, whom Galeazzo had put at the head of his regency at his death.

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bred up a pirate, and acted in that capacity when he first took orders; afterwards, betaking himself to the land-service, he was a great partizan of pope Urban, and amassed as much money by depredations, as bought him a cardinal's hat. At last, he was made general for the pope, and legate of Bologna, the recovery of which place from the Visconti family, was, in a great measure, owing to his intrigues. The cardinals being met for the election of a new pope, chose this Cossa, who immediately assumed the name of John XXIII. After having remained some time at Bologna, he marched by the way of Florence to Rome, which, after various disputes, by this time, was recovered from Ladislaus. This prince was encamped upon the frontiers of Naples, at Rocca Vecchia; and Lewis, with the Florentine army, advanced to give him battle. Having a great superiority of numbers over the Florentines, Orsini, the Florentine general, who bore no good will to Sforza, with most of the officers, were against hazarding an engagement. But Sforza remonstrating with great spirit against the disgrace which their retreat would be attended with, brought Lewis over to his opinion, and the forces passed the Garigliano. Their army was drawn up in three divisions: the command of the first, which was to attack the Neapolitans in front, was given to Sforza[1], who was to be supported by the second, consisting of cavalry, under Lewis himself; while the third, under Orsini, was to wheel off, in order to attack the enemy in their rear, where Ladislaus himself was. This prince practised a stratagem pretty frequent in those days, namely, that of dressing up a number of officers in arms and robes, not to be discerned from his own. He was superior to Lewis, not only in the number, but in the discipline, and armour of his troops; and he had placed the flower of his army in his front. Sforza's charge was very furious, and Orsini breaking in during the heat of the dispute, Ladislaus was defeated and put to flight, leaving behind him almost all his general officers, his camp, and an immense booty, in the possession of the Florentines, whose general, Sforza, had the chief honour of the victory.

A.D. 1410.

Ladislaus utterly defeated.

It is on all hands agreed, that if the Florentines had pursued their blow, they might have placed Lewis upon the throne of Naples According to some authors, the booty which both the officers and soldiers had acquired, was so immense, that they did not chuse to risk the loss of it, and were impatient to return home. The writer of

[1] Cribel. de Vita Sfortiæ, apud Murat. tom. xix. p. 651.

Sforza's

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Sforza's life [m] informs us, that the glory Sforza had acquired, was so disagreeable to Orsini, that the latter thwarted him in every measure he proposed. According to him, Sforza proposed pursuing Ladislaus that very night, and laying siege to St. Germano, in which he had taken refuge, and which probably would have surrendered, had it been attacked before he had recovered from his consternation. This proposal was opposed by Orsini and the Florentine officers, who all of them treated it as romantic and impracticable; and, notwithstanding the earnestness of Lewis to have it carried into execution, it was laid aside. Next day, the army repassed the Garigliano, and remained inactive during the rest of the campaign. Aretin [n] informs us, that Ladislaus used to say, "That the day on which he was defeated, his enemies had it in their power to be masters both of his person and kingdom; that the second day they might have been masters of his kingdom, though not of his person; but that the third day both his person and kingdom were out of their power."

Ladislaus retrieves his affairs.

The truth is, Ladislaus, far from desponding, fought to prevent the consequences of his defeat. He sent expresses through all his kingdom for recruiting and remounting his troops; and ordering new levies to repair, as they did in great numbers, to St. Germano, he was again formidable, and that too chiefly through the aversion his subjects had to a French government. It appears, however, that he owed his safety, and the happy turn his affairs took at this time, to a secret negociation between him and the Florentines, by which he actually ceded, or, according to others, sold to them, Cortona, which proved to them a valuable acquisition. According to the Florentine historians [o], a peace, at the same time, was concluded between him and the Florentines; but it must have been a peace only of conveniency on his side, for, in a few weeks, both parties were again in arms. This peace, however, had the effect of discouraging Lewis of Anjou to such a degree, that he returned to France, and gave over all thoughts of prosecuting his claims upon Naples.

Sforza serves the pope, and then Ladislaus.

Ladislaus having thus gained the great point he aimed at, renewed his preparations for war. The Florentines had continued their troops and their generals in the service of pope John, and that part of their army, which was commanded by Sforza, wintered in the duchy of Spoleto.

[m] Vide Cribel. ubi supra. [n] P. 257. [o] Istorie di Firenze dall' An. 1406 fino al 1438, apud Murat. ubi supra. Machiavel, book iii.

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It had been agreed between the pope and the Florentines, that his holineſs ſhould pay the troops in his ſervice; but being unable to defray Sforza's arrears, which amounted to ſeventeen thouſand ducats, he created him count of Cotignola. Orſini, the other Florentine general, could not brook that ſuch an honour ſhould be conferred on his rival, whoſe original was ſcarcely known, and inſiſted upon the pope's diſmiſſing him from his ſervice. His holineſs durſt not diſoblige Orſini, who was the head of one of the nobleſt families in Rome; and Sforza, at laſt, drawing together a few troops he ſtill commanded, fortified himſelf on Selva d'Algieri, formerly called Mons Algidum. While he was in this ſituation, he received a meſſage from the pope, by a cardinal, inviting him to continue in his ſervice, and offering him a ſum of gold; but no way equal to his arrears. Sforza rejected the money as not worthy his acceptance, expreſſed the moſt profound veneration for the pope, but inveighed bitterly againſt Orſini, and declared, he would continue no longer in the ſervice of his holineſs. Ladiſlaus, by this time, was advancing at the head of an army againſt Rome, and no ſooner heard that Sforza had quitted the pope's ſervice than he offered him his own terms if he would engage with him.

The offer was ſoon accepted: Sforza received money enough to pay off the arrears of his troops, and marched with flying colours into the royal camp. The winter coming on, and proviſions growing ſcarce in the Neapolitan army, nothing farther could be done that campaign. The troops were diſmiſſed into winter-quarters; and Ladiſlaus not only made Sforza governor of Perugia, but raiſed him and his family to all the degrees of honour and riches that ſovereignty could beſtow. Moſt of the Florentine auxiliaries had left Sforza, and continued to ſerve under Orſini, who was firſt in command. Early next ſpring, Sforza was at the head of his troops, and marched againſt Orſini, who lay in the marquiſate of Ancona; but was driven by him from place to place, till at laſt he was obliged to take refuge in Rocca Contrada, where he was beſieged by Sforza.

Orſini defeated.

A.D. 1411. The Florentines, being thus in a manner left without a general, gave the command of their troops to Braccio, a Perugian nobleman; and Aretin intimates, he was ſo great a captain as to leave the palm of military glory doubtful between him and Sforza. He had been at firſt an exile from his country, and, by his brave actions, had acquired ſo great renown, that the Florentines thought it a triumph when he accepted the command of their troops. After having

The Florentines create Braccio their general.

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having ſerved them with great fidelity and ſucceſs in Tuſcany, he was ſent with his army to the relief of pope John and Orſini, who continued ſtill in danger of being utterly ruined by the Neapolitans. It would ſwell this hiſtory too much, ſhould we enter into a detail of all the brave actions performed by Braccio, in the courſe of this war. It muſt, however, be owned in general, that his great exploits require no hiſtorical amplification to recommend them; and it is acknowleged, that in civil virtues he was ſuperior to Sforza. While both thoſe generals ſerved in ſubordinate capacities, the greateſt friendſhip ſubſiſted between them; but they were no ſooner raiſed to independent commands, than each conceived a mortal antipathy to the other. While Sforza was governor of Perugia for Ladiſlaus, daily encounters happened between him and Braccio; but generally to the advantage of the latter, becauſe he was better acquainted with, and beloved in the country. Braccio afterwards ſerved with great honour and ſucceſs in the Bologneſe, and was the occaſion of reducing that city entirely to the authority of the pope, who never before durſt venture to check the inhabitants.

His exploits.

While Braccio was in the Bologneſe, he received an account of the diſagreeable ſituation of Orſini, who ſtill continued to be beſieged in Rocca Contrada. The place was exceſſively ſtrong, and could only be reduced by famine. The ſiege, however, was obſtinately carried on for three months by Sforza and Malateſta, who was now in the Neapolitan ſervice; and Braccio reſolved, at all events, to raiſe it. With this view he marched againſt Ceſena, a flouriſhing town belonging to Malateſta, which, with its caſtle, he took, plundered, and demoliſhed. Ladiſlaus, on the other hand, ordered Campano, another of his generals, to reduce all the places belonging to Braccio, in the Perugian territory. Upon this retaliation, Braccio marched to Borgo St. Sepolchro, on the Florentine frontiers, and from thence to Montone, which he took, and found means to concert with Orſini his eſcape from Rocca Contrada, adviſing him to march to Ugubio, about ten miles diſtant. If he was attacked in his march by the Neapolitans, Orſini was to expect no farther aſſiſtance from him, as the main point muſt be then compaſſed, that of raiſing the ſiege; but he aſſured him, that if the enemy continued it, he was determined to attack them in their intrenchments, while he was to be favoured by a briſk ſally from the place. This ſcheme was executed. The beſiegers drew off to oppoſe Braccio, and Orſini took that opportunity of eſcaping with his garriſon to Urbino, from whence he joined Braccio; thus

He relieves Orſini.

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thus Orsini was saved, by what the writer of Sforza's life thinks to be next to a miracle. The Neapolitans, at this time, had two armies in the field, each of them superior in number to that of Braccio; but inferior in military experience and discipline. One of them was then besieging Ponte Patulo, in the Perugian territory. The other observed the motions of Braccio, who could not prevail with Orsini to attempt the raising of the siege, by surprising the enemy. Orsino marched to Orvieto, and Braccio advanced to Todi, and from thence to Marciano, a town belonging to himself in Perugia, which had bravely held out against all the Neapolitan power in Tuscany. Upon his approach, the Neapolitans raised the siege of Ponte Patulo; and matters continued quiet in Tuscany during the remainder of the campaign. Ladislaus, however, still carried on the war against pope John; but the active Braccio found means to make himself master of the important town of Todi, lying between Perugia and Rome. To repair this loss, Ladislaus took a great many strong places from the pope, whom he had expelled from Rome, and who had taken refuge in the state of Florence.

The pope flies to Florence.

Parties in that city, into which he is not admitted.

The Florentines were at this time greatly divided in their sentiments. Notwithstanding the activity of Braccio and their other generals, Ladislaus was daily gaining ground, and was now become as formidable to them as Galeazzo had ever been. The pope's capacity seemed to be no ways suitable to his dignity: his authority was disowned by the greatest part of Christendom; and a great party amongst the Florentines thought they had embarked already too far in his quarrel. Add to this, that a general council was, by this time, indicted at Constance, with the approbation of almost all the princes of Christendom, for settling the affairs of the church, and for chusing a new pope. Upon the whole, they were of opinion that Ladislaus ought not to be farther provoked.

Though the Guelphs were still the prevailing party in Florence, yet the above considerations were so plausible, that the pope was not invited into that city; but resided in a country-seat belonging to the archbishop [p]. Perceiving the Florentines thus cold in his concerns, he applied to the emperor Sigismund, by his cardinals, and offered, for the good of the church, to submit himself to a general council. The emperor was satisfied with this proposal; but great difficulties arose as to the place where the council was to be held. The pope told Aretin, in confidence [q], that

[p] Aretini, p. 257. [q] Idem. p. 258.

he

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he was resolved not to agree to any place where the emperor's power was greater than his own. But at last, finding the state of his affairs desperate, he gave the two cardinals, whom he sent as his legates to the emperor, full power to agree to any place which he and they should think most proper. After various conferences, the city of Constance was agreed to by the legates, to the great chagrin of the pope, though he was obliged to conceal his dissatisfaction.

Ambition of Ladislaus.

By this time, Ladislaus had failed in an expedition against Bologna, the command of which he had given to the marquis d'Este, who could not, without jealousy, behold the growing power of Ladislaus in Italy. The latter, however, made a great acquisition in bringing over to his service Orsini, who now became as determined an enemy of the Florentine general, as Sforza had been before. Orsini carried with him a well disciplined body of troops, who were very useful in the siege of Todi, which was still carried on with twenty-eight thousand men; a force sufficient to have subdued all Tuscany, which was the real aim of Ladislaus. Braccio's force did not exceed three thousand; but with them he did wonders. Ladislaus at first blocked up the place, and destroyed the country round, circumstances which induced the citizens to send some of their chiefs to treat of a surrender; one of the terms of which was, that Braccio and the Florentine forces might retire wherefoever they thought proper. It was with difficulty that Ladislaus could be brought to agree to this article. Braccio retiring to Fratta, in the Perugian, five hundred Neapolitan infantry took possession of Todi; but the new garrison behaved with such brutality, that the inhabitants expelled them, and recalled Braccio, and thus the siege recommenced. The defence which Braccio made was so noble, and his behaviour so generous, especially to some Neapolitan noblemen, whom he had made prisoners in a sally, that Ladislaus invited him to a private conference, in which he offered him very high terms if he would enter into his service, which Braccio, like a man of honour, rejected. During this siege, Sforza is said to have saved Orsini from being taken prisoner, notwithstanding the enmity subsisting between them. At last, after Ladislaus had spent four and twenty days without any prospect of taking the place, he withdrew his army to Perugia, where, upon suspicion, he put Orsini under arrest. Perceiving his health languishing, he returned by the way of Rome to Naples, where he died in August, leaving his sister Joanna, duchess of Austria, heir to his kingdom. Thus, the Florentines

Generosity of Sforza.

A.D. 1414.

Death of Ladislaus.

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rentines were once more saved, by the critical death of a prince, who was their determined enemy, and who found no check but Florence, to prevent his becoming master of all Italy. His death being known to Sforza, who had been left behind to command against Braccio, he put every thing into the best posture, in the marquisate of Ancona, and marched to secure Rome in the obedience of his new mistress. The time now approached for the meeting of the general council at Constance. Pope John, and the emperor Sigismund, had several interviews at Placentia, Cremona, and other places in Lombardy; but all the effect of them was, that each conceived for the other an implacable hatred; and the pope, taking his leave of the emperor, passed the winter at Mantua, from whence he went to Bologna, where he was when he received news of the death of Ladislaus. But having faithfully promised the emperor that he would attend the council of Constance, and submit to whatever it should decree, he now found himself under a necessity of repairing to that city. Before he set out, he ordered Braccio, who was then with his army in Ancona, to repair to Bologna, to take upon him the government of it in his absence. According to some, the design of his holiness was to put Braccio to death, in which case the Perugians had promised to submit to the Holy See; and the pope would have been quit of a large arrear owing him for pay. It is certain Braccio suspected somewhat of this design; for when he came, attended only by his own domestics, to pay his respects to the pope, he had scarce entered the city when he returned with the utmost haste to his camp, and commenced hostilities in the Bolognese. Whatever the intention of the pope might be, he saw that Braccio was his master, and a few days effected a reconciliation, by which Braccio was put into full possession of the government of Bologna, and all its revenues. Florence was then so perfectly at peace with all the neighbouring powers, that she had no occasion to recall Braccio; nor were her civil contentions at this time at all dangerous, though the animosities amongst the chief citizens were far from being extinguished. But the leading families had suffered so much in their turns, that they were contented to remain quiet under the present government, till a proper opportunity for renewing their claims should offer[r].

Interview between the emperor and pope.

Florence in tranquillity.

This shew of tranquillity, which, according to Machiavel, continued for about eight years after the death of Ladislaus, was greatly owing to the suspense in which the minds

[r] Machiav. delle Histor. lib. iv.

of

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of all Europe, those of the Florentines particularly, were kept, by what passed at the council of Constance; to which city the pope repaired on the 28th of October; and Sigismund, who had now been crowned emperor at Aix-la-Chapelle, followed him the 23d of December. The meeting was one of the most splendid that had ever been seen in Europe. According to Aretin[s], the emperor was attended by no fewer than thirty thousand horse. The Florentines, like other sovereign states, had their deputies there; but they were generous enough not to desert pope John, though, in fact, he abandoned himself. The fathers, after various deliberations, came to a resolution that John, as well as the two anti-popes, Angelo Carrario, or Peter de Luna, should resign the pontifical dignity.

Council of Constance held.

A.D. 1415.

John, who presided at the council, agreed to these terms, provided they should likewise be embraced by his two competitors. He even declared he was willing to abdicate the papacy, if his abdication could be of advantage to the church. After much equivocation, and a fruitless attempt to escape, in consequence of which he was actually imprisoned, he with great reluctance renounced the papacy, and laid aside all the badges of that dignity. Gregory XII. for Corrario had assumed that name, who then resided at Rimini, under the protection of Malatesta, followed his example; but Benedict XIII. as de Luna called himself, refused to submit to the authority of the council, being supported by the kings of Castile, Arragon, and Navarre; for whose fidelity to the council the emperor made himself answerable. The council proceeded next to the election of a new pope, and this choice fell upon Otto Colonna, of a noble Roman family, who assumed the name of Martin V. of whom the Florentine historian gives this character; that before his election, he was esteemed rather generous than wise, but after it, he gave the greatest proofs of his wisdom, but was far from being excessive in his generosity. The rest of the transactions of this council, are recorded in our history of the popes.

Transactions there.

The election of Martin into the papal see was extremely agreeable to the Florentines; and upon the breaking up of the council, he came from Constance by the way of Milan, Mantua, Ferrara, Ravenna, and Forli, to Florence, where he resided for two years, as being the most commodious place for negociating the affairs of the church, and the states of Italy. The self-deposition of pope John, who now resumed his former name of Cossa, had not procured

Pope Martin comes to Florence;

[s] Machiav. delle Hist. lib. iv. p. 258.

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him his liberty; for he languished long after in prison. Several states which had acknowleged Cossa as pope, being dissatisfied both with the emperor and the council, began to entertain scruples about the validity of his abdication, as being extorted by force. It was easy to foresee the consequences of those doubts, in a country so disaffected to the emperor as Germany, where Cossa was imprisoned, then was. Martin himself procured his deliverance from his confinement in Bavaria, and invited him to Florence, with a secret view of seizing upon him on his journey, and shutting him up in perpetual imprisonment at Mantua. Cossa arriving in Lombardy, was informed by some of his Florentine friends, of Martin's intention; upon which he took refuge in the Genoese territories. After having remained there, in a most miserable plight, for some time, he was encouraged by the experience he had of the spirit of the Florentine people and government, to repair to that city, and, without reserve, to throw himself at Martin's feet, and to recognise his authority. No sooner was his approach known, than the Florentines, in prodigious numbers, flocked out to meet and welcome him. The distressed appearance he made, served only to increase their affection and compassion towards him; and he was introduced to the pope, with all Florence attending him as his intercessors and protectors. At last they persuaded Martin, that the only way to prevent any bad consequences from Cossa's party, would be to restore him his cardinal's hat, and to the exercise of his sacred functions, a proposal which Martin wisely agreed to, and Cossa died in about a year after his enlargement.

as does Cossa.

The Bolognese revolt.

We have already seen, that Braccio was left by pope John governor of Bologna, where he acted with great spirit against the neighbouring states, who were encouraged and protected by that pope's enemies. The Bolognese, however, disliking the severity of his government, and his exactions, to which he was in some measure compelled by the poverty of that pope, took advantage of his absence to attempt a revolt; but before they could master the citadel, Braccio appeared before their gates, and obliged them to submit. Soon after, being called out to a fresh expedition against the Riminians and the Perugians, the Bolognese again revolted; but more unanimously and resolutely than they had done before. Braccio, who had taken care to provide the citadel with a good garrison, and store of provisions, returned with incredible expedition; but, after a most obstinate dispute, he was repulsed, and forced to commence a regular siege against the city. The citizens held

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held out with great courage, till he was obliged to change the siege into a kind of blockade, by taking possession of all the avenues by which the city could receive any provisions; then the magistrates sent him a deputation of their most respectable citizens, asking pardon for what had happened, and laying the blame upon the rabble, who had taken arms against their will. Braccio, with seeming difficulty, again pardoned them, and obliged them to deliver fifty of their principal citizens as hostages for their future behaviour. Mean while, hearing of the deposition of pope John, and the election of Martin, he sold Bologna, and all its dependencies, to the inhabitants for eighty thousand ducats, with which he paid and recruited his army, and bent all his efforts to the reduction of Perugia, his native city, which had expelled the Neapolitan garrison, and recovered its independency. The pretext was, that the Perugians had broken their league with the Florentines, and was governed by a faction, who had exiled Braccio, and all its worthy citizens. Upon his approach, the Perugians recalled the Neapolitan garrison, and took into their pay Orsini, who was, by this time, delivered from his imprisonment at Naples. Braccio, however, took his measures so well, that neither Chicolini, the Neapolitan general, nor Orsini, could throw themselves into Perugia; and the Perugians were distressed so greatly, that they sent deputies to the Florentines to mediate between them and Braccio. They accordingly sent a deputation to his camp, exhorting him to listen to terms of accommodation [t].

Proceedings of Braccio.

Though Braccio was then the Florentine general, and acted by their authority, yet he had so long served in a kind of independent capacity, and had so great a passion to be master of Perugia, that he, in fact, refused to desist from his enterprize, and dismissed the deputies with an unsatisfactory answer. He then proceeded to take all the adjacent forts and towns, and gave a total defeat to Chicolini and Malatesta, who were on their march to the relief of Perugia, both of them being taken prisoners. In consequence of this victory, the city was surrendered to Braccio and the other exiles, and he is said to have exercised the government of it with great lenity and justice.

The Florentines beheld Braccio's successes with great indifference, as they were assured of his fidelity to their state, and knew they could always controul him in any undue exercise of his power. But we return to the other

[t] Machiavel. delle Histor. lib. iv.

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concerns of Florence, which had now no overgrown tyrant to dread.

Design of the duke of Milan,

John, the eldest son and successor of Galeazzo, having been assassinated by his subjects, was succeeded by his brother Philip, who resembled his father and grandfather in activity and ambition, and, by some, is said to have excelled them in both. He soon recovered the affairs of his family, then languishing and disordered through the weakness and divisions of his brother's ministers, and, like his ancestors, became formidable to Florence. Philip, having an eye upon Genoa, was encouraged to attempt making himself master of that noble city by the numerous Genoese exiles whom the French government and internal factions had driven into Lombardy. Before he undertook this expedition, he so far conquered his natural aversion to the Florentines, that he sent a most splendid embassy to their city, offering them his friendship and alliance. No formal embassy had been sent for twenty years before from the court of Milan to the Florentines [u]. Nicola de Uzano was then the chief man of the Florentine state, and he was employed to treat with the Milanese ambassadors, whose instructions were to negociate a new treaty between Philip and the Florentines; by which Pannaro, or the river Magra, were to be the boundaries, and beyond them neither the Milanese nor the Florentines were to extend their dominion. The Florentines, in general, were averse to this proposition, because the limits proposed by Philip for the boundary of the two states, plainly indicated his design upon Genoa. Uzano, however, and the wiser part of the Florentines, who had experienced the sweets of peace, gave the Milanese ambassadors a most polite reception, and the treaty was concluded.

A.D. 1423.

who makes himself master of Genoa.

Thomas Fregozo was then doge of Genoa; but being unable to make head against the duke of Milan, for want of money, he sold Leghorn, a place then inconsiderable, to the Florentines, for one hundred and twenty thousand ducats, most of which was spent in raising soldiers in the Florentine state. This was, by Philip, considered as a breach of the new-made treaty; but he dissembled his resentment for the time. Carmagnola was then both general and first minister of state to Philip, and conducted the expedition against Genoa so successfully, that the doge, being defeated both by sea and land, was obliged to surrender Genoa into Carmagnola's hands; and Philip afterwards

[u] Billii Historia, ubi supra, p. 57.

became

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became master of all that sea-coast, to the great terror and amazement of the Florentines.

Pope Martin still remained at Florence; but he was by no means popular there, and affrontive ballads were even sung under his windows in his hearing. Aretin then attended him, and it required all his address to keep his holiness in temper[w]. But Braccio, who still acted in the character of Florentine general, having defeated all his enemies, and being now master of Perugia, was of the utmost importance to the pope, for recovering the towns and cities that had been dismembered from the Holy See, and possessed by separate tyrants. He was accordingly, with consent of the Florentine magistracy, appointed general to the pope. In a short time, he reduced a great number of those places; and it was in this campaign that the famous Nicolo Picinino, then a common soldier, exhibited the first proofs of his military genius. His success obliged the tyrants of all the revolted places to apply to him for peace; and Braccio, to give the greater lustre to his own name and character, appointed Florence for the place of the negociation. Thither he repaired with a train and equipage suitable to a sovereign prince; and as such he was received not only by the Florentines[x], but by the pope himself. His vast popularity, however, gave umbrage to the pope, who, by the advice of Sforza, who was at Florence at the same time, employed him in the reduction of Bologna, which had once more asserted its independency. The views of his holiness, in giving Braccio this commission, were unknown to the Florentines, whose constant maxim was to suffer neither the pope nor any other prince to become too powerful in Italy. Sforza made Martin sensible that the Florentines would oppose the growth even of the papacy itself; and persuaded him, that he had now an opportunity of adding to the Holy See the kingdom of Naples, which was governed by a weak, silly woman, to the great disgust of the Neapolitans.

Pope Martin's discontent.

Success of Braccio.

Braccio, who seems to have had a good deal of vanity in his composition, accepted of his new commission with great joy; and the Florentines, who thought themselves at peace with all the world, applied assiduously to cultivate learning and the fine arts, and were therefore the less solicitous about having an army within their territories. According to Machiavel[y], the citizens next in authority to Nicola de Uzano, were Bartolomeo Valore, Nero Nigi,

Factions at Florence,

[w] Aretin, p. 259.
[x] Vita Braccii, apud Murat. ubi supra, p. 563.
[y] Machiavel, book iv.

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Reinaldo Albizi, Neri di Gino, and Lupo Nicolini. On the other hand, the families in disgrace were the Alberti, the Ricci, and de Medici. But the long possession of power, and the continuance of a voluptuous peace, had by this time so far infected the Florentine government, that their magistrates became proud, insolent, and negligent. They were, it is true, united in their sentiments of civil independency, and, in general, well affected to their constitution. But the vast riches they possessed had introduced amongst them a spirit of pride, that is incompatible with the manners of republicans. Each great man envied another, and was glad to throw upon his brother-magistrate the blame of every abuse in the state. By those mutual jealousies, the Florentines at last conceived a distaste at their own government, which laid the first foundations of the greatness of the house of Medici, who had always been moderate in their sentiments of civil affairs, and soon after became sovereigns of the state. The disgraced families soon perceived the vast advantage which the misconduct of the governing party threw into their hands; and Giovanni Ricci was the first who had the courage to offer himself to be the patron and protector of the people. He was strenuously opposed by Nicolo de Uzano; but this man's greatness had created so much jealousy amongst the other magistrates, that no regard was paid to his remonstrances. The animosity against him was greatly favoured by the progress of Philip, duke of Milan; and he was falsly, perhaps, accused of being the chief instrument of concluding the treaty between Philip and the Florentines. According to Machiavel [z], in the pacification he made with the doge of Genoa, he reserved Sarzana, and some other towns on the side of the Magra, next to Florence, in his own possession; which reservation the Florentines complained of as a violation of the treaty. The magistracy of Florence would willingly have winked at this infraction; but the people would not be quiet. Notwithstanding all the remonstrances that were made against entering into war with a prince so powerful as Philip, and the impossibility of keeping any of the conquests they could gain from him, while the Romagna lay between the two states, preparations for war were resolved upon, levies made, and the ten field deputies nominated. No sooner was this resolution approved of, than the people, feeling the weight of the taxes that were necessary for carrying on the war, redoubled their murmurs

where the Medici gain ground.

[z] Machiavel, book iv.

against

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againſt the government. Ordelaffi, the lord of Forli, dying about this time, had left his ſon under the tutelage of Philip, duke of Milan; but the mother, diſliking ſuch a guardian, ſent her child to her father Luigi Alidoſſo, lord of Imola. This ſtep incenſed the inhabitants of Imola ſo greatly, that they obliged the mother to put her ſon into the hands of the guardian appointed by the father; and thus Philip became maſter of that ſtate. This new acquiſition of power to Philip augmented the jealouſy of the Florentines. Great debates were held about the expediency of declaring war againſt him, which John de Medici earneſtly oppoſed. He thought, that, as Philip had not as yet proceeded to hoſtilities, the Florentine allies would look upon them as the aggreſſors, if they ſhould declare war. The oppoſite party demonſtrated the folly of making their own country the ſcene of war, with a prince who they were ſure was their enemy. The opinion of the latter prevailed, and a war was reſolved upon.

War againſt the duke of Milan.

Philip, having intelligence of this reſolution, immediately ſent Angelo della Pergola at the head of an army againſt the lord of Imola, in order to divert him from ſuccouring Forli. It was then the depth of winter; and the waters of the ditches, which formed the chief defence of the place, being frozen, Angelo took the city, and ſent Alidoſſo priſoner to Milan. Upon this event, the Florentines, who had now completed their levies, laid ſiege to Forli; while Angelo della Pergola, unable to ſuccour it, beſieged Zoganara, in hopes that the Florentines would raiſe the ſiege of Forli, in order to relieve the former. Count Alberigo was then in the pay of the Florentines; and his garriſon held out Zagonara, which was ſo preſt by the enemy, that the beſieged were obliged to agree to deliver up the town, if it was not relieved within fifteen days by the Florentines. The terms of this capitulation ſo greatly incenſed the Florentines, that they reſolved, at all hazards, to raiſe the ſiege. Abandoning that of Forli, they began their march towards Zoganara in the beginning of February, though the roads were almoſt impaſſable, and the ſeaſon remarkably ſevere; and attacking the duke of Milan's army, they were ſo totally defeated, that all Florence was thrown into conſternation. To give the reader ſome conception of the manner in which war was carried on at this time, we are to inform him, that, in this total defeat of the Florentine army, no more than three people were killed; and thoſe, too, not by the enemy, but by falling off their horſes, and being ſuffocated in the mire.

A.D. 1424.

The Florentines defeated.

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This defeat, if such it may be termed, opened the mouths of the meaner sort of people against their government [a]. They complained, that the war with the duke of Milan had been entered into by their magistracy only to divert their attention from the concerns of public liberty, which was now endangered. This discontent ran so high, that the magistrates were obliged to summon a general assembly of the people; in which Rinaldo Albizi, son to Maso, endeavoured to apologize for the conduct of the government, notwithstanding the disagreeable turn the war had taken. He then attampted to prove that the carrying the war into the Romagna had averted it from Tuscany, and been of singular service to the Holy See; and that, as it was a war now of defence, it would be far from being burdensome to the people. By his authority and persuasions the people were somewhat quieted; and they took into their pay Otto, the son of Braccio, a youth of seventeen years of age, but under the tutelage of Nicolo Picinino. The name of Braccio was of great service to the Florentines, as his father's friends repaired to his standard.

Their civil dissentions renewed.

But by this time the people began to perceive the difficulties and distresses under which their leaders laboured, which they guessed at, partly from their countenances, and partly from the great weight of their taxes. In a short time the city was thrown into a kind of a civil war. The inferior ranks refused to pay their imposts; and the magistrates were forced to appoint twenty citizens in the nature of tax-gatherers, and threw the chief burden of the public expence upon the nobility. This was a treatment the latter could not endure, and power was given to the new collectors to kill any one who refused to pay the taxes; by which means the whole city soon became a scene of violence, confusion, and murder. The nobility, and the chief citizens, to the number of about seventy, met in St. Stephen's church; but John de Medici, the most popular nobleman in Florence, was not present, the others, ignorant of what part he might act, not having summoned him, and he himself disliking the cause of the meeting. The assembly was opened by a speech from Rinaldo Albizi, who set forth the deplorable state of the nobility, extolled the behaviour of their ancestors on such occasions, and counselled them by all means to unite in shaking off the yoke of the plebeians. Rinaldo's speech was greatly approved by the assembly; but Nicolo Uzano objected to their doing

[a] Machiavel, ubi supra.

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any thing by force, without the concurrence of John de Medici, who was always the profeſſed patron of the people. He proceeded likewiſe to remonſtrate upon the uncertain event of a civil war, and upon the impracticability of their deliberations, without conſulting John de Medici. Rinaldo undertook that taſk, and acquitted himſelf in a very artful manner, but without ſucceſs. John informed him, that he could agree to no alteration in the ſtate to the prejudice of the people; and that Rinaldo, in what he was doing, was but the tool of others, who would ſoon get the upper hand, and overwhelm him in ruin. He obſerved that, upon the whole, moderation and forbearance were neceſſary; he adviſed, in particular, that the citizens ſhould be free from all arreſts by creditors on the days of public meetings; and declared that, for his part, he was reſolved to oppoſe the factious of every kind.

Virtue of John de Medici.

An anſwer ſo full of wiſdom and moderation increaſed the popularity of de Medici, who now withdrew himſelf from all the cabals of the nobility; ſo that his credit was ſufficient to have made himſelf lord of Florence. His family and relations preſſed him to avail himſelf of his credit and popularity, to be revenged upon his enemies; but John was too good a patriot to liſten to their advice.

Conduct of the duke of Milan.

It happened at this time, luckily for Florence, that the nobility had but little credit with the people; ſo that they were in no condition to reſent thoſe mortifications. Philip, duke of Milan, having compromiſed his differences with the Malateſta family, and his other neighbours, continued obſtinately bent upon the reduction of Florence. He had taken into his pay Angelo of Pergola, and Carmagnola, both of them able officers: the latter was then in the Bologneſe, endeavouring to reduce Bologna, which had ſubmitted to pope Martin, by the perſuaſion of Bentivoglio, its late maſter. Philip had likewiſe been very ſucceſsful in extending his frontiers towards Savoy and the foot of the Alps. Being a complete maſter of diſſimulation, he ſent an honourable embaſſy to Florence to treat of peace; but neither ſide being ſincere, hoſtilities ſtill went on, and the Florentines in vain endeavoured to retake Forli. This want of ſucceſs induced them to name ambaſſadors on their parts; and they committed the management of this negociation to Bortolomeo Valori, a vain, oſtentatious man, by no means ſuited for ſuch an employment. When he arrived at Lodi, he was given to underſtand, from Philip, that he muſt advance no farther into Lombardy, under pretence of the plague's being at Florence. This was a dreadful check to Valori, who returned directly to Florence,

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rence, where, every thing was in a flame, at the contemptuous treatment of their ambaſſador by Philip, who was then maſter of Genoa. Fulgoſo, the late doge, was furniſhed by the Florentines with troops and money to attempt the recovery of that ſtate; and he ſucceeded ſo far as to conquer a great part of the Genoeſe ſea-coaſt, and to create a great deal of trouble to Philip. The Florentines ſeemed now reſolved to riſque the whole of their ſtate againſt Philip, who had a ſecret eye to the crown of Naples. He addreſſed the pope, complaining of his partiality for the Florentines, whom he accuſed of fomenting diſſentions between the legate and the people of Bologna. He prevailed ſo far, that the pope changed his legate, and ſubſtituted in his place one who was intirely in the intereſt of Philip. By this and other favourable circumſtances, Philip regained his credit at Bologna, and acquired Imola, and a great many important places in the Romagna. At the ſame time he endeared to himſelf the Malateſta family; for having taken priſoner Charles, the lord of Rimini, he treated him and all his friends in the moſt generous affectionate manner, and diſmiſſed them without ranſom.

The Florentines joined by Antonio of Faenza.

During this gloomy ſtate of the Florentine affairs, and when Philip had actually invaded their dominions, they received ſome relief, by being befriended by Antonio, lord of Faenza. Antonio had a perſonal diſlike to Philip, and a kindneſs for the Florentines; which was increaſed by an event which took place about the ſame time: for young Otto, and Nicolo Picinino, after having performed many important ſervices to the Florentines about Arezzo and the vale of Mugelli, were intirely defeated by the Milaneſe generals. Otto was killed on the ſpot; but Nicolo, endeavouring to eſcape, was taken by the peaſants, and carried to Faenza, where he perſuaded Antonio to declare for the Florentines againſt Philip. Upon this occaſion, the city of Florence, by a public decree, declared him the chief of her allies, and ſent a conſiderable body of her troops to protect Faenza from the reſentment of Philip. This incident changed both the object and the ſcene of the war. Philip was obliged to recal Angelo; and the Florentines, glad to remove the ſeat of war from their own country, gave the command of their army to Bernardino. Torelli, the Milaneſe general, marched againſt him; and both armies came to a battle near Angleria, in which the Florentines were defeated, and their general taken priſoner, together with his chief officers. Aretin[c] himſelf ſeems to

[c] Aretin. p. 261.

blame

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blame the Florentine rapaciousness and cruelty for this disaster, which was followed by another. Nicolo Picinino, the best general they had then in Tuscany, thought his services very indifferently requited by the Florentines, and complained, that his person was neither regarded, nor his army paid. As he was a soldier of fortune, of very mean original, the Florentines imagined that he only wanted to raise his terms, and they disregarded his complaints; so that, when the time of his service elapsed, he retired first to Cortona, then to Perugia, and finally entered into the service of the duke of Milan. *Their rapaciousness.*

The Florentines now gave themselves up for lost. Their finances were exhausted. They had neither men nor generals to take the field, and their enemies were powerful. Nicolo took from them all their forts between Bibienna and Arezzo; so that they had no other resource but that of again applying to the Venetians, who they thought were equally interested with themselves in opposing the growth of the duke of Milan's power. Philip was sensible that the Florentines bore him no good will; and his chief general Carmagnola, having left his service in disgust, was now at Venice, and took part with the Florentines. He had recourse to his usual arts; and perceiving that the Venetians were determined to unite themselves to the Florentines, he offered peace to the latter, provided they would break off the negociation; but the condition was rejected. He then offered the same terms to the Venetians; but met with a like repulse.

The head of the Florentine deputation at Venice at this time was Lorenzo Rhidolphi, a man of address and abilities, who found means to fix the doge in his interest; and he continued to be seconded by Carmagnola, who, according to Aretin [d], had poison privately administered to him by Philip's order. The terms of agreement, after great difficulty, were at last settled between the Florentines and the Venetians. These imported, that the Florentines should furnish four thousand foot, and that they should conclude no separate peace without the knowlege and consent of the Venetians. The first effect of this confederacy was the siege of Brescia, by the Venetians, which alarmed Philip so greatly, that he recalled all his troops out of Tuscany. The Florentines were thereby left at liberty to divide their army. One part of it was sent to make good their engagements with the Venetians, and the other was employed in retaking the towns and forts between Bibienna and Arezzo. A.D.1425. *History of the league between the Florentines and Venetians.*

[d] Aretin. p. 261.

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The condition of Philip at this time is a ſtrong proof of the danger of a prince's employing mercenaries. Philip was neither without troops nor money, and he found means to engage in his ſervice the beſt generals in Italy; for both Sforza and Braccio were now dead, the firſt being drowned, and the latter killed. But their animoſities and avarice diſconcerted his moſt important operations. Breſcia, though a very ſtrong city, and well provided with every thing for a good defence, ſurrendered to the Venetians; as did Bergamo, and many other places in Lombardy. He likewiſe yielded up Forli and Imola, much againſt the inclinations of the Florentines, to pope Martin, with all the towns and territories belonging to them. The pope then mediated a peace amongſt the ſtates at war, and employed the cardinal of Bologna for that purpoſe. Philip was ſo ill ſerved by his troops and generals, that he was forced to agree to all the terms preſcribed by his enemies. The city of Milan, however, ſtill ſtood by him, and had grown to ſuch a height of power, that the inhabitants offered to furniſh him with ten thouſand horſe, and ten thouſand foot, if he would continue the war againſt Venice and Florence. This offer for ſome time retarded the concluſion of the peace; but the Venetians preparing to renew the war with more vigour than ever, it was at laſt concluded [e].

Peace propoſed,

A.D. 1427.

and concluded.

By this treaty the Florentines were put in poſſeſſion of all the places that had been taken from them in the Romagna; but, by Machiavel's account, the whole of the war coſt them the amazing ſum of three millions and a half of ducats. This expence was but ill repaid by the re-acquiſitions they had gained; while the Venetians, at the charge of the Florentines, were now in ſo rich and reſpectable a condition, that they became ſuſpected by their allies; and this, according to the ſame author, was one of their main motives for making peace.

A new tax impoſed at Florence.

During this war the Florentine government had purſued every expedient they could deviſe for raiſing money; but, all being ineffectual, they at laſt laid a tax upon the properties and land eſtates of the ſubjects. This tax was called cataſto; and Machiavel ſays, that it obliged every man poſſeſſed of an hundred florins to pay one half of them to the ſtate. This, however, is to be underſtood with many reſtrictions. The value of the landed intereſt was known; and the plebeian part of the government, which now prevailed in Florence, could eaſily raiſe the tax. It met, however, with a vigorous oppoſition; but was as

[e] Machiavel, lib. iv.

ſtrenuouſly

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ſtrenuouſly ſupported by John de Medici, becauſe it was to be levied by law, and could not be miſapplied, to gratify the purpoſes either of avarice or revenge. The landed intereſt and great men were obliged to ſubmit; but the people ſought to carry the matter to an unwarrantable length, by wanting to inſtitute courts of inquiry upon thoſe who for ſome time paſt had paid leſs than that aſſeſſment. This project was unjuſt, cruel, and impolitic, and as ſuch oppoſed by John de Medici, whoſe principle always was moderation in matters of government. The nobility and rich citizens, finding they could not remove from their own ſhoulders the weight of the public burdens, ſuggeſted to the officers who collected the revenue, that the cataſto ought to extend to all cities and ſtates ſubject to the Florentines [f]. This propoſal, far from being diſliked, was carried into execution; and the ſubjects of all the acquired territories were ordered to give up ſchedules of their eſtates, that they might be taxed to the cataſto. This meaſure produced remonſtrances from all thoſe cities and ſtates, pleading their original contracts with the Florentines, which left them to be taxed by themſelves; and numerous deputies were ſent from all quarters, to expoſe the iniquity of ſuch proceedings. Thoſe deputies, upon their arrival, and making known their buſineſs, were immediately put under confinement in Florence; ſo that the priſons there were filled with the principal inhabitants of Piſa, Volterra, Piſtoia, Arezzo, Cortona, and other places.

A.D. 1428.

Complained of by the cities.

Amongſt theſe the Volterrans were the moſt clamorous, pleading, that, by their original contract, they had a right to be conſidered rather as allies than ſubjects of Florence. One of the Volterran deputies was Juſtus, a man, ſays our authority [g], worthy to have lived in a better ſtate, who counſelled his countrymen and fellow-priſoners to make their ſubmiſſion to the Florentines, till better times ſhould revolve. This advice was followed, and the Volterran deputies were ſuffered to return home. There he opened his mind to a very few of his intimate friends, particularly to one Giovanni, a fellow-preſident: and though all appearances of ſucceſs were againſt them, they no ſooner proclaimed liberty to their fellow-citizens than the Florentine governor was ſeized, and Juſtus was acknowleged as lord of Volterra.

The Volterrans revolt,

When the news of this revolution reached the Florentines, who held the Volterrans ſo cheap that they had not

but are with difficulty reduced.

f Billius, ubi ſupra, p. 117. Machiavel, lib. iv. g Billius, ibid.

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ſo much as kept a garriſon in the city, they were not ſo much affected with the revolt, as alarmed at the example which it might ſet to the other leading towns in their ſubjection. A council of the chief magiſtrates being held, ſome were generous enough to propoſe a remiſſion of the tax, by adhering to the terms of the original ſtipulations. But this opinion was over-ruled by the party who were for the tax, and who repreſented, that, being at peace with the duke of Milan, they had nothing to fear in Tuſcany. Two commiſſaries, Rinaldo Albizi, and Palla Strozzi, were appointed to treat with the Volterrans; and, if they ſhould find them untractable, to reduce them by force. Palla was the moſt unexceptionable Florentine that could be employed in ſuch a commiſſion, becauſe of the lenity he had always expreſſed towards the Volterrans, and the other ſtates; ſo that the chief management of the affair was left to him, and he conducted it with great ſagacity. Knowing that Juſtus, the new lord of Volterra, was hated by the nobility and the richer citizens, when he came within eight miles of that city, he took ſuch meaſures that a good many of theſe gave him a meeting at a little town called Gambazio, where he endeavoured to make them ſenſible of the folly of the Volterrans, in drawing upon themſelves the reſentment of the Florentines, whom they were unable to reſiſt [h]. The Volterrans at firſt complained bitterly of the Florentine tyranny; but he promiſing to ſtand their friend, for procuring a redreſs of their grievances, they all of them came over to his propoſal, which was to employ their intereſt in bringing their city back to the ſubjection of Florence.

Juſtus, ſenſible of the ſtrong party which was formed againſt him, and of the Florentine power, applied for aſſiſtance to the neighbouring ſtates. The Sienneſe excuſed themſelves on account of their league with Florence; and Paolo Guinigi, then lord of Lucca, that he might reingratiate himſelf with the Florentines, to whom his conduct in the late war had given umbrage, ſent his deputy priſoner to Florence. In the mean time, the Florentine commiſſaries had aſſembled all the troops they could draw out of the neighbouring garriſons and countries, and advanced toward Volterra, to ſecond the efforts of their friends within the place. Juſtus, perceiving he had now no reſource but in his own valour, and the ſtrength of the city, was preparing to make a vigorous defence, when the Florentine party ſummoned a meeting of the preſidents

[h] Billius, ubi ſupra, p. 118.

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and chief citizens, before whom they laid all that had passed between them and Palla. Arcolano, brother to Giovanni, who was at the head of the Florentine party, expatiated on the service they would do their country, and the reliance they might have on the gratitude of the Florentine government, who would put the management of the city into the hands of the nobility, if they would immediately dispatch Justus, and admit the Florentine commissaries, who were lying with an army before their gates.

This meeting was so secretly held, that Justus knew nothing of it; and the company agreeing to Arcolana's proposal, he and some of his friends repaired to the palace, and drawing Justus into a private room, under pretence of business, they murdered him, after he had made a brave resistance, and desperately wounded two of the assassins. His death daunted his party so much, that Arcolano and his friends found no difficulty in opening their gates to the Florentines, who immediately re-possessed themselves of Volterra [i]. But the Volterrans were miserably deceived in their expectations; for the Florentines, now both hating and despising them, obliged them to pay the castro without the least abatement. Their nobility were treated in the same manner as their plebeians, their territory was dismembered from their city, and their few remaining privileges were abolished.

Justus of Volterra murdered.

Amongst the other officers employed by the Florentines in their war was Nicolo, nephew by the sister to Braccio, whose name he assumed; and is therefore distinguished by the title of Fortebraccio. He had served in Lombardy, and upon the conclusion of the peace between Florence and the duke of Milan, he was so far from disbanding the troops he commanded, that he increased them, under pretence of asserting some family rights in the duchy of Spoleto, of which he was a native [k]. He was, however, again employed by the Florentine commissaries in the reduction of Volterra; and when that was completed, it was supposed, according to Machiavel [l], that Rinaldo de Albizi persuaded him to make an inroad into the Lucquese, out of the hatred he bore to Paolo Guinigi. A.D. 1429.

Rise of the Florentine war against Lucca.

Florence by this time had lost her noble and faithful patriot John de Medici, who bequeathed to his eldest son Cosmo an immense estate, and a double portion of his own spirit, patriotism, and moderation. The advice he gave his family upon his death-bed is full of the noblest [m] sentiments

Death and character of John de Medici.

[i] Machiavel, ubi supra. [k] Aretin, p. 262. [l] Machiavel, ubi supra. [m] Id. ibid.

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of public virtue. After the days of Atticus, no private citizen perhaps was known to have ſteered his courſe ſo happily through contending factions, with ſo unexceptionable a character, and in poſſeſſion of ſo great an eſtate. The laſt circumſtance is a proof of the immenſe wealth which the Florentine nobility in thoſe days acquired by trade; for John was generous to profuſion, and charitable even to weakneſs. He inquired no farther into the character or circumſtances of any man than his wants, which he no ſooner knew, than unſolicited he relieved them. The higheſt dignities of the ſtate had been in a manner forced upon him; and by the benevolent turn of his natural temper, he was more apt to pity than puniſh offenders. His hands being free from corruption, as his heart was from ambition, he died in full poſſeſſion of his country's love; where he owed his pre-eminence, not to his eloquence, which was but middling, but to his wiſdom. He was ſucceeded, as we have already hinted, by his eldeſt ſon Coſmo, in his popularity as well as eſtate.

His ſon Coſmo joins againſt the Lucqueſe.

There is reaſon, from what has fallen from Machiavel and the other hiſtorians, for believing that Coſmo had a very bad opinion of Guinigi; and though he was by no means on good terms with the Albizi family, he joined with Rinaldo and Neri, the ſon of Caponi, who had ſo great a hand in the reduction of Piſa, in privately exciting Fortebraccio to his attempt againſt the Lucqueſe. Fortebraccio and his troops were then quartered at Fucechio, a town belonging to the Florentines. Marching from thence with his troops, conſiſting of three hundred horſe and three hundred foot, in November, he ſurpriſed Compito and Ruoti, belonging to Lucca, the latter not above eight miles diſtant from that city; all the territory of which he likewiſe plundered. Guinigi was entirely unprovided of troops, and complained to the Florentines of Fortebraccio's attempt. They denied that he acted by their authority; and he pretended that what he had done was to indemnify himſelf for a ſum owing by Guinigi to his uncle Braccio[r]. Guinigi's complaint to the Florentines had an effect very different from what he perhaps expected; for it filled the minds of the Florentines with the flattering hopes of eaſily maſtering the ſtrong and important city of Lucca. This ſpirit prevailing, the city ran into cabals, and the citizens breathed nothing but an immediate declaration of war againſt Guinigi. Coſmo de Medici, being yet unexperienced in the affairs of ſtate, and probably thinking that

[r] Billius, ubi ſupra, p. 183.

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he was doing service to his country, now openly joined the party that was for war. Nicolo de Uzano and his friends endeavoured to oppose the torrent, by laying before their countrymen the distressed state of the public credit. They shewed how dishonourable it would be, without provocation, to make war on a prince whom they had lately ranked among their chief allies; and how impolitic, in their present exhausted state, to attempt the conquest of so powerful a city as that of Lucca. But these and many other arguments had no weight with the body of the Florentines. The public cry was, that Guinigi was the only tyrant now remaining in Tuscany; that he had always favoured the Florentine enemies, and had sent his son to serve under the duke of Milan during the late war. This restless party was assisted by applications made to them from the inhabitants of Pescia and Vico, two towns belonging to Florence, for leave to take possession of such castles as were offered to be surrendered to them; and assuring the Florentines, that nothing could be more easy than for them to conquer Lucca, and all its territory.

Debates on the expediency of that war.

The pacific party however, was so respectable for their wisdom and authority, that the public resolution was for some time kept in suspence; and Guinigi sent a fresh ambassador to Florence, to attempt a reconciliation. The person he sent was one Viviano, whom Guinigi had pardoned, after he had been capitally convicted of a conspiracy against him. But Viviano's resentment got the better of his gratitude, and, caballing with the party for a war, they were encouraged by him to push for a decisive resolution. For this purpose, the magistracy or senate assembled a council, at which four hundred and ninety-eight of the principal citizens appeared. The debate was begun by Rinaldo de Albizi, who magnified the advantages a free people had over slaves, for such he said the Lucqueſe were, to a fellow-subject of their own, who had always been an enemy to Florence. He then attempted to prove, that the reduced state of their commonwealth ought to be a strong argument for a war, in which their success was next to certain, because the acquisition of Lucca would check the designs which the pope or the duke of Milan might have against their liberties, and make them once more the umpires of Italy.

Negociations for a peace.

Nicola de Uzano opposed Rinaldo with great vigour, by shewing how affectionate the Lucqueſe, when they were not under the dominion of tyrants, had always been towards the Florentines; and that they could not make war on the tyrant, exclusive of the people; that every maxim of

Arguments for one.

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policy, as well as justice, pleaded for peace. He said they could expect no assistance from the Venetians, who were busied in settling their new acquisitions; and that the duke of Milan, pleased with seeing them engaged in a fresh war, which would finish the ruin of their finances, would either openly or secretly assist Lucca, which it was so much his interest to keep them from possessing. Upon the whole, he affirmed, that the best conduct they could observe would be to remain quiet; in which case, it was more than probable the Lucquese, tired of their tyrant, would put themselves under the protection of Florence; and he concluded with propheſying, that, by pursuing the war, they would precipitate their own ruin.

War resolved on.

There was so much weight and justice in Uzano's reasoning, that the advocates for war had nothing to reply, but to call for a division, which gave the question in their favour by a majority of four hundred against ninety-eight. The ten field-deputies for the management of the war were then nominated; and two generals. Astorre Gianni and Rinaldo Albizi, were appointed to command the troops; but it was likewise agreed, that Fortebraccio should be taken into their service, and keep possession of the towns he had reduced. This resolution proved to be a capital overſight, as neither of their generals were soldiers; and Fortebraccio was secretly dissatisfied, in not having the sole command. The expedition however was so popular, that they soon raised an army of about two thousand men, besides the troops which served under Fortebraccio [s].

The Lucquese apply to their allies.

Guinigi, seeing the storm ready to break upon him, filled all Italy and the greatest part of Christendom with invectives against the Florentine breach of faith; but he chiefly appealed to the pope, the duke of Milan, and the Venetians. Philip was the only power who gave ear to his complaints. Billius, a noble and learned Milanese, who wrote at that time, tells us [t], that Philip was the principal instrument of the war, and that he himself had seen at Sienna letters from that duke to the Florentines, promising them his assistance, which he offered only with a view of fomenting a war that might weaken both parties.

The incapacity of the Florentine generals to command an army soon appeared. Leaving Florence, they divided their army, Astorre taking the command of one part, and Rinaldo of the other. Astorre marched with his division towards Camagiore and Pietrasanta; while Rinaldo kept the heights with his division. They proceeded not only impo-

[s] Machiav. delle Histor. lib. iv.

[t] Billius, ubi supra, p. 125.

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litically, but brutally. Astorre arriving at Seravezza, or Salto della Serva, a fine rich populous vale in the neighbourhood of Pietrasanta, the inhabitants, who being Guelphs, had long disliked Guinigi's government, offered to submit to that of Florence. Astorre pretending to receive their submissions, ordered the inhabitants to assemble in the great church, where, surrounding them with his troops, he told them they were his prisoners. He then let loose his soldiers, who plundered their lands, violated their wives and daughters, and were guilty of the most horrible outrages in their country. Some of the Seravezzi, however, found means to escape to Florence, where they represented their case in so moving a manner, that the Florentines recalled Astorre, who was condemned and disqualified.

Rinaldo de Albizi fell under the public suspicion at the same time; the Florentines observed, that he had been so remiss in pursuing the war, that he seemed to mind nothing but enriching himself at the expence of the defenceless or conquered Lucquese. This censure coming to the ears of Rinaldo, whose impetuosity and pride were boundless, he returned without leave to Florence, where he presented himself before the ten deputies, and after having bitterly inveighed against their ingratitude, resigned his commission. The council of ten did not venture to punish a man of his eminence; but gave the command of their army to Neri di Gino, Caponi's son, and Alamanno Salviati, who made dispositions for acting with vigour against the enemy. Guinigi all this while was not wanting to himself. Being master of great sums of money, he raised troops in all quarters, and applied to the Sienneſe for their assistance, or if that could not be obtained, for their mediation. The Sienneſe, A.D. 1430. equally dreading the progress, and detesting the cruelty of the Florentines, undertook the latter office, and sent Antonio Francesco to mediate a peace between them and the Lucqueſe, But the former were now so bent upon the conquest of Lucca, that his negociation came to nothing, and the Sienneſe applied to the Venetians for their good offices. Their answer was, that they knew nothing of the Sienneſe, farther than that they had been included in the late peace; and the deputies returned to Sienna without success. Upon this occasion, Antonio Francesco, a young nobleman of great spirit and interest, left Sienna; and, in conjunction with one of Guinigi's nephews, raised a large body of troops, who threw themselves into Lucca. Amongst others they paid thirty thousand ducats by way of advance money to Rainerio of Perugia. This man, having received the sum, betrayed them and went over to the Florentines,

The Lucqueſe prepare for war.

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who, by the like gratification, are said to have engaged him and three hundred horse in their service.

Lucca besieged.

Though this defection greatly incommoded Guinigi [u], yet he now found himself in a condition to make a vigorous defence. He hired of the Spaniards six gallies, and many smaller vessels, for disappointing all the efforts of his enemies by water. The new Florentine generals, on the other hand, changing the plan of operations, advanced to Campanole, and their army, being now greatly increased, surrounded Lucca, but without forming a regular siege.

Many Italian historians observe that the Florentines were severe and rapacious masters of their acquired dominions. It is certain, that their behaviour to the Pisans and Volterrans gave the Lucquese a greater abhorrence of their government than they entertained for that of their tyrant, as they and the other Italian republics affected to call Guinigi. The ravages committed in their territories were far from allaying this spirit in the Lucquese, and they promised to hold out against their enemies to the last extremity. Guinigi had two sons; the eldest, Pandolfo, was legitimate; the other natural; but, like the rest of the Italian princes of those days, he made little or no distinction on that account. To the former he committed the care of defending the city, and to the other, the conduct of the sallies, which were frequent and generally successful. The Florentines were provided with a kind of artillery, which, by the force of gunpowder, discharged large stones; but the Lucquese, perceiving that they did very little execution, came at last to despise them, and every day renewed their sallies, to the great slaughter of their enemies, by the help of muskets, or small fire-arms, to which the Florentines were strangers, and which, before this siege, were not known in Italy. The execution done by these fire-arms encouraged the besieged to redouble their sallies upon the besiegers, whose army was divided into two camps, from both of which they were driven by the besieged, and one of the Florentine generals narrowly missed being made a prisoner. He was rescued by Cardano, one of the chief officers; but the besieged carried off with them four great guns, and a great number of prisoners.

Introduction of small fire-arms.

The Florentines baffled in the siege of Lucca.

The issue of that day at last convinced the Florentines, that it would be impossible for them to master the city in the manner the siege was carried on. The cold weather was now approaching; and neither the Florentine generals, nor the field-deputies, could prevail with the soldiers to leave the villages in the neighbourhood, and to encamp so near the walls as to block up the city. Philip Brunelleschi,

[u] Billius, ubi supra, p. 126.

who

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who is so famous for reviving in Europe the true principles of architecture, was then in the Florentine camp; and he gave it as his opinion, that it was possible to turn the course of the river Serchio, so as to drown Lucca. As he was looked upon to be the best engineer of that age, his proposal, however romantic it appeared, might have proved successful, could the Florentine army have been prevailed upon to encamp near enough the city, to interrupt the dispositions made by the besieged for defeating Bruneleschi's plan, which was to have turned the course of the Serchio, by means of a strong mound, so as by the lateral pressure of its waters, to have borne down the walls, or by their rising to have overflowed them. The Lucquese perceived his design and raised a mound parallel to his, between their walls and the diverted course of the river, which served as a bulwark to the city. When the waters were raised to a proper height between the two mounds, the besieged, dividing their forces, sent one body in the night to attack that part of the Florentine camp that lay nearest the mound, and armed the other with all kinds of instruments for digging and boring, by which they broke down and pierced the Florentine mound, so as to overflow all the grounds on which the besiegers were encamped, an expedient which made it impracticable again to approach the city on that side.

Unpopularity of Guinigi.

The Florentine field-deputies, and their magistracy, vexed at the losses and disgraces they had received in the course of this siege, sent Giovanni Guicciardini to take upon him the sole command, and his authority prevailed with the soldiers to encamp nearer the town. It is probable, that this new general would not have been more successful than his predecessors, could Guinigi's treasures have held out. But they were now exhausted, and he was obliged to use some unseasonable severities upon the citizens to raise money; upon which a conspiracy was formed against him within the walls. Guinigi was not insensible of his own danger; and, by the advice of Antonio of Sienna, who had been incredibly active for the Lucquese, he sent Silvestro Trenta and Luigi Bonvisi (B) to Milan, to implore that duke's assistance. Those ambassadors were of the number of the conspirators against him; and indeed the noble defence the Lucquese made, was not owing to any affection for Guinigi, but to the aversion they had to the Florentines.

(B) We have followed Machiavel's account here; but, according to Billius, the plan of Sforza's march into Tuscany had been before concerted with Antonio, who was in disguise at the court of Milan.

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The Lucquese obtain assistance from the duke of Milan.

The latter had all along been distrustful of Philip's conduct; and they had at this very time deputies at his court to watch it, and to keep him at least firm in his neutrality. Philip answered both them and the Lucquese only in general terms, and seemed unwilling to take any concern in the fate of Lucca. The Lucquese deputies however, applied privately to him; and laying before him the state of the siege and their city, told him, that rather than it should fall into the hands of the Florentines, if he would support them with a proper force, the citizens would depose Guinigi, and put themselves under his (Philip's) protection. Even this encouragement did not drive Philip from his usual caution. He refused to declare himself on either side; but he managed matters so, that Sforza, who then commanded his troops, and had in his own pay a considerable body, should publicly demand his leave to march upon an expedition to Naples. This was obtained, and Sforza, having settled every thing relating to his pay, and the number of his troops, both with Philip and the Lucquese, pointed his march directly towards Tuscany.

His policy.

This management was not so secret as to be concealed from Boccacino Alamanni, the Florentine resident at Milan, who put his principals upon their guard. All they could do was to raise new troops, and to fortify the passes into their country, precautions which proved no obstacle to Sforza. His march, however was retarded when he came to the foot of the Appennines, by Philip's usual caution, who wanted to see in what light the Venetians would consider his conduct[u]. Perceiving they did not move, he ordered Sforza to proceed.

Sforza raises the siege of Lucca.

The Florentines were in hopes of carrying Lucca before his arrival, and pressed the siege with redoubled vigour; but were as vigorously repulsed. At last Sforza, at the head of three thousand veteran troops, forced his way over the Appenines, and, carrying all before him, appeared in sight of the Florentine army, which immediately raised the siege, and retired to an advantageous camp at Riprafratta, lying at an equal distance between Pisa and Lucca. Sforza upon their retreat, demolished all the works that had been raised by the besiegers, and entered Lucca in triumph, where he was received as their deliverer and guardian, by Guinigi and the inhabitants; and, at Antonio's request, the arrears due to Sforza were paid, though it drained Guinigi of the small remainder of his money. A council of war being held, it was resolved to act upon the defensive, and Sforza marched with his army towards Pistoia, where he

[u] Billius, ubi supra, p. 129.

took

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took and demolished Bugiano, a fortified town, and then laid siege to Pescia, a place of the greatest importance to the safety of Florence itself. Pagolo Diacetto, the governor, abandoned it and fled to Pistoia.

Dismal state of the Florentines.

It is certain, that the affairs of the Florentines wore at this time a melancholy aspect. Their ill success in the field had increased the people's animosities against their magistrates. Their generals were without military talents, and divided amongst themselves. They were hated by many, not only of the neighbouring states, but of their own dependents; and they had not an ally whom they could trust. Their public money was exhausted; and nothing but the feeble interposition of Pescia could keep Sforza from marching to the gates of Florence. Their dangers, however, existed rather in appearance than in reality. Sforza's secret instructions did not authorize him to act offensively against the Florentines, after the siege of Lucca should be raised; and he had undertaken the expedition against Pescia only for the sake of plunder, and because he knew he could raise no more money at Lucca. The Florentines knew all these circumstances; and while Malevolto, who was next in command to the governor, held out Pescia, the siege all of a sudden was relaxed, and then finally raised. Machiavel himself does not deny that this event happened through the prevalence of money proffered by the Florentines to Sforza; for though the republic of Florence was then poor, many of its private citizens were immensely rich [x]. The Florentines, who were in the secret negociation, confided so much on the power of money upon a mercenary general, that they hoped to prevail upon Sforza, not only to raise the siege of Pescia, but to deliver into their hands Lucca itself. Sforza being a man of honour in his profession, excused himself from the latter part of the proposal, but accepted of fifty thousand crowns for raising the siege of Pescia, promising to withdraw his protection from Lucca while it was governed by Guinigi, and to join in any measures that might be taken for deposing that chief. The bargain was actually made; Sforza evacuated the Florentine territories; and returning to the Lucquese, encamped without that city.

They buy off Sforza, and procure the deposition and imprisonment of Guinigi.

The Florentines, by their agreement with Sforza, were at liberty to practise every art against the Lucquese; and they made use of some that, perhaps, were unwarrantable. Antonio of Sienna was then in the city; and the Florentines employed crafty agents to carry letters in their names, some of them directed to Guinigi, and others to the chief citizens who were dissatisfied with his government. The

[x] Machiavel. delle Histor. lib. iv.

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agents suffered themselves to be intercepted by Guinigi, and it was contrived that the letters directed to him should fall into the hands of the citizens. By which contrivances he and the Lucqueſe were rendered jealous and suſpicious of one another. In the letters directed to him, the Florentines wrote in a ſtrain which implied that a treaty was far advanced between him and them; and that he was to put the city into their hands, upon their paying him two hundred thouſand crowns: mention was likewiſe made, in ſeveral of the letters intercepted by the citizens, that Guinigi had agreed to put Antonio to death; and theſe being ſhewn to Antonio, induced him to reſolve upon the deſtruction of Guinigi.

So complicated a ſcene of deceit muſt have been ineffectual, could Guinigi and the citizens have come to an explanation; but they were too diſtruſtful on both ſides to admit of a conference; and thus each party ſecretly meditated the ruin of the other. Antonio and about forty other citizens ſurpriſed Guinigi in the night, in the citadel, where he thought himſelf ſecure; after having upbraided him with his miſgovernment, they deprived him of the keys of the caſtle, and put him under arreſt, as Sforza did his ſon Pandolfo, who was in his camp. Both of them were ſent priſoners to Milan, where they died in their confinement.

The Genoeſe declare againſt the Florentines.

It muſt be acknowleged, that, notwithſtanding all the various arts the Florentines had employed againſt the Lucqueſe, they failed in their deſign, which was that of reducing them to ſubjection. It is plain, that they had been outwitted by Sforza; and yet they could not complain of his having deceived them. According to ſome authors, he received thirty-five thouſand crowns more from the Florentines, with a promiſe of fifteen thouſand beſides, at the expiration of three months, if he and his troops ſhould remain inactive during that time. He accordingly drew off his army to Mirandola, and left the defence of the Lucqueſe to themſelves; to which, in their reduced condition, they were very unequal. They were ſo ſenſible of their weakneſs, that they ſent public letters to the Florentines, that they were now free from their tyrant whom the Florentines had made their pretext for the war; that they were willing to yield to the Florentines ſome marks of ſuperiority, provided they ſhould be left to the full enjoyment of their own laws and liberties. The Florentines, being now delivered from the fear of Sforza, rejected this equitable offer, on pretence that the complexion of the war was altered from what it was originally; and that it had coſt them ſo much blood and treaſure, that they would be contented with nothing leſs than

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than the entire subjection of the Lucquese. This infamous condition was rejected, and the Lucquese prepared to defend themselves to the last extremity, as the Florentines did to renew the siege. Antonio of Sienna, knowing that his country would fall the next sacrifice to the Florentines, should they become masters of Lucca, went on board a vessel to Genoa, which was then governed by the archbishop of Milan for Philip; though, in other respects, the Genoese still were in full possession of their laws and properties; and a vast number of them were immensely rich. These he addressed for assistance against the Florentines, whose ambition and injustice he expatiated upon, with great eloquence; but without pretending to engage the duke of Milan in the quarrel. The preservation of Lucca from falling into the hands of the Florentines, was of the utmost consequence to the Genoese, who promised Antonio, that if the duke of Milan would give them leave they would assist the Lucquese with their good offices; and if those should fail, with their arms. This favourable answer was owing to their hopes of recovering Leghorn from the Florentines, who had bought it from Fulgoso. They sent a deputation to Florence, requiring them to desist from their war with Lucca, and insisting upon the restitution of Leghorn. The Florentines answered, that they could not consider the Genoese as a free people, but as subjects to the duke of Milan; and that therefore they would not treat with them as an independent state. Thus insulted, the Genoese deputies, in great rage, mounted their horses and left Florence. Upon their return to Genoa, and reporting the success of their commission, Genoa came immediately to a resolution of declaring war against the Florentines, and of employing Nicolo Picinino for their general; all which steps they took with the approbation and connivance of the duke of Milan.

The Florentines had intelligence of this new storm that threatened them, and took into their pay a body of fourteen hundred horse belonging to Guido of Faenza, appointing, at the same time, the count of Urbino general of this army, though he was very unequal to that command. The Florentine deputies at Venice did not fail to represent to that senate, that the duke of Milan was at the bottom of all that management, and how dangerous it would be to their state if he should obtain the sovereignty of Tuscany, at which he aspired. The Venetians upon this remonstrance, complained to Philip, who, with his usual dissimulation, told them that he had lent the Genoese a body of troops; that it was the same thing to him whether they assisted the Lucquese

A.D. 1431.

Dissimulation of Philip.

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Lucqueſe or the Florentines, for he was ſenſible they aimed at nothing but to defend themſelves. To confirm what he ſaid, he ſent the Venetians a copy of his convention with the Genoeſe, by which he left them at entire liberty to join with whom they pleaſed. The Venetians appeared, or ſeemed to appear, ſatisfied with this anſwer, notwithſtanding all the remonſtrances of the Florentines.

Progreſs of the war. By this time Picinino, who had taken the command of the Genoeſe army, marched to relieve Lucca, which was again beſieged by the Florentines, who, upon his approach, abandoned the ſiege, and entrenched themſelves on the banks of the Serchio. Their army was computed to be five thouſand horſe and three thouſand foot, all hired troops, and ten thouſand Florentines; a proof of the intrinſic riches of the ſubjects of that ſtate, notwithſtanding the vaſt expences and loſſes they had ſuſtained, and the low condition of their finances. But though their numbers were ſuperior to thoſe of Picinino's army, his reputation was ſo high that the Florentines durſt not face him. His firſt care was to retake ſome of the Lucqueſe forts and caſtles that had fallen into the hands of the Florentines, and then he faced his enemy for one day, which he employed in ſearching for a ford acroſs the river, and in cutting off their proviſions by water, of which he had plenty, by means of barks attending his army. A ford was at laſt diſcovered, and, though dangerous, attempted by Picinino. Had the Florentines been but tolerably well commanded, their enemies muſt have failed in their attempt, and the beſt part of their army would have been deſtroyed; but the Genoeſe and Lucqueſe met with no oppoſition in paſſing the river, except from a few troops commanded by the young lords of Faenza and Perugia; for Urbino, the Florentine general, upon the firſt appearance of danger, fled to Piſa; and the Florentines, being now without a head, retired with precipitation to Florence.

The Florentines defeated. Though the Italian hiſtorians have pompouſly deſcribed this paſſage, and the battle that enſued, yet it does not appear that a dozen of men were killed on either ſide; but about two hundred new-raiſed men, in the precipitancy of their flight, were drowned in the river. A great many men and horſes, however, were taken, but moſt of the former were diſmiſſed by Picinino.

Picinino's ſucceſs. When the news of this defeat reached Florence, the inhabitants imagined Picinino already at their gates. But they were miſtaken as to his inſtructions, which were limited to the relief and defence of Lucca, and regaining its dependencies from the Florentines, all which aims he effected,

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effected, beſides furniſhing the inhabitants with large magazines of proviſions from his ſhips. On his return to Genoa, however, he received orders to take ſeveral places upon which the Genoeſe had pretenſions, particularly Pontremoli, a place ſo important, that it is accounted the barrier of the Appennines towards Genoa; and in this enterprize he alſo ſucceeded. By the taking of Pontremoli all communication was cut off between the Genoeſe exiles and the Florentines, and the Genoeſe obtained a ready entrance into Tuſcany.

Diſſimulation of the Florentines.

Notwithſtanding the departure of Picinino, the Florentines were ſo far from renewing hoſtilities againſt Lucca, that they became apprehenſive that the ſtates of Tuſcany would form a league againſt their republic. They knew that they were hated by the Sienneſe, who had lately made a league with the pope, and raiſed troops, and that ſeveral ſtates, beſides thoſe within Tuſcany, would readily enter into ſuch a confederacy. The Florentines diſſembled their ſentiments, and, as if they had been upon the beſt terms with Sienna, not only ſent thither a deputation, but prevailed with the Venetians to ſend another to negociate the renewal of the ancient leagues between the Florentines and the Sienneſe. The latter who were already in treaty with the Lucqueſe, could not but be ſurpriſed at this propoſition; and, in a ſeparate conference their magiſtrates had with the Venetian deputies, they inveighed ſo bitterly and ſo ſpeciouſly againſt the Florentines, that the Venetians returned home without farther interpoſition. During this negociation the Sienneſe unanimouſly choſe Antonio, who had been ſo active againſt the Florentines, for their chief magiſtrate; upon which the Florentine deputies haſtily left Sienna; and, to impoſe upon the inhabitants of the country through which they were to paſs, they carried olive-branches, by which expedient they got ſafe to Florence. They had ſcarce arrived, when a triple league was propoſed between the duke of Milan, the Genoeſe (who affected a ſhew of independency), and the Sienneſe.

The Florentines ſought to counterbalance this league by a new alliance with the Venetians; but the latter had reaſons for not provoking Philip, and therefore declined the propoſal. The Florentines then applied to Sforza, as the Venetians did, at the ſame time, to take the command of their armies; but he refuſed to leave the ſervice of the duke of Milan, to whoſe natural daughter he was already contracted. Pope Martin V. the great reſtorer of the papal dignity in Italy, being now dead, was ſucceeded by Eugene

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Eugene IV. a Venetian, who joined the Orsini against the friends of the late pope, and thereby a kind of civil war ensued in the state of the church. He was generally thought to be the son of the anti-pope, Gregory XII. At his accession to the papacy, he formed the design of renewing the league between the Florentines and the Venetians, to counterbalance the duke of Milan's power; and the confederacy accordingly took place. Philip being informed of this fresh conjunction, ordered some troops, which lay at Pontremoli, to fall into Tuscany, which they did under Picinino, and penetrated so far into the Florentine dominions as to cut off all communication between Florence and Pisa.

Cruelty towards the Pisans.

The Florentines, well knowing how ripe the Pisans were for a revolt, had recourse on this occasion to an inhuman, but perhaps necessary measure. The archbishop of Pisa, a Florentine, had then the chief command in that city, and, by order no doubt of the Florentine government, he made proclamation that all Pisans, between fifteen and sixty, should immediately leave the city. Being of a brutal nature, he himself was the executioner of this order; but retained the wives and children of the unhappy Pisans as pledges for their conduct. Notwithstanding this precaution, a plot was formed within the city for delivering it up to Picinino, who daily presented himself before its gates; and the design was discovered but by great accident [y]. Picinino, however, conquered all the Volterran territory; and Volterra itself would have submitted to him, had he not been attended by a great number of the Volterran exiles, who were irreconcileably obnoxious to the governing party in the city.

Policy of the duke of Milan.

While the triple league between Philip, the Genoese, and the Siennese, was depending, some of the young Siennese, without either authority or leader, made an irruption into the Florentine territory, where they burned down a castle. The news of this rash action arrived at Milan while Philip was in conference with the deputies of the two republics, and in great perplexity, whether he should conclude the league or not. The adventure was no sooner related to him, than, with joy in his countenance, he ordered all that the Siennese deputies had requested to be granted [z], and count Alberigo was ordered to put himself at the head of two thousand horse to join Picinino, that

[y] Machiavel, lib. iv. Billius, p. 148. [z] Billius, ubi supra.

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the Tuscan war might be carried on with decisive vigour. It soon appeared that the Florentine subjects had no aversion to put themselves under the protection of Philip, though they refused to submit to the Siennese; for the war being now carried on in Philip's name, many forts and castles readily submitted to his general. Picinino then marched to the valley of Alsa, the most beautiful and populous of any in Italy; and he was preparing to reduce Staggio, and the neighbouring forts, most of which belonged to private subjects of Florence, when he was encouraged to hope that he might easily make himself master of Arezzo, by means of a conspiracy within that city. It is said, not without great colour of truth, that the Florentines themselves were at the bottom of this suggestion, that they might draw him out of that country. It is certain, that Picinino was so intent on the conquest of Arezzo, that he burned all the preparations he had made for his other expedition, and marched directly to that city, the people, wherever he passed, presenting him with the keys of their towns and castles. When he came before Arezzo, he found he had been imposed on, and that no dispositions were made for giving up the city. Having waited some days without any effect, the Siennese, and the other troops, pressed him to begin the siege, protesting that they would not return alive if they did not take it in four days. While Picinino was deliberating on this proposal, matters took an unexpected turn in Lombardy, and Philip sent an order for Picinino to return to Milan. So dreadful was Picinino's name in Tuscany, that the Florentines considered his departure, though he was attended by no troops, and though Alberigo succeeded to his command, as a deliverance. They chose for their general Michile Attendolo, who had been bred up under Sforza; and so greatly were they encouraged by Picinino's departure, that he soon had the face of an army. The first gleam of good fortune they A D. 1432.
obtained was an advantage gained over Alberigo at Colle, where, against his own inclination, he was obliged to fight the Florentines, and was worsted. This advantage, though but trifling, was celebrated at Florence with an extravagance of joy.

All the Florentine dominions were at this time reduced to Florence, their great walled towns and cities, and a few inconsiderable places that had been spared in the vale of Alsa. Almost all their open country had been reduced by Picinino and the Siennese; but the late defeat of Alberigo gave a turn to their fortune. Philip, suspecting him to have an understanding with the Florentines, sent for him in chains *Losses of the Florentines.*

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chains to Milan, his command devolving on the young Antonio of Pergola, who neither had any authority in the army, nor any opportunities of giving a proof of his military capacity, as the season was too far advanced for action. During the winter, not a day passed without some notable defection from the Milanese army, and many of their best troops and officers went into the Florentine service.

By this time the Venetians, alarmed at Philip's progress in Tuscany, had concluded a new league with the Florentines, and fitted out a greater naval armament than had for many ages been known in Italy. It was to oppose them that he had recalled Picinino out of Tuscany, and given him the command of both his sea and land-forces. The Venetian fleet having sailed up the Po, being most or all of them gallies, and drawing very little water, lay opposite to their land army, which was commanded by Carmagnola, against whom Picinino alone could make head, as their fleet was conducted by Stefano of Treviso. This encampment was near Cremona; while the Milanese fleet, which was equal in number, but far inferior in strength and appointments to that of Venice, lay above that city. Picinino seemed intent only upon the land operations; but on a sudden, without communicating his design to any one but Sforza, perceiving Carmagnola's attention fixed upon the army, he threw himself on board a Milanese galley, and, though unused to that service, by his own personal valour and intrepidity, gave the Venetians one of the greatest defeats they had ever received on the water, while Carmagnola could do nothing but deplore it from the shore.

The Venetians defeated by water.

To compensate this loss the Venetians, having sent round some gallies towards the gulf of Genoa, defeated the Genoese gallies in the Tuscan sea [a]. The Florentines, under Michile, surprised Trebia, and reduced most of the places which had been taken during the summer by Picinino and the Siennese, who were now thrown into the utmost despondency; but a pestilential distemper breaking out amongst their horses in the field, both parties were obliged to go into quarters. We are to take this interval to resume the domestic affairs of Florence.

Discontents at Florence.

The bad success of the war against Lucca, had by this time rendered it a most unpopular measure. They who had been the most forward in carrying it on, now shifted the blame upon one another; but the weight of the public indignation fell upon the leaders. Guicciardini, who had commanded in chief after Sforza's retreat, was accused of

[a] Stella, Annali Genevens. tom. xvii. Rer. Italic.

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having received money from the enemies of Florence; and the ſpirit againſt him ran ſo high, that the gonfalonier cited him to take his trial; but either Guicciardini's intereſt in the ſtate, or his innocence, prevented the matter from going farther. The charge againſt Coſimo de Medici had more ſerious conſequences.

History of the exile of Coſmo de Medici.

This nobleman, by his behaviour in the ſtate, had ſhewn the Florentines what they could; not otherwiſe have believed, that it was poſſible his father could be excelled in all the duties of an able diſintereſted citizen. The firſt maxim Coſimo laid down in life was, to ſide with no party in the republic; but by his advice, his hoſpitality, munificence, and other virtues, to oblige the individuals of all. He carried this maxim ſo far, that when he found public buſineſs could not go on without the ſanction of his credit, he always prevailed with his friend Puccio Pucci to take the lead in the management of affairs; and his party went by Puccio's name. His other friend was Averardo di Medici, an excellent ſoldier, but ſo cautious was Coſimo in party matters, that though he highly approved of the war with Lucca, yet he employed his intereſt in giving the command of it to thoſe who were known to be no friends to his family. Coſimo's friends, not ſo diſintereſted as he was, laid hold of all opportunities to aggravate the loſſes of the ſtate, and vilify the conduct of its generals; and this cenſure was of no ſervice to him; for, notwithſtanding all his modeſty and ſelf-denial, he was ſtill looked upon as the principal citizen of Florence; and the enemies of his family conſidered every thing as being done by his ſecret concurrence and approbation. Nicolo de Uzano was ſtill reſpected for his great integrity, abilities, and experience, and was thought the only perſon capable to counterpoize Coſimo's intereſt in the ſtate. Barbadori, ſo called from the yellow beards of his family, was ſent by Rinaldo Albizi, and the other enemies of the Medici, to perſuade Uzano to head the party againſt Coſimo. The venerable patriot, in his anſwer, wiſhed that his beard had been ſilver inſtead of gold, for he then might have reflected on the conſequences of what he propoſed. He then entered into a detail of the diviſions and factions that prevailed amongſt the families who called themſelves noble, and proved that Coſimo's party had as good a right to that appellation as that of his antagoniſts. He next proceeded to a defence of Coſimo, and ſhewed the injuſtice of perſecuting a man merely becauſe he had acquired popularity by virtue. He remonſtrated upon the folly of ſuch an attempt, on account of Coſimo's prodigious influence in the ſtate;

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state; and put Barbadori in mind that, supposing Cosimo to be ruined, they must be governed by Rinaldo, who was a man every way his inferior in virtue. In the conclusion of his discourse, which is fully recited by Machiavel, he advised them to concord and moderation, as being the only terms on which the state could be served.

Rancour of his enemies. Those sentiments, so worthy of a patriot and a wise man, made such an impression upon Cosimo's enemies, that every thing remained quiet during the war with Lucca. But at the end of that, Uzano dying, Rinaldo became the head of the party; and being the irreconcileable furious enemy of Medici, he left nothing undone to dispose his countrymen to a civil war, rather than not ruin his antagonist. He persuaded all his party never to appear in public but in arms, that the people might be more impressed with an apprehension of danger; and all their civil meetings, even for the choice of magistrates, wore a military aspect, and were seldom closed without tumults (C).

Rinaldo's success in this conduct was such, that he now only wanted a gonfalonier to his mind. The person most likely to answer his purpose was Bernardo Guadagno, whose debts he paid off, lest the greatness of them might have obstructed his election, which went in his favour. Scarce had he entered his office, when Rinaldo laid before him the danger of Cosimo's popularity, which, without charging him with any other crime, he said had deprived the republic of her liberty. To encourage Bernardo to proceed, he brought many instances in which popularity had deserted the impeached when they came to a trial, and that Cosimo would find himself in the same condition, especially as he and his friends were resolved to support to the last extremity the administration of justice.

His danger. Bernardo was easily persuaded to take Rinaldo's advice. After some consultation with the other magistrates, Cosimo was summoned to the palace, where he was put under arrest; and the senate assembling, the people created a balia of two hundred for the reformation of the state, and the trial of Cosimo; while Rinaldo and his friends appeared in arms in the piazza where the balia were sitting. The debates concerning Cosimo lasted four days, during

(C) Notwithstanding all this, Machiavel gives this Rinaldo a great character, and calls him a man worthy of honour in all fortunes. If we consider what afterwards happened, when the house of Medici came to be sovereigns of Florence, there are reasons for believing that Rinaldo had motives for his conduct, which have not been explained by Machiavel.

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which time he was confined to a strong room called the Alberghettino, from whence he had an opportunity of hearing and seeing the bustle that was made concerning his life, death, or banishment. This filled him with apprehensions lest his enemies should take him off by poison; and for four days he eat only a little bread. His keeper's name was Malavolti, who observing Cosimo's distrust, considered it as a reflection upon his own honour. He declared that no foul dealings should be offered to him while in his custody; and, to prove his sincerity, he ordered victuals to be brought, of which he tasted before his face. This generous behaviour filled the prisoner's eyes with tears of gratitude; and he won so far upon his keeper, that, being now re-disposed to the comforts of society, Malavolti introduced to his company one Fargannacio, a man of wit and humour, intimately acquainted with the gonfalonier. Cosimo knew that money at that time went a great way in Florence; and, after supper, Malavolti having prudently withdrawn, Cosimo, after a most obliging address, gave Fargannacio a private token to receive, on his account, one thousand one hundred ducats at the hospital of Santa Maria Nuova; one hundred of which he allotted to Fargannacio himself, and the other thousand was to be paid to the gonfalonier. This well-timed bribe, or bounty, by softening the gonfalonier, mollified Cosimo's fate, and his sentence was, that he should be sent in exile to Padua. Many of his relations, together with Puccio Pucci, were banished at the same time; and dispositions were made for keeping in awe those who were dissatisfied with their sentences.

His sentence.

Cosimo received his doom with a chearful countenance, and perfect resignation to the will of his judges, only beseeching them to grant him protection against his enemies, who, he understood, waited in the piazza to take away his life. The gonfalonier undertook that office, and gave him a strong guard, which accompanied him out to the confines of the Florentine territories to those of Venice, where he was received with the highest honours [c].

A.D. 1433.

Rinaldo, and Cosimo's other enemies, considered his banishment as a triumph over themselves, and the forerunner of their own destruction. Rinaldo, in despair, summoned together his party, and, remonstrating upon the folly and madness of suffering Cosimo to escape with life, he proposed that the nobles should seize by force the government,

Disappointment of Rinaldo.

[c] Machiavel, Hist. de Florenz. lib. iv.

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restore the exiled nobility of their own party, and deprive the plebeians of all their power in the state. He supported his opinion with many specious arguments; but was opposed by Mariotto Boldavinetti, who thought the tyranny of the plebeians more tolerable that than of the nobles, who were arrived at the highest pitch of pride and insolence. Mariotto's opinion prevailed. It being now apparent that Rinaldo's party was divided, Cosimo's friends began to bestir themselves, and a letter to him from Agnolo Acciaivoli was intercepted. It informed him of the good disposition of the city in his favour; and advised him by all means to make Neri Geni his friend; and gave him to understand, that the state was in such distress for money as must occasion his sudden recall. This letter being laid before the magistracy, proved the cause of Agnolo being banished. But his punishment was so far from damping Cosimo's friends, that they daily increased; and when new
A.D.1434. magistrates were chosen, Nicholas de Cocco was made gonfalonier, and eight senators were elected, all of them devoted to Cosimo. Rinaldo again summoned his party, to shew them their impending danger, and proposed that they should take arms, continue Donato Veluti, who was then gonfalonier, in his office, and proceed immediately to a new election of magistrates, by burning the old purses which contained the names of the magistrates, and making a new imborsation.

Many of the assembly were inclined to follow this advice, which was opposed by Palla Strozzi, a nobleman of great temper and moderation, who was of opinion that they ought by no means to take arms, until they should be obliged by the near approach of a foreign enemy, when they might do it without alarming the people, or bringing themselves into danger. After due deliberation it was agreed, that the new magistrates should enter upon the exercise of their offices; but if any thing was attempted against the nobility, the latter should assemble at the piazza of St. Pulinare, and proceed as circumstances might occur. The first act of authority the new gonfalonier performed, was the imprisoning his predecessor Donato Veluti for embezzling the public money. He then called a meeting of the friends of the house of Medici, whom he found so powerful, that he cited Rinaldo, Ridolfo Peruzzi, and Nicolo Barbadori, to appear before him. Rinaldo,
He takes arms. instead of submitting, flew to arms; and the rest of his party, according to agreement, assembled at St. Pulinare, where they were joined by a great number of disbanded soldiers,

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ſoldiers, who happened at that time to be in Florence; ſo that the palace was beſet.

Rinaldo, however, could not ſupport himſelf and his party againſt the appearance of legal authority. Two of the greateſt men of his party, Palla Strozzi and Giovanni Guicciardini, refuſed to join him in arms. Palla came to Pulinare on horſeback, attended by only two footmen, and was there received with bitter reproaches, by Rinaldo, who upbraded him with folly, cowardice, and treachery; firſt in ſaving Coſimo's life; ſecondly, in ſlighting his (Rinaldo's) counſels; and thirdly, in refuſing to join him in arms. To this charge, Palla made no reply, but by turning the head of his horſe, and retreating as faſt as he could. As to Guicciardini, he deſired to be excuſed from appearing, on pretence that his preſence was neceſſary at home, to keep his brother from joining the oppoſite party. But Rinaldo's greateſt diſappointment aroſe from the general backwardneſs of his party. While he was waiting for the troops he expected, the magiſtrates recovered from their conſternation, ſhut the palace gates, and prepared for a vigorous defence.

But fails of ſucceſs.

This circumſtance was no ſooner known than the Medici party appeared in their turn, as the champions of legal government. Rinaldo, however, was ſo powerful, and his pretexts were ſo ſpecious, that the magiſtrates thought proper to enter into treaty with him. They ſent ſome of their own body to aſſure him, that they had no thoughts of recalling Coſimo from his baniſhment; and that he was welcome to enter the palace, and receive ſatisfaction as to all his juſt complaints. Rinaldo refuſed to truſt himſelf in their hands, and publicly declared his reſolution of reforming the ſtate, and reducing the magiſtrates to the rank of private men. Ridolfo Peruzzi was not ſo tractable. He thought the offer made by the ſenate was fair and equitable, and declared that all he ſought was to prevent Coſimo's return, and that he was willing to obey the magiſtrates. He accordingly repaired to the palace, where he and all his friends were cordially received. The defection of ſo great a man threw an irrecoverable damp upon Rinaldo's party.

He is baniſhed.

Pope Eugene IV. happened at this time to be at Florence, where he had taken refuge after he had been expelled from Rome. He offered himſelf as a mediator to reconcile the contending factions; and the magiſtrates, that they might the more eaſily attain their aim, ſeemed to accept his mediation; but in terms ſo vague and indeterminate, that it gave him no power to conclude any thing

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in their name. Eugene, however, sent the patriarch Giovanni Vitelleschi, one of Rinaldo's friends, to treat with him; and Rinaldo, at his persuasion, went to Santa Maria Novella, where the pope resided. After some discourse Rinaldo, finding how little he could depend upon his party, consented to lay down his arms; and his consent was intimated to Barbadori, and his other friends, who waited without, and who, by the pope's persuasion, adopted the same expedient. The faction being thus disarmed, proceeded in what they had resolved upon, without the least regard to the mediation of his holiness. They privately sent to Pistoia for troops, which being introduced, in the night, seized all the posts and avenues of the city. The people were summoned to the great piazza; and a new balia was appointed, which repealed Cosimo's sentence of banishment, and exiled Rinaldo de Albizi, Rodolfo Peruzzi, Nicolo Barbadori, and Palla Strozzi, with all their friends and dependents; so that there was scarce a town in Italy that did not contain Florentine exiles[d].

This is a remarkable period in the Florentine history and, however blameable Rinaldo might have been in his proceedings, it is certain that we may from this time date the ruin of the republican constitution of Florence. Rinaldo bore his fate like a brave man. When the pope condoled with him, and mentioned the treachery, as he called it, of the magistrates, he reproached himself with weakness in imagining that his holiness, who had himself been driven from Rome, could protect him in Florence: in all other respects, his behaviour was manly and philosophical. While he censured the coldness of his friends, he blamed his own misguided conduct, and submitted to his sentence. Cosimo, in the mean time was upon his return to Florence where he was received with acclamation and distinguished by the glorious titles of "the Friend of the People, and the Father of his Country."

Cosimo recalled from exile.

The papal power at this time was formidable every where but in Italy; for there it was not only depressed, but despised. The Florentines, notwithstanding the distractions of their government, still bore a great sway in the affairs of this country. The emperor Sigismund, who delighted in the parade of mediations, negociations, and public exhibitions of every kind, had failed in his attempt to reduce the Bohemians, whom the execution of John Huss, and Jerome of Prague, at the council of Constance, had driven into arms. After the defeat of the imperial army by the

The emperor arrives in Italy.

[d] Machiavel, ubi supra.

Bohemians

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Bohemians, Sigismund repaired to Italy, though he was so poor that he scarce could defray the expences of his journey. The name of emperor, however, was still respectable if not formidable. While a general council was holding at Basil, he was crowned with the iron crown at Monza, in the neighbourhood of Milan; and, indeed, his great dependence, even for the charges of his retinue, was upon that duke.

Affronted by the Florentines.

From Milan he journeyed to Rome; but the Florentines paid so little regard to his authority, that they attacked and routed, at Topori, the escort that had been lent him by the duke of Milan; and when he came to Lucca, they destroyed all the country round, and pent him up within the city, so that he became contemptible in the eyes even of the Italians. From Lucca he removed to Sienna, where he remained some months; and then obtained leave from the pope to repair to Rome, where he received the idle honour of being crowned emperor of the Romans.

The distractions of Italy and the weakness of the emperor concurred at this time to advance the temporal power of the papacy to a pitch it never had attained before; and even its enemies contributed to its greatness[a]. Italy then contained two different armies; but both united in the same view, which was that of plunder; and both, finding no other object, had marked out the church's patrimony as their prey. One of those armies, and the most considerable, had been bred up under Sforza; the other under Brachio. The former was commanded by Sforza's son, and the latter by Brachio's disciple Picinino, and his nephew Fortebracio. The princes and states of Italy knew that both armies subsisted by rapine; yet they durst disoblige either of them; but the Florentines and the duke of Milan had the courage to make peace with each other. By this treaty, the former were put in possession of all that their enemies had conquered from them in the Pisan, the Volterran, and the Arezzian territories, while they, on the other hand, surrendered all the acquisitions they had made in the Lucquese. This peace was of solid advantage to the Florentines, as it restored them to a state of independency both upon the emperor and the pope. The former, during his stay in Italy, had altered his political system. He had broken with the duke of Milan, and was reconciled to the Venetians; and, notwithstanding the contumelies with which the Florentines had treated him, he courted their friendship. They were so far from repaying him the com-

[a] Machiavel, lib. v.

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pliment, that, though he earnestly intreated it as a favour, they refused to admit him into Florence, when he was upon his return to Germany.

Progress of the war in Romagna.

When Sigismund left Italy, Sforza and Fortebracio at once fell upon the dominions of the church; and, both of them being mercenaries, they had different objects in view. Sforza invaded the marquisate of Ancona, while Picinino attacked Rome. The reader can scarce conceive in what horror pontifical power was then held in Italy. The Romans no the sooner perceived that they were in danger of a war, on the pope's account, than they drove him out of Rome, and he retired to Florence. Here he entered into a treaty with Sforza, to whom he granted the marquisate of Ancona; but so much was his holiness despised by Sforza, that he dated all the leases and grants he made in the marquisate from his own treasury, in spite of St. Peter and St. Paul[b]. He then compelled the pope to make him gonfalonier of the church, by virtue of which office he possessed all the executive power of government within the papal dominions. Nicholas wisely complied, and obtained his ends, by setting Sforza and Fortebracio at variance. The former inlisted himself under the pope's banners; the latter proceeded in making conquests upon the church-patrimony: but all their operations in the main, by a strange fatality, tended to agrandize the papacy. Sforza grew jealous of Fortebracio; and the Bolognese, again throwing off their dependence upon the pope, implored the protection of the duke of Milan. The duke chose pacific measures, and prevailed with both parties to conclude a truce, which was but short-lived; for Battista de Canneto, making himself master of Bologna, applied to the duke of Milan for protection, while the pope invoked the aid of the Florentines and the Venetians. Both parties furnished the succours required. Picinino was the Milanese general, and Guatamelata commanded the armies of Florence and Venice, having under him Nicolo Tolentino as his lieutenant-general.

The Florentines defeated.

A battle was fought near Imola, in which the Venetians, and Florentines were defeated; and Tolentino, being taken, was sent prisoner to Milan, where soon after he died. The duke of Milan, after having obtained this victory, seemed to give over all thoughts of war; and the pope, with his allies, found means to bring Sforza into their interest, and prevailed with him to accept the command of their armies. He quickly changed the scale o war in favour of his holiness, who now prevailed over the stubborn Romans, and they submitted to a governor appointed by his holiness. Fortebracio, however, remained

[b] Machiavel, lib. v.

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the irreconcileable enemy of the Roman ſee. He was in poſſeſſion of Tivoli, Monteſiaſcone, Caſtello, and Aſſiſi; but, being defeated by Sforza, he ſhut himſelf up in the latter place, where he was beſieged. The duke of Milan's view was to preſerve Fortebracio, as a uſeful check upon the pope and his allies: he therefore ordered Picinino to march through the Romagna into Tuſcany, a motion which obliged Sforza to raiſe the ſiege of Aſſiſi, and to advance towards Forli, where Picinino lay, leaving the care of the war in Ancona to his brother Leone, who was entirely defeated by Fortebracio. Sforza, afraid of being ſtript of all his poſſeſſions, returned to Ancona, and, in his turn, defeated and took priſoner Fortebracio, who ſoon after died of his wounds.

Progreſs of Sforza.

This victory, obtained by Sforza, entirely altered the face of affairs in Italy. All the towns that had been taken from the pope by Fortebracio, reverted to the Holy See; and even the duke of Milan was obliged to have recourſe to Nicolo d'Eſte marquis of Ferrara's mediation, to obtain a peace from his holineſs, which was granted him upon condition of recalling his troops out of Tuſcany and the Romagna, and reſtoring all he had taken from the church. Battiſta Canneto, no longer able to ſupport himſelf in Bologna, was now driven out of that city by Bentivoglio, and the pope recovered full poſſeſſion of the city.

Alterations in Florence.

Though the Florentines and their allies were thus ſucceſsful, yet it is certain that the high ſpirit of liberty, which had diſtinguiſhed the commonwealth of Florence, had now ſubſided in that ſtate and city. Tired with perpetual ſtruggles of adverſe factions for power, the citizens no longer ſtuck to their conſtitution, and this threw into the hands of Coſimo de Medici more power than the ſubject of a republic ought to poſſeſs. Severity became neceſſary to his party; for they had no other means of ſafety. New confiſcations, confinements, and baniſhments, every day took place; and even ſanguinary meaſures, unuſual amongſt the Florentines, were purſued. Bernardo Guadagni, the gonfalonier, who had baniſhed Coſimo, and four citizens of his party, were beheaded. Zanobi Belfratelli and Coſimo Barbadori took refuge in the Venetian ſtate; but ſo great was the reſpect paid to Coſimo de Medici by all the powers of Italy at this time, that the Venetians ſent them home priſoners, and they were put to death. Machiavel[c] is inclined to think, that the Veneti-

[c] Machiavel, ubi ſupra.

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ans were guilty of this breach of honour and hospitality, that they might inflame and perpetuate the Florentine factions, as being most conducive to their own security

Power of the Medici.

Florence by those examples of severity, seemed to be united; but it was an union not founded on the principles of her constitution. Cosimo, however, endeavoured to heal the wounds of his country, by recalling all exiles who were willing to be reconciled to the state, and who had not sworn to his and his party's destruction. The powerful family of the Alberti, in particular, was restored. Almost all the nobility submitted to be ranked with the other citizens; and the estates of the exiles, who had lately been banished, were sold at public auction. In the choice of magistrates, none were admitted but such as were devoted to the Medicean interest; and those who were appointed to make the alterations, together with the old senate or magistrates, were impowered to create the new. A new criminal court was instituted of eight persons, invested with the power of life and death: and so jealous was the government of the Albizi faction, that a public act passed, decreeing, that no repeal of confiscation or banishment should take place, unless thirty-four out of the thirty-seven members, of which the senate was composed, should consent. All correspondence with the exiles was at the same time rendered penal; and the ruling party went so far as to punish not only words and actions, but intimations by signs, if they imagined they tended to favour any of the proscribed. In short, no measure of severity or cruelty was wanting to secure the government in power. To make this system the more permanent, new alliances were formed between the Florentines, the pope, the Venetians, and the duke of Milan; and no device that the wit of man could invent was omitted, to give stability to their system.

Revolutions in Naples.

In the mean time, Joan queen of Naples died. She had nominated for her successor Regnier of Anjou; but Alphonso, king of Arragon, disputed the succession. The pope, pretending that Naples belonged to the Holy See, disclaimed both sovereigns, and fought to govern that kingdom by his own deputy. The Neapolitans were divided amongst themselves; and the party that opposed Alphonso applied for protection to the duke of Milan, who was still master of Genoa. The Genoese, from the hatred they had to Alphonso, and in order to secure to themselves the gainful commerce of Naples, fitted out a powerful fleet, which Alphonso engaged near Gaetta; but was totally defeated, and he himself, his two brothers, with the chief officers of

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of his court and army, were taken priſoners, and ſent to Milan.

It was now thought that Philip duke of Milan would make himſelf maſter of Italy; and perhaps the Florentines alone prevented him, he privately ſuggeſting to the Genoeſe how ſcandalous it was for a ſtate ſo powerful as they were, by ſea eſpecially, to live under a foreign yoke; and at the ſame time promiſing to ſupport them to the utmoſt, ſhould they attempt to ſhake it off, it was not long before theſe arguments had deſired the effect. When Alphonſo arrived at Milan, he found means to inſinuate himſelf into Philip's good graces, and gave him ſuch ideas of the character and ambition of the French, as rendered him the irreconcileable enemy of Regnier. To the amazement of all Europe, he generouſly reſtored Alphonſo, his brothers, and friends to their liberty, and ſent them with great magnificence to Genoa; from whence Alphonſo tranſported himſelf to Gaetta, which ſome of his party had ſurpriſed. The Genoeſe conſidered the deliverance of Alphonſo as an inſult upon themſelves. Though Philip's victory was owing to them, he had not deigned to conſult them about the diſpoſal of his royal priſoner. Fanciſco Spinola, a noble Genoeſe, who had been the chief inſtrument of ſubjecting his country to Philip, finding matters quite ripe for a revolt, ſought to repair his fault by reſtoring the independency of Genoa. On the feaſt of St. John the Baptiſt, when Ariſmino, the Milaneſe governor, was about to enter upon his poſt, Spinola, and a few friends, who were in his ſecret, iſſued from his palace, and proclaimed liberty in the market-place. The Genoeſe were ſo unanimous in joining them, that Ariſmino took refuge in the caſtle; and his predeceſſor Obizzino, in endeavouring to reach the palace, where he had two thouſand ſoldiers, was intercepted by the mob, and torn in pieces. The Genoeſe afterwards took the caſtle, and driving all the Milaneſe out of Genoa, regained their independency [a].

A.D. 1435.

In Genoa.

Rinaldo de Albizi was ſtill in exile, and reſided at Milan, where he practiſed upon that duke to declare war againſt the Florentines. He was not without many ſpecious arguments to ſupport his ſolicitation. The intercourſe between the Florentines and the Genoeſe was ſo far from being a ſecret, that, after the latter recovered their liberty, the Florentines not only entered into a new league with them, but ſent a body of troops to their aſſiſtance, and even perſuaded the Venetians to take the ſame ſtep. Notwithſtanding all thoſe provocations, Philip was very loth to engage in

The duke of Milan declares againſt the Florentines.

[a] Corio, Iſtor. di Milan.

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a fresh war, which he foresaw would be attended with expence and difficulty. Before he broke with the Florentines, he sent Picinino with an army to endeavour to retake Genoa; but though he obtained some advantages over the Genoese, he returned unsuccessful. Then the duke of Milan declared war against the Florentines, whom he blamed for the defection of Genoa, and Picinino besieged and took
A.D.1436 Sarzana. Pope Eugene was at this time at Florence; but, upon the breaking out of this new war, he went to Bologna, where he endeavoured to mediate a peace between Philip and the Florentines, in which the Venetians were to be comprehended. Philip would hear of no terms, unless the Florentines would renounce their alliance with the Genoese, which they peremptorily refused to do. The pope then ordered his general Sforza to join the Florentine general Neri de Gino, and to make head against Picinino, who was then at Lucca with a design to reduce Pisa, though he gave out that he was about to march to Naples, to assist the king of Arragon. The two armies, were pretty equal as to numbers, and in all other respects; but it was December before they took the field, and each general knew the other's strength so well, that both lay for some time upon the defensive. At last, Picinino made a movement; but failed in his attempt upon Vico Pisano, though he took some towns and ravaged the open country.

The Florentines remain inactive.

The Florentines, under Sforza and Gino, remained all this while inactive out of complaisance to the pope, who mediated a peace. Picinino attributed their inactivity to their cowardice, and laid siege to Bargo, which lay in the Arezzian territory. This attempt drove the Florentines from their neutrality; and Sforza not only raised the siege of Bargo, but totally defeated Picinino, and fell into the Lucquese territories, with an intent to besiege Lucca[b]. Mean while, the Venetians being called upon by the Florentines, in consequence of the treaty subsisting between them, sent an army under Giovanni Francisco de Gonzaga to invade the Milanese, which obliged Philip to recall Picinino from Tuscany. The Florentines made use of that
A.D.1437. opportunity to recover S. Maria in Castello, and all the other places that had been taken by Picinino. They likewise besieged Camajore, which they took, together with Massa and Sarazana; and, about the beginning of May, Sforza laid siege to Lucca itself. The Lucquese in vain applied to the duke of Milan for assistance; and obtaining none, they

[b] Simonet, Vit. Francisc. Sforz. lib. iii. Rer. Italic. tom. xxi.

abandoned

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abandoned all the open country, which was wasted by the Florentines, and prepared to make a vigorous defence of their capital, which they fortified with new works. The Florentine army, on the other hand, obliged Monte Carlo to surrender, and besieged Uzzano; so that Lucca was reduced to the utmost distress. The Lucquese, in this extremity, applied to the duke of Milan so movingly, and so effectually, that he determined to send a great body of troops to their relief. The Florentines, to divert this storm, had recourse to the Venetians; but the marquis of Mantua, who was in their pay, went over to the service of the duke of Milan; upon which the Venetians threatened to disband their army, if Sforza was not sent to command it. This request reduced the Florentines to great inconveniences. On one hand, they saw the necessity of prosecuting, by way of diversion, the war in Lombardy; on the other, they were bent on the conquest of Lucca, in which they despaired of succeeding without Sforza. The latter had made it one of the conditions of his service, that he should not be obliged to pass the Po; and he kept steady to that resolution, for fear of too much exasperating his future father-in-law the duke of Milan. The Venetians pretended, that without him they must be obliged to evacuate Lombardy; and the Florentines, to keep them in temper, prevailed on Sforza to write them a letter, promising that he would pass the Po. Accordingly, having made dispositions for continuing the siege of Lucca, he went to Lombardy; and when he arrived at Reggio, the Venetians formally requested him to pass the Po, and head their forces, a command which he obstinately declined. Upon this occasion some reproachful language passed between him and Andrea Morosini, who had been sent from Venice to treat with him; but nothing could prevail with Sforza to break with Philip, and he returned to Tuscany, while Morosini went back to Venice, after having made a formal protest, that the Venetians should be no longer obliged to give Sforza pay.

Their difficulties.

The Florentines had foreseen this difficulty, and required him to continue the siege of Lucca, which he absolutely refused to do till the Venetians should pay him his arrears; and the duke of Milan was not wanting to improve the quarrel to his own interest. He promised Sforza, that he should consummate the marriage with his daughter, if he could bring about a peace between the Florentines and the Lucquese; and Sforza, dazzled with so illustrious an alliance, and in hopes of becoming duke of Milan, as Philip had no male issue, intimated that he was resolved to break off

The siege of Lucca raised.

A.D. 1438.

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off all connections with the Florentines, who, he pretended, were unable to support him, now that they were abandoned by the Venetians. In this doubtful state of affairs, Cosimo de Medici, who was now at the head of the Florentine republic, and in high reputation all over Italy, went in person to Venice, where he laid before the senate the dreadful consequences that would necessarily ensue to them, as well as the Florentines, if Philip and Sforza should join their forces. The matter was fully debated; but the Venetians, far from complying with Cosimo, inveighed bitterly against Sforza's ambition and insolence. They pretended, that he was in the Florentine service, and that, therefore, Florence ought to pay him: that they (the Venetians) were resolved to act upon the defensive, and to suffer Sforza to take his course: so that Cosimo was obliged to return without succeeding in his commission. By this time the duke of Milan had brought over to his service Furlano, a general officer, on whom Sforza had great dependence; and this defection served him with a pretext to finish his treaty with Philip; one of the articles of which was, that he should take no farther concern in the affairs either of Tuscany or the Romagna. This reconciliation, in fact, obliged the Florentines to relinquish all their designs against Lucca; and, in April, a peace was concluded between them and the Lucquese, who were declared a free people; but the Florentines remained in possession of Monte Carlo, and the other acquisitions they had made from the Lucquese [e].

They make peace.

Dedication of the cathedral of Florence.

Though the Florentines were thus involved on every side with difficulties and dangers, the magnificence and splendor of the city seemed to increase. The affairs of the pope having obliged him to return to Florence, and their cathedral of St. Reparata being finished, it was now consecrated by his holiness. The pomp of this consecration is celebrated both by Aretin and Machiavel. The pope encouraged this and all other extravagancies of the same kind, that he might impress the emperor of Constantinople and his prelates, who were then at Florence, and treating of an accommodation betwixt the Greek and Latin churches, with high ideas of his grandeur [d]. A council was accordingly indicted at Ferrara, to perfect the reconciliation.

Craft of the duke of Milan and Picinino.

The duke of Milan at this time was intent upon a war with the Venetians. His secret aim was to retake Brescia and Bergamo; but perceiving that he would be opposed by the pope, he secretly treated with Picinino to invade the Romagna; but not as his general, for he was bound up by

[e] Murator. Annal. ad an. 1438. [d] Aretin, p. 265.

his

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his late treaty with Sforza from attacking any part of the papal dominions. The deceit was carried on so well, that Picinino over-reached his holiness, surprised Ravenna, Forli, Imola, and Bologna; subdued all the pope's possessions in the Romagna, and carried the war into Lombardy, where he besieged Brescia. Though all Italy was sensible of the collusion, yet they continued to dissemble, and Philip openly disavowed all that Picinino had done. The Florentines applied for his assistance to Sforza, who durst not venture to disoblige Philip, and therefore remained neutral. Being disappointed in that quarter, they dropt all their resentments against the Venetians, and resolved to join them. In the mean time, they were greatly favoured by Philip's dissimulation, who found daily pretexts for putting off Sforza's marriage with his daughter, though he had sent him thirty thousand florins as part of her fortune. This sum did not satisfy Sforza, who saw into Philip's design, which was to keep him in a state of dependence till he should be enabled, by his great success against the Venetians, to crush him effectually. The Florentines again attempted to make him sensible of the duke's views, and succeeded so far, at last, as to bring him into a confederacy with them and the Venetians. The conditions were, that the Venetians should pay two-thirds of the expence of the war. The remaining third was to be defrayed by the Florentines, and both republics engaged to defend Sforza's estate in Ancona and the Romagna[s]. One difficulty, however, still remained, which was Sforza's absolutely refusing to pass the Po with his army, and to carry the war into the Milanese.

Negociation with Venice.

All they could prevail upon him to do was to put himself at the head of the Venetian troops in the Paduan; but great difficulties even in that particular occurring, Neri di Gino Capponi was sent ambassador to Venice, to concert measures for the preservation of both republics. Capponi was received with all the respect due to a sovereign prince; and having previously had a conference with Sforza, he brought that general to consent to pass the Po, and to march to the relief of Verona and Brescia, which were ready to fall under the power of the duke of Milan. A public audience was granted to Capponi in the Venetian senate, where he made an eloquent speech, magnifying the friendship of Florence to her sister republic; and offered them, in Sforza's name, his own service, at the head of seven thousand horse and two thousand foot, to be em-

[s] Ammurat. Hist. de Firenz. lib. xxi.

ployed

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A.D.1439. ployed where they should think proper. The senators were so overjoyed at this proposal, which was greatly beyond their hopes, that, without waiting for the doge's answer, they embraced Capponi with tears in their eyes as their common deliverer. On the 20th of June, Sforza arrived with his army in the Paduan, and marched to the relief of Verona, which he effected, though opposed by all Picinino's power. He then proceeded to the relief of Brescia; but, an epidemical distemper happening amongst his troops, he was obliged to relinquish that enterprize, a circumstance which gave Picinino great advantages. Sforza, however, refreshing his troops, again advanced to relieve Brescia, and came to a battle with Picinino, whose army was routed near Tenna. But this victory was not improved as it might have been; and Picinino, having joined the remains of his army, surprised Verona, at a time when the Venetians thought him either dead, or ruined beyond all possibility of recovery. Sforza was at Tenna when he received this intelligence; and, without losing a moment's time, he marched to retake Verona, before Picinino could complete the new fortifications he had designed for its defence. Though Sforza undertook this expedition against the advice of all his general officers, yet it succeeded; for, making a feint as if he intended to march to Vicenza, he suddenly turned short, and assaulting the unfinished works of Verona, while Picinino's soldiers were busy about the plunder, he carried the castle of St. Felice, and obliged Picinino and the marquis of Mantua to save themselves by flight, and to rejoin their camp, which still remained before Brescia [h].

The war in Lombardy.

Duke of Milan enraged at the Florentines.

The duke of Milan attributed all his misfortunes to the Florentines, and resolved to be revenged. It was now the dead of winter; and Sforza, having thrown supplies of men and provisions into Brescia, went into quarters at Verona. Many of the exiled Florentines, who formed an army of themselves, were then at the court of Milan. The principles of patriotism were not perhaps so strong within them, as were those of revenge. All of them passionately wished to be restored to their country, and they were supported in their solicitations by Picinino, who pretended to be executor to Braccio, and sought to dispossess Sforza in his absence. But this scheme could not be effected without a war; and so great was the duke's caution, that he would not declare himself on that head at this juncture. Picinino assured him, that the relief of Brescia was impracticable;

[h] Simonet, Vit. Francisci Sfort. lib. v. tom. xxi. Rer. Ital.

and

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and that the ſiege might continue, though he ſhould be ſent with an army into Tuſcany; that, as ſoon as he ſhould enter it, the Florentines would be conſtrained either to ſubmit to his will, or to recall Sforza; in either of which caſes he ſhould obtain a victory. The exiles gave the duke the ſtrongeſt aſſurances, that the people of Florence, exaſperated by taxes and tyrants, would declare unanimouſly for him, ſo ſoon as his troops ſhould approach the city; and that if he marched by the Caſantine, it would meet with no oppoſition. The duke, at laſt, ſeemed to be determined; and the rather as he knew that Giovanni Vitteleſchi Cornettano, firſt apoſtolic notary, then biſhop of Recanati, patriarch of Alexandria, and cardinal of Florence, who commanded the pope's armies, were he had more power than the pope himſelf, was their enemy, on account of their having formerly baniſhed Rinaldo, while he was under the pope's protection. He was encouraged likewiſe by a coldneſs between the Venetians and Sforza. Notwithſtanding the bitter inclemency of the ſeaſon, they were perpetually importuning him to employ his whole force in the relief of Breſcia, which he abſolutely refuſed to undertake till the ſpring, when he could be aſſiſted with a fleet.

Their craft.

The Florentines were no ſtrangers to what was in agitation againſt them, and began to reflect that the Venetians had reaped the benefit of all they had done in Lombardy. They imagined that Picinino never would have abandoned the ſiege of Breſcia, which was upon the point of ſurrendering, to march into Tuſcany, unleſs he had been ſure not only of being aſſiſted by the army of the church, but of being joined by a party with whom he had correſpondence in Florence. But their fears of Vitteleſchi were ſoon quieted. We have ſeveral times taken notice of the excellent intelligence with which the Florentines always were furniſhed; and, like all other ſtates, they ſometimes employed means not ſtrictly juſtifiable, particularly by ſpies and agents, who had the art of intercepting and inſpecting letters. Some of thoſe ſpies intercepted certain letters at Monte Pulciano, a town in the Sienneſe, written in cypher by Vitteleſchi to Picinino, which the Florentines ſent to the pope. His holineſs, who knew nothing of this correſpondence [1], not able to decypher the letters, and jealous of the patriarch's great power in the army, reſolved to deſtroy him. To do it the more ſecurely, he communicated his intention to Antonio Redo of Padua, governor of the

[1] Machiavel, lib. v.

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castle of St. Angelo, whom he ordered to arrest the patriarch with the first opportunity. He was accordingly secured while he was conversing with Antonio upon the draw-bridge of the castle. It was in vain for Antonio to endeavour to soothe his prisoner under his reverse of fortune; for Vitteleschi, forseeing his fate, died in a short time of fear and vexation [k] (B). Though we have given this important incident, as related by Machiavel, yet it seems, from the whole complexion of it, to have been a contrivance of the Florentines to work upon the pope's fears; or, which is more probable, a collusion between them and his holiness, who, though he durst not avow it in the patriarch's time, was the friend of Florence.

Death of Vitteleschi.

A.D. 1440. The death of Vitteleschi did not quiet the apprehensions of the Florentines on account of Picinino, who was then on his march. The pope, being now freed from his master, could not behold that general advancing to Tuscany with indifference. He, therefore, engaged in a league with the Florentines and Venetians, promising to hold in readiness four thousand horse and two thousand foot, for the defence of the Florentine dominions. Nothing now remained for the safety of the Florentines, but to make up the breach between Sforza and the Venetians. For this purpose they deputed to Venice Neri di Gino Capponi and Giuliano d'Avanzati. While they were on the road, they understood that Picinino had passed the Po with six thousand horse; and on their arrival at Venice, they found that senate in a state of despondency, occasioned by the danger of Brescia which had not been relieved. Capponi, therefore, as he had been instructed, set out for Verona, to confer with Sforza on that head. The latter gave him many military reasons why it was impracticable to relieve Brescia at that season; but, after several conferences, at which the Venetian deputies likewise assisted, it was agreed, that Sforza should receive eighty thousand ducats, and each of the soldiers a gratification of forty, if he would immediately take the field, so as to oblige the duke of Milan to recall Picinino. The Venetians, who both hated and feared Sforza, durst not dispute those terms; but they trifled egregiously in fulfilling them, and a new scene opened in Tuscany.

A treaty of peace.

[k] Ammurat. Hist. de Firenz. lib. xxi.

(B) Bonincontro, in his Annals, says, Vitteleschi stood upon his defence, and that he was supposed to be afterwards taken off by poison.

Picinino,

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Picinino, having passed the Po, marched towards the Romagna, where he was joined by the Malatesta family, upon whose friendship both the Florentines and Venetians had great dependence; and the latter were afraid that their general Orsino, who lay on the frontiers of the Romagna with an army, should be defeated. This desertion of the Malatestas alarmed Sforza so much for his own dominions in the marquisate of Ancona, that he repaired to Venice, where he told the senate, in a full assembly, that their only course now was to transfer the seat of war to Tuscany; declaring, at the same time, that as he came into Lombardy as a sovereign prince, he was determined not to leave it as a private subject. This proposal was strenuously opposed by the senate; and all that either party could be brought to consent to, was to wait for a few days, till it should be known what turn affairs would take in Tuscany and the Romagna, and how the pope was disposed towards his new allies. Intelligence soon came, that the pope still continued steady in the league, that Orsino had retired with his army to Tuscany, and that the Malatesta family had, in fact, been forced into their connections with Picinino. Sforza's apprehensions were calmed by these accounts, and he consented that Capponi should return to Tuscany with fifteen hundred horse of his army; but engaged him at the same time to let him know of Picinino's progress, promising, in case of danger, to leave all other concerns, and march against that enterprising leader. *War renewed in Tuscany.*

Picinino, having settled his affairs in the Romagna, intended to force his way into Tuscany over the Appennines, and by the valley of Montone; but he found the passes so well guarded by Nicolo de Pisa, that he failed in his attempt. He therefore turned off towards Maraddi, another pass of the Appennines, which was guarded by Orlandini, a Florentine knight, whom he knew to be a coward. The pass, though not fortified, was defensible against all Picinino's force, and the inhabitants were willing and brave; but the governor no sooner heard of Picinino's approach, than he withdrew to Burgo St. Lorenzo: so that Picinino entered the pass without resistance, and marched directly towards the valley of Mugelli, where he took some forts, and besieged Monte Pulciano. During this siege, he sent out parties, who over-ran and plundered the whole neighbouring country, and carried their incursions to within three miles of Florence itself. The Florentines, being now assured of support, were not so much alarmed as they usually had been with their danger. Their internal dissensions and jealousies had been quieted by the prudence and *Florence attacked by Picinino.*

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credit of Cosimo de Medici, who was beloved by all parties in the state. They knew the pope's auxiliaries were on their march, and the detachment under Capponi had already arrived at Florence. His arrival gave great spirit to the citizens; and as he was known to be an able officer, they committed to him the defence of their capital. He soon raised an army, with which he retook Remoli from Picinino, whose quarters he likewise straitened so much, that he was obliged to remove to a greater distance from Florence.

Picinino, when he carried his arms into Tuscany, had great dependence upon an insurrection in Florence, of which he had assurances from the Tuscan exiles. Being disappointed in this hope, he resolved, if possible, to draw Capponi to a battle. Francesco, count of Poppi, who held considerable commands under the Florentines, had, from the affection he bore to Rinaldo de Albizi, deserted them, and joined Picinino as soon as he entered Tuscany. By his advice, Picinino marched into the Casantine, where he took Bibienna and Romena, and besieged the castle of St. Nicholas, which stands on the confines of the Casantine and the vale of Arno. This castle, which was strong, made so good a defence, that the Florentines had time to draw together three thousand horse, the command of which they gave to Orsino, under whom Papponi and Bernardo de Medici served as officers. The castle of St. Nicolas had now held out about thirty days, and messengers were sent from the garrison to the Florentine generals to implore their relief. The generals, after reconnoitring the situation of the place, and the dispositions of the enemy, judged that the attempt was impracticable; and having highly commended the fidelity of the inhabitants, gave them leave to surrender, which they did on the thirty-second day of the siege.

His injudicious proceeding.

Machiavel[1] is of opinion, that Picinino's marching to the Casantine was the ruin of his expedition, and that he would have succeeded much better, had he continued the seat of war near Florence, where the citizens would have been soon tired of hostilities. But he was over-persuaded by count Poppi, who had private views of revenge to gratify. After having reduced the castle of St. Nicholas, Picinino took Rassina and Chiusi; and the count endeavoured to persuade him to remain in that country; but it was so rocky, that Picinino dryly told him his horses could not eat stones; and therefore he fell back to Borgo St. Sepolchro, in hope of making himself master of Citta di Castello;

[1] Machiavel. lib. v.

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ſtello; but in this view he failed, the inhabitants being in ſtrict friendſhip with the Florentines. He made the like attempt upon the Perugians, and actually entered Perugia, where the pope had a legate. The citizens treated him with civility, though he failed in his negociation; but he extorted from the inhabitants a contribution of eight thouſand crowns. His next attempt was upon Cortona, then in the poſſeſſion of the Florentines; and he formed a party in the city, which was to be delivered up to him in the night. The conſpiracy, however, was diſcovered to Bartolomeo Senſo, one of the citizens, and defeated; ſo that Picinino, who had advanced to the gate, was obliged to return to his quarters.

While Picinino was proceeding thus ſucceſsfully in Tuſcany and the Romagna, matters in Lombardy did not wear a more favourable aſpect for the duke of Milan. Sforza, perceiving his own dominions were out of danger, early in the ſpring made diſpoſitions for raiſing the ſiege of Breſcia. Being furniſhed by the Venetians with ſhipping, he entered the lakes that ſurrounded it, where he defeated the Milaneſe fleet, and retook all the neighbouring caſtles, which had been garriſoned by Philip, and this ſucceſs obliged his land troops to withdraw. Thus Breſcia, after a long ſiege, was relieved. The Milaneſe army retreated to Soncino on the Oglio, from whence they were driven by Sforza to Cremona, where the duke of Milan made a ſtand; and in the mean time he ſent poſitive orders for Picinino to evacuate Tuſcany, and join him as ſoon as poſſible.

Breſcia relieved.

According to the beſt accounts [m], the city of Florence was then under an excellent government. The fear of Picinino had driven all the country people into their capital; ſo that a ſcarcity of proviſions was dreaded, which might have brought on mutinies and revolts. The wiſer part of the Florentines, however, uniting under Coſimo, a moſt excellent choice was made of the ten field-deputies, now called the council of ten; and Aretin, the hiſtorian, was continued for two years in that ſtation. By the time that Picinino received the duke of Milan's orders for his return to Lombardy, the Florentine army was complete, by the junction of the troops of their allies. Their own force amounted to four thouſand foot, and the horſe which were brought out of Lombardy were commanded by Micheletto Attendolo, as the infantry were by Orſino. They were joined by two thouſand of the pope's cavalry at Arezzo; and their whole army, being in high ſpirits, advanced to

Diſturbances at Florence.

[m] Aretin, p. 266. Machiavel. lib. v.

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Anghiari, Capponi having the chief command. While they lay at Anghiari, which is a castle seated at the foot of the mountains dividing the vales of Tevere and Chiana, the magistrates of Florence received intelligence of Picinino's being recalled, together with Sforza's successes; and sent orders to their deputies not to hazard a battle, as they might gain all their ends without bloodshed. The Florentine exiles came to the knowlege of these orders, and informing Picinino of them, persuaded him that the Florentine army, thinking themselves perfectly secure, might be easily surprised, and that he had it now in his power to retrieve all his past disappointments by a glorious victory. Picinino believed all they said, and prevailed with the people of Borgo St. Sepolchro to join him with between two and three thousand men, in hopes of sharing in his spoils. According to Machiavel [a], this plan of surprize was very near succeding; but Aretin [b], perhaps for private reasons, conceals the circumstances.

Picinino defeated.

The Florentine army lay encamped on a fine level ground under the walls of Anghiari, and that of Picinino advanced with the utmost silence and secrecy between Borgo St. Sepolchro and Citta di Castello. His approach was not perceived till Micheletto, discovering a great dust, gave the alarm; and it was with the utmost difficulty that he and the other general officers could assemble their troops, which were carelesly dispersed through the fields, or encamped without order or regularity. They got, however, under arms before Picinino, whose men were terribly fatigued by the heat and length of the march, could attack them. Micheletto commanded the van of the Florentine army, and marched down to dispute a bridge over which the enemy were obliged to pass. His promptness and presence of mind probably saved the Florentine army, because he held the enemy in play till the other generals drew up a line of infantry on each of his flanks. Micheletto repelled the first charge; but it was renewed with so much fury by Picinino in person, that the other was driven from the bridge to the foot of the hill on which Anghiari stands. But Picinino's men, in the pursuit, were flanked by the Florentine infantry, who plied them from their cross-bows; so that Picinino was repulsed to the bridge, where the dispute continued very sharp for two hours; during which it had been lost and won several times by both parties: but Picinino's men were obliged to advance through a defile, and could only act in front; a circum-

[a] Machiavel. lib. v. [b] Aretin, ubi supra.

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lance that gave the victory to the Florentines; for the atter making a furious charge, drove the van of their enemies upon their centre, and their centre falling back on heir rear, their whole army fell into disorder, and a total out ensued, most of them flying towards Borgo St. Sepolhro. The Florentines were in much better condition than heir enemies, who had not now strength for flying, and vere taken prisoners almost without resistance, not above one thousand of them, and those too horse, with Picinino t their head, escaping to Borgo. The loss, however, hough the dispute lasted four hours, did not exceed one nan, who fell from his horse, and was trod to death. The easons why the victory was so bloodless, were, first, the lmost impenetrable armour in which the troops on both des were cased; and, secondly, the avarice of the Florentine army, which was composed of mercenaries, who ound their account in the ransom of the prisoners, and herefore made as many as they could. Two thousand two undred of the inhabitants of Borgo St. Sepolchro were aken, and put to ransom; so that the booty made by the lorentine army, in men, horses, money, and baggage, as very considerable [p].

Had the Florentines followed their blow, they might ave taken Borgo St. Sepolchro, while Picinino was in it; t their avarice was such, that they refused to proceed on y other service till they had secured their booty and their risoners in Arezzo. *Bad discipline of the Florentines.*

Picinino laid hold of that opportunity to escape with the mains of his army from Borgo, and he was followed by l the Florentine exiles, who, seeing their hopes of rerning to their country now at an end, dispersed themlves into different places and countries. Rinaldo de Alzi retired to Ancona, and from thence visited the sepulre of Jesus Christ at Jerusalem. Upon his return from ence, he was so fortunate, says Machiavel, as to die on e least unhappy day of all his exile, which was that of s daughter's marriage. *Death of Rinaldo.*

Upon the return of the Florentine troops from Arezzo, ey presented themselves before Borgo; the inhabitants of hich offered to surrender upon terms, which were refus-. The legate of the Holy See, to whom the town beged, apprehending that the Florentines intended to make it their own, interposed, and thereby frustrated eir design. Mean while the latter were at a loss to know *War in the Casantine.*

[p] Ammurat. Hist. di Firenz. lib. ii. [q] Machiavel. delle stor. lib. iv.

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the route that Picinino had taken, some affirming that he had gone to Rome, and others that he had fled to Ancona. Upon this uncertainty the Florentine army divided: one party was appointed to march under Bernardo de Medici to Perugia, as the most proper station for succouring the dominions of his holiness, or of Sforza, should either of them be attacked. The other division was sent into the Casantine, under the command of Capponi, who soon re took Rassina, Bibienna, Prato, Vecchio, and Romena. Capponi then laid siege to Poppi, where the count was. The place was strong, and might have made a vigorous defence, had it not been disfurnished of all its provisions and necessaries to supply Picinino's army. After the siege was formed, the count offered to capitulate; but so exasperated were the Florentines at his conduct, that he could obtain no terms but the liberty of departing with his wife, children, and portable effects, leaving the Florentines in possession of all his estates.

The count thought those terms extremely hard, and demanded a parley with Capponi upon a bridge over the Arno, which was granted, and there he made a fruitless speech to move the conqueror's compassion; the count with great indignation, submitted to his fate, and thus lost an estate which had been transmitted from father to son for four hundred years.

The war continues in Tuscany.

The victory of Anghiari did vast service to the Florentines, because it preserved their independency; but was of no farther prejudice to the duke of Milan than obliging him to ransom his soldiers and remount his cavalry. The Florentine soldiery were enriched by it; but no advantage accrued thereby to the state. Thus, as Machiavel[a] well observes, a general, or a prince, had it always in his power to replace, with ready money, the arms and horse he had lost, and, in a very short time, to appear in the field as formidable as ever. The conquerors, as well as the conquered, were obliged to make fresh demands of money upon their subjects; the former to continue and improve the advantages they had obtained; and the latter to repair the losses they had suffered.

Danger of the duke of Milan.

Picinino, after his defeat at Anghiari, in a few weeks was stronger in the field than he had been at the beginning of the campaign, and this circumstance gave a new turn to the affairs of Lombardy. The duke of Milan, after his retreat to Cremona, was so pressed by Sforza, that he was obliged to employ Nicholas d'Este, prince of Ferrara, to

[a] Machiavel. lib. vi.

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mediate a peace, not so much with the Venetians, as with their general. D'Este accordingly repaired to Peschiera, where Sforza then was, and laid before him the consequences of the duke of Milan's being crushed by the Venetians and the Florentines, who, when they had obtained their ends of him, would disregard Sforza, and reduce him to their own terms. He then, in the duke's name, offered to renew the treaty of marriage between his daughter and Sforza; and declared that the young lady should be sent to Ferrara, where he might espouse her as soon as the peace was finished.

A treaty of peace.

Sforza knew that a great deal of what the prince had said was true; but he was too well acquainted with the duke to trust him. He observed, that he had been so often baffled and disappointed in the marriage, that he could rely on no proposal of that kind; but that if the duke would conclude a peace with the Florentines and the Venetians, who were equally desirous of it as he was, he would conduct himself in that, and all other affairs, as his friends should advise him. Notwithstanding this unpromising answer, d'Este's negociation had great effects in the duke of Milan's favour. It revived the secret ambition Sforza had always entertained of becoming one day duke of Milan, and made him act more cooly against Philip. The Venetians, on the other hand, could not bear to see their general negociate a separate treaty with their enemy, and they grew backward in furnishing him with supplies for the war; thus the time of action passed over without any thing remarkable being done in the field in Lombardy; and Picinino, arriving there in the beginning of winter, all the armies retired into winter-quarters. Sforza's went into the Veronese, the duke of Milan's into the Cremonese, that of Florence returned to Tuscany, and that of the pope into the Romagna.

Aversion of the Italians to the pope.

It can scarce be conceived how averse the people of Italy still were to the temporal government of the pope. The inhabitants of Bologna and Forli had submitted to Picinino, who bestowed the government of them upon his own son. After the battle of Anghiari, his holiness attempted to reduce them; but they were so bravely defended by young Picinino, that he failed in his purpose. The inhabitants of Ravenna, however, alarmed at the neighbourhood of the pope's army, and dreading to fall again under his power, persuaded Ostasio of Polenta, who was their lord, to consent to surrender their city and territory to the Venetians, who, fearing that so noble a prize might be retaken from them, sent Ostasio and his son prisoners to

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Candia, where they died. Neither were the Florentines wholly without their indemnifications for the expences they had sustained by the war; for his holiness found his finances so exhausted, that he sold to them the town of Borgo St. Sepolchro, for the small consideration of twenty-five thousand ducats.

War renewed in Lombardy.

The face of affairs was now changed in Lombardy. Upon the return of Picinino, the duke of Milan, who had taken care to ransom all his soldiers who had been made prisoners at the battle of Anghiari, soon remounted his cavalry, dropt all farther mention of peace, and, though it was yet winter, put Picinino in a condition to make a better figure in the field than ever. The Venetians, on the other hand, intent upon new acquisitions, and still jealous of Sforza, had neglected the war in Lombardy; and Sforza was obliged to go in person to Venice, to concert with the senate the operations of the ensuing campaign. While he was there, Ciarpellone, one of his best officers, entered into the duke of Milan's service; and Picinino, passing the Adda, took possession of a large tract of country near Brescia, and, at the same time, surprised and carried off two thousand of Sforza's horses. This disaster obliged Sforza to break off his conferences at Venice; but he first prevailed with the Venetians to recall their troops from Tuscany, and to give the command of them to his kinsman Michelletto.

By this time Picinino returned to winter-quarters; but in the spring he besieged Cignano, a fortress about twelve miles from Brescia. Sforza marched to relieve it, and at the same time besieged Martinengo. Both generals, on this occasion, displayed all the art of war then in use; but the fortune of Picinino prevailed; for, leaving Cignano, he laid siege to Bergamo, while Sforza was before Martinengo, which was well provided for a defence; but Picinino gained a post which cut Sforza off from all his provisions, and was at the same time impregnable, so that Sforza's army was more effectually besieged than Martinengo was by him; and in all appearance they were on the eve of being obliged in a few days to surrender prisoners of war.

Nothing can give us a better idea of the spirit of the mercenaries of that age than Picinino's conduct on this occasion. Having made such dispositions that he thought it was impossible for Sforza and his army to escape, he sent to acquaint the duke of Milan that it was now in his (Picinino's) power, to make him master of all Lombardy; but that, having served him a long time in the field, he had not gained for himself so much earth as would bury him;

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him; that, as the victory was certain, so should the reward be, and therefore he demanded the city and territory of Piacenza, where he might repose himself after his labours. This insolent message induced the duke of Milan, in good earnest, to treat with Sforza. He sent to him Antonio Guido Buono of Fortona, and offered instantly to conclude the marriage between him and his daughter, and to give in dower with her the city of Cremona, with other advantageous terms, both for him and the Venetians. These were readily embraced, and the treaty was privately agreed to by all parties. Then the duke of Milan sent a positive order for Picinino to make a truce with Sforza for a year. Picinino, alarmed and confounded by this order, made such difficulties to obey it, that the duke was obliged to threaten to withdraw from him his protection, and to give him up either to his own soldiers, or his enemies. Picinino thus finding the duke resolute, obeyed, but with the utmost reluctance; Sforza's marriage with Biancha, the duke's daughter, was celebrated; and all the other articles of the peace were executed [r].

Sforza marries the duke of Milan's daughter.

While peace was thus restored to Lombardy, a new war broke out in the kingdom of Naples, where Alphonso, who had prevailed over his antagonist Regnier, seized upon Benevento, and all Sforza's estates. Regnier, who still held the city of Naples, invited Sforza to join him, while Alphonso earnestly applied to his former ally the duke of Milan, to prevail with him to give Sforza such a diversion, as that he might be of no service to Regnier. The duke, notwithstanding the late peace concluded in Lombardy, entered into Alphonso's views, by prevailing with the pope to attempt to retake the estates which had been dismembered from the church's patrimony by Sforza. Those estates had again and again been confirmed to Sforza by the popes, though he made little account of their authority. Pope Eugene, encouraged by the duke of Milan, who sent Picinino and his army to his assistance, took the field, and began hostilities against Sforza's dominions in the marquisate of Ancona. Sforza, being thus obliged to march to the relief of his own dominions. Alphonso took Naples, and forced his competitor to take refuge at Florence, where he was kindly received, and from whence he went to Marseilles. Picinino, and the pope's troops, prevailing against Sforza in the marquisate, he was obliged to apply to the Florentines and the Venetians for assistance. Annibal Bentivoglio of Bologna, some time before this period, had

A.D. 1441.

Peace ratified.

[r] Simonet, Vita Francisc. Sfort. tom xxi. Rer. Italic.

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solicited assistance from the Florentines against Picinino, and they had favoured his request, so that they could not immediately return an answer to Sforza, who represented to them, that the liberties of all Italy were on the point of being swallowed up by three great powers; the duke of Milan, the pope, and the king of Naples. This consideration, and the success of Bentivoglio against Picinino, determined them to assist Sforza; but, if possible, without breaking with the duke of Milan, who had no farther concern in the war than to obtain the quiet possession of the kingdom of Naples for Alphonso, which aim was now effected. The Florentines, therefore sent a deputation, frankly telling the duke, that they intended to assist his son-in-law; but requesting him, at the same time, to renew his league with them. The duke not only readily agreed to this proposal, but prevailed with Alphonso to desist from all hostilities in Ancona, and retire to Naples; while the Florentines furnished Sforza with the assistance he required.

War in Tuscany.

It is certain, from the prodigious success of the Florentines, in dissipating or disappointing the powerful confederacies formed against them, that their internal government, for some time, had been in able hands; but the inconveniences attending all popular establishments began to reappear. Neri di Capponi became so popular by his own great services to the state, and those of his father, who had reduced Pisa, that Cosimo de Medici grew jealous of him, not from any malevolence in his own nature, but because he well knew that two interests of the same authority could not long subsist in a popular state. Baldaccio of Anghiari was then general of the Florentine infantry; a man who, in virtue, courage, and personal qualifications, was second to none in Italy. An intimate friendship, of the most laudable kind, subsisted between him and Capponi; and his credit with the troops was so great, that it was dangerous to proceed against him in the ordinary forms of justice, though his crimes were no other than his abilities and his popularity. Capponi's enemies thought it necessary to humble him, by taking off Baldaccio; and they had a most convenient tool for that purpose in Orlandini, the gonfalonier of the people, the same who had so infamously betrayed the pass of Maraddi to Picinino. Baldaccio, before Orlandini was advanced to that high station, had often bitterly reproached him for his cowardly conduct; and his enemies improved Orlandini's resentment, so as to make him resolve to assassinate Baldaccio. For this purpose he engaged some ruffians, whom he concealed in his apart-

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ments in the palace. Baldaccio, in a day or two after, coming to the piazza as usual, to treat upon some business, was accosted by the gonfalonier, who artfully drew him towards his lodgings, where he was basely assassinated. The barbarity of Baldaccio's enemies was not satisfied with his death; his body was thrown out of one of the windows of the palace, and his head being cut off, was exposed a whole day to the people [s].

Assassination of Baldaccio.

No internal commotion followed the infamous assassination of Baldaccio; so profound, at this time, was the veneration of the Florentines for their legal governors, whose ten years power was now almost expired. But in the year 1444 a new balia was erected, which continued them in their offices, and gave them new powers; by virtue of which they turned out of authority all whom they so much as suspected to be their enemies. Some they imprisoned, and banished others, every thing being now settled according to the mind of the governing party in Florence. They then applied themselves to foreign affairs. Picinino, though abandoned by Alphonso, and no longer countenanced by the duke of Milan, still continued the war in the Romagna; but was defeated by Sforza, through the assistance of the Florentines, and obliged to take refuge in Montecchio. Here he fortified himself so effectually as to bid defiance to Sforza, who, knowing his active genius, applied to the duke of Milan to recall him. Before the duke came to a determination, Picinino had re-assembled his troops, and, by the assistance of Alphonso and the pope, took the field at the head of an army far superior to that of Sforza. Then the duke of Milan sent a message to Picinino, desiring to confer with him in person, which was so well received, that Picinino, leaving the command of his army to his son Francis, posted to Milan. Sforza did not omit that opportunity of attacking Picinino's army, which he entirely defeated, and took Francis prisoner. Picinino, upon the news of this defeat, and perceiving that he was deceived by the duke of Milan, died of vexation and chagrin. In him the hopes of the Braccian forces, between whom, and those of Sforza, all Italy had been so long divided, were extinguished. The scale of war had been long suspended between those two bodies of mercenaries. Sforza, from a mean birth, came to be a considerable prince. Braccio's birth was noble, as were his actions, in which he rivalled Sforza; but he died as a mercenary, and the same rivalship which had subsisted between the first

A.D. 1444.

New regulations in Florence.

A.D. 1445.

Death of Picinino.

[s] Machiavel. lib. vi.

Sforza

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Sforza and Braccio, descended to the second Sforza and Picinino, the companion and inheritor of Braccio's fortunes. It is however evident, that the genius of the younger Sforza had an ascendant over that of Picinino, who was a brave and an able commander, but defective in judgment every where except in action.

A peace concluded.

Upon the death of Picinino, and the defeat of his forces, the pope, not daring to trust to the king of Naples, employed the Florentines to mediate a peace for him with Sforza. Osimo, Recanati, and Fabriano, a village equal to most cities, were yielded to the pope, and Sforza was continued in all his other possessions in the marquisate of Ancona; and thus the peace of Italy seemed to be for some time secured, when it was again disturbed by the Bolognese. Annibal Bentivoglio, who had driven Picinino out of Bologna, formed a league between the Bolognese, the Florentines, and Venetians, at which the duke of Milan was secretly uneasy. Battista Canneschi, the head of a powerful family in the Bolognese, and in alliance, but not in friendship with that of Bentivoglio, knew that the duke of Milan's great ambition was to become master of that city; and Battista engaged to put him in possession of it, by dispatching his rival Bentivoglio, an engagement which he literally performed. He had been promised to be supported by the duke of Milan; and the Venetian and Florentine deputies then residing at Bologna, not knowing how far the conspiracy might extend, confined themselves to their own houses. The Bolognese, however, in general detesting the assassination of Bentivoglio, ran to arms, defeated the Canneschi family and party, drove them out of the city, and, dragging Battista from a corn-chest where he had concealed himself, put him to death, no succours from the duke of Milan having appeared. The Bolognese were now at a loss for a head. They adored the Bentivoglio family; but Annibal had left behind him only a son six years old, and his relations began to quarrel amongst themselves about the government of the city. The count of Poppi, whom we have already mentioned, was then at Bologna; and perceiving how the city was divided, intimated to some of the leading men, that he could furnish them with a leader descended from Annibal Bentivoglio. Upon enquiry, he affirmed that Hercules, the son of Annibal, happening, about twenty years before, to be at Poppi, had begot a son called Santi, whose countenance resembled Hercules so much, that it was a sufficient proof of his original. He added, that Hercules had always acknowleged him to be his, though the mother, who was married, had educated him

Affairs of Bologna.

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him as the son of her husband, who was now dead, and whose name was Agnolo Cascese. The Bolognese, warmly attached to the Bentivoglio family, eagerly embraced the proposal, and sent deputies to the Florentines, in whose possession the count's estates were, to send the young man, who was now about twenty years of age, to take upon him the administration of their affairs. The matter was referred to Cosimo de Medici, and Neri di Capponi; but they proceeded cautiously. The youth was then living with his reputed uncle Antonio Cascese, who being rich and childless, intended to make him his heir; a prospect which the young man thought preferable to his promised greatness. Being sent for to appear before Cosimo and the Bolognese deputies, the latter no sooner saw him than they recognized and almost adored him; but still the youth seemed to be backward as to the proposal. At last, Cosimo taking him aside, talked to him, according to Machiavel[t], in the following terms. "None can in this case advise thee better than thyself, for thou art to make that choice which thou findest thy own soul inclinable to; and if thou be the son of Hercules Bentivoglio, thou wilt dispose thyself to actions worthy that house and family; but if thou be the son of Agnolo Cascese, thou wilt content thyself to stay in Florence, and follow his mean trade of dressing wool." These words aroused the youth to ambition. He resigned himself entirely to Cosimo and Capponi, who persuaded the Florentines to furnish him with dress and equipages suiting the station to which he was called; and he set out for Bologna, where he received the charge of the Bentivoglio family, which he managed with so much prudence, that he lived with honour, and died in peace; a happiness denied to his ancestors.

Ciarpellone put to death.

The duke of Milan, after Pincinino's death being at a loss for a general to command his troops, treated with Ciarpellone before mentioned, to whom he had given some possessions in the Milanese. Sforza had some notice of the negotiation; and when Ciarpellone applied for leave to repair to the Milanese, laid him under arrest, and then put him to death. This incident was far from being displeasing to the Florentines, who were apprehensive of nothing more than of the good understanding between Sforza and the duke of Milan, which last hearing the cause of Ciarpellone's death, resolved to be revenged upon Sforza, whose son-in-law was Gismond Malatesta lord of Rimini.

[t] Machivel, lib. vi.

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The duke duke of Milan applies to the king of Naples.

This Giſmond had pretenſions upon Peſaro and Urbino; the firſt of which Sforza gave to his brother Alexander, and the other to Frederic of Montefeltro, Giſmond's profeſſed enemy. The duke of Milan ſided with Giſmond, and brought the pope and the king of Naples over to the ſame party: Ancona thereby became the ſeat of war; and the Florentines and Venetians favouring Sforza, he ſeized upon all Giſmond's eſtates. On the other hand, the duke attempted to take from Sforza, Cremona and Pontremoli; but failed in both undertakings: the latter being defended by the Florentines, and the former by the Venetians. Francis Picinino then general of the duke of Milan's army; was totally defeated at Caſal by Micheletto the Venetian general. The duke being then blind, aged, and infirm, the Venetians puſhed their conqueſts beyond the Adda to the very gates of Milan. In this unfortunate ſituation of his affairs, the duke applied for aſſiſtance to the king of Naples, who could ſend him no troops without their fighting their way through the Florentine territories, and thoſe of Sforza.

Sforza joins the duke of Milan.

The reader is not to imagine, amidſt all this complication of affairs, that either enmity or friendſhip had the ſmalleſt ſhare in determining the parties. They were all actuated by intereſt; and the balance of power in Italy, was the great aim for which all of them either negotiated or fought. No ſooner were the Venetians victorious than Sforza grew jealous of their greatneſs, and began to liſten to terms of peace with his father-in-law, who, in the moſt moving manner, ſolicited his friendſhip. Sforza was the more diſpoſed to this, as he perceived the Venetians began now to truſt to their own power, and were ſlow in ſupplying him with money. The Florentines, from the like motives, were equally backward; but it muſt be acknowleged that Sforza on this, and indeed on moſt other occaſions, behaved like an able politician. He knew that the great aim of the Venetians was to deprive him of his ſucceſſion to Milan; but, though the duke offered to make him general of all his forces, provided he would leave the ſervice of Venice, and compromiſe affairs with the pope, he ſtill kept on the reſerve with reſpect to his ſucceſſion. The Venetians, ſenſible how extremely advantageous the duke's offers were to Sforza, reminded him of the obligations he lay under to them for preſerving Cremona, and promiſed him Milan if they ſhould conquer it, together with the perpetual command of their armies, if he would continue the war and obſtruct the march of the Neapolitan forces to Lombardy.

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Lombardy. Sforza, after long deliberation on a choice so difficult in its own nature to determine, thought the Venetian offers were too extravagant to be sincere. He therefore hesitated upon his answer; and the Venetians, afraid that he would determine in favour of the duke, attempted to surprise Cremona, but were baffled by Sforza's garrison; upon which he immediately resolved to take part with his father-in-law.

Sforza at that time lay at Cotignola, and was preparing to march to his father-in-law's assistance when he heard of his death, which happened on the last day of August. A.D. 1457. This event threw him into infinite perplexities. Through the backwardness of the Venetians, he was greatly in arrears to his troops, who he was afraid would mutiny. He could not trust the Florentines, whom he knew to be strictly allied with the Venetians, now is declared enemies. He could expect little assistance from the reigning pope, who was Nicholas V. because he was in possession of great part of the church's patrimony; and the king of Naples had always professed himself his implacable adversary. He therefore wisely resolved to depend on his own courage and fortune. He instantly marched into the Bolognese, passed by Modena and Reggio, and offered his service to the Milanese to defend them against the Venetians. The state of Milan was then greatly divided. Some were for converting their government into a republic, resembling that of Florence; some were for submitting to Alphonso, king of Naples; and some for receiving Sforza for their master; while others inclined to the Venetians. These differences were not unfavourable to Sforza's views: he repaired to Cremona, and their received deputies from the Milanese, who offered to make him general of their troops upon the terms he had concluded with the late duke, and to give him Brescia and Verona, as soon as he should conquer the latter.

He dies.

Sforza's difficulties.

Pope Nicholas, upon his accession to the popedom, with a view of making a general peace in Italy, had proposed to the Florentine deputies a congress at Ferrara, to which all the princes and states of Italy should send plenipotentaries. This expedient was agreed to by the Florentines, and their ambassadors, with those from Venice and Milan, repaired to it; but the king of Naples stood out. He had advanced as far as Tivoli to the assistance of the late duke, and threatened to force his way through the Florentine territories. Nevertheless, the congress at Ferrara still went on; and, after many debates, it was agreed, that the duke of Milan should make his choice either of a perpetual peace, or a truce

A congress at Ferrara.

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truce for five years; but the deputies, who were to carry the alternative, found him dead.

Divisions amongst the Milanese.

The regency of Milan, however, would have stood to the agreement; but Lodi and Piacenza, two places of great importance, having submitted to the Venetians after the duke's death, the latter thought that all the Milanese would follow their example, and that they either would force or persuade the rest of the late duke's subjects to submit to their dominion. They were the more encouraged in this hope, because the Florentines, whom they knew to be extremely jealous of the ballance of power in Italy, had at this time sufficient employment in opposing Alphonso's passage through their state. This prince had already made himself master, by a conspiracy, of the castle of Cennima, in the upper vale of Arno; a circumstance which alarmed the Florentines so much, that they immediately appointed their ten field-deputies, and made prepartions for war with so much vigour, that Alphonso marched into the Siennese, in hopes to bring that city over to his interest. The inhabitants, however, were so faithful in their attachments to Florence, that all he could obtain from them was some provision for his army, which they durst not refuse. By this time the Florentines had an army on foot, and retook Cennima. Alphonso, on the other hand, reduced several forts in the Volterran; and from thence marched to the Pisan territories, where he made himself master of some places, by the favour of the counts of Ghirardesca; but he failed in his design upon Campegli, the winter being far advanced, and the place making a brave resistance; so that, after having thrown garrisons into the places he had taken, he went into winter-quarters in the Siennese.

Progress of Alphonso.

He was no sooner retired than the Florentines took the field, in the severest season of the year. Their generals were Frederic lord of Urbino, and Gismond Malatesta; and some differences, that subsisted between them, being reconciled by the prudence of Capponi and Bernardo de Medici, they not only retook all the towns the Florentines had lost in the territories of Pisa and Volterra, but straitened the Nepolitans in their quarters. Spring coming on, both armies received reinforcements; though that of Alphonso, consisting of fifteen thousand men, was by far the strongest. The Florentines marched to Spadaletto, and the Neapolitans to Campegli; but, turning suddenly off, they besieged Piombino, a place of the utmost importance both to Florence and Pisa. This enterprize laid the Florentines under great difficulties: they armed four vessels which they had at Leghorn, and sent them to Piombino, with three hundred

Siege of Piombino.

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hundred men on board; while the main body of their army took poſt at Caldacce, from whence they could harraſs the beſiegers. There they ſuffered great diſtreſs for want of proviſions, while they perceived their enemy's army had plenty of every thing brought them by ſea. They attempted to ſupply themſelves in the ſame manner; but their ſhips were intercepted by Alphonſo's gallies, and two of them taken. This diſappointment raiſed a kind of mutiny in the Florentine army, ſo that many of them deſerted to Alphonſo; and even thoſe that remained refuſed to ſerve longer in a place where they were expoſed to exceſſive heats, without either wine or wholſome water to drink. This circumſtance obliged the generals to move their camp. But Alphonſo's army, though plentifully ſupplied with proviſions, began now to be infected with peſtilential diſeaſes, and a treaty of peace was ſet on foot. The terms demanded by Alphonſo were, that he ſhould be paid fifty thouſand ducats for the expence of the war, and be put in poſſeſſion of Piombino. The Florentines were inclinable to accept theſe terms; when Capponi, arriving at the army, perſuaded them to reject them, and to indemnify the lord of Piombino for the vigorous defence the place had made. When Alphonſo heard of this reſolution, he found himſelf under the neceſſity of ſhamefully raiſing the ſiege, after having loſt two thouſand men before the place; and he retreated firſt to Sienna, and from thence to his own country, menacing to return next ſpring, and to be revenged for the affronts and injuries he had received[c]. Mean while, Sforza brought over to his views young Picinino; and taking the field, marched againſt Pavia. The inhabitants were in no condition to reſiſt him; but had a ſtrong averſion to the Milaneſe government, and therefore offered to give up their city to Sforza, provided he did not ſubject them to the Milaneſe, He would gladly have embraced their offer, and performed the condition; but he had ſome meaſures ſtill to keep with the Milaneſe; and a new power, that of the duke of Savoy, now ſtarted up in Italy, and threatened an alteration in her political ſyſtem. By accepting of the government of Pavia, he was afraid of exaſperating the Milaneſe, ſo as to make them throw themſelves under the protection or government of the Venetians; and if he did not accept of it, there was a party within the place ready to give it up to the duke of Savoy. He thought, however, the conſequence of accepting was preferable to that of refuſing it: he accordingly took poſſeſſion of Pavia,

A.D 1448.

Which it raiſed.

Progreſs of Sforza.

[c] Bonincontr. Annal. tom. xxi. Rer. Italic.

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for which ſtep he apologized to the Milaneſe by urging, tha it was much ſafer for them that he ſhould have it, than tha it ſhould fall into the hands of either the Venetians or th duke of Savoy. This excuſe would not have ſatisfied th Milaneſe, had they not been beſet with other difficul ties, and ſecretly deteſted the Venetians. They ſeeme therefore to take all that Sforza had done in good part, an he continued to head their troops.

Charles of Orleans, nephew to the late duke of Mila by his ſiſter, was a pretender, in right of blood, to tha duchy, and he was abetted by the duke of Savoy and th Genoeſe; but his pretenſions were ſoon quieted by Sforza who was employed againſt him: while the Venetians, ſup ported by a ſtrong party amongſt the Milaneſe themſelves carried on the war with great advantage, being ſtill maſter of Lodi and Piacenza. Sforza, with great difficulty, re took Piacenza; and had the Venetians been willing to giv up Lodi, a peace muſt have enſued: ſo much did the ſmart under the burden of the war, and ſo jealous the were of their general, whom they were obliged to truſt They ſent him an order to beſiege Caravaggio, which, againſ his inclination, he obeyed; and the Venetians, in attempt ing to raiſe the ſiege, received the greateſt defeat they ha ever ſuſtained, not above one thouſand of their horſe, ou of twelve thouſand, eſcaping. After this action, Sforza who, according to Machiavel[a], behaved with great mag nanimity, marched into the Breſcian territory, within tw miles of that city.

The Florentines aſſiſt the the Venetians.

The Venetians, after their defeat at Caravaggio, per ceived that their ſureſt reſource lay in the Florentines. A they aimed at, was to be in a condition to make a tolerabl peace; which they ſoon effected by the freſh levies the made, and the aſſiſtance of two thouſand horſe and on thouſand foot ſent them by the Florentines, who were no unmoleſted by Alphonſo. Their view was to make a ſe parate peace with Sforza, to render him the more odiou to the Milaneſe. Sforza, on the other hand, knowing o what terms he ſtood with the latter, readily came into th propoſal. A treaty was concluded, by which Sforza agree to return to the Venetians all the plunder, priſoners, an places, that had been taken from them in the courſe of th war; while they were to aſſiſt him with twenty-five thou ſand florins a month, four thouſand foot, and two thouſan horſe, till he ſhould have conquered Milan. The news o this treaty arriving at that city, reduced the Milaneſe t

[a] Machiavel, lib. vi.

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such despair, that they sent ambassadors, not to treat with Sforza, but to revile and upbraid him with his conduct. This office they performed in the most bitter manner, denouncing the heaviest imprecations upon him and his posterity for his treachery and ingratitude towards their state. Sforza heard them without any apparent emotion, and recriminated upon them the charge of ingratitude, appealing to Heaven for the rectitude of his conduct. The deputies leaving him, Sforza immediately advanced with his army to Milan, which was defended by the inhabitants under Francis and Jacob, the two sons of Picinino, from their hereditary hatred to Sforza. The Milanese hoped to defend themselves till Sforza and the Venetians should quarrel, an event by no means improbable. Sforza, on the other hand, to keep the Venetians firm to his interest, relinquished to them the fine city of Crema, situated on the river Serchio in the Cremasco, if they could conquer it; and having subdued all the Milanese to the gates of that capital, he formally besieged the city itself.

A peace.

The inhabitants made an attempt upon the humanity of the Venetians, whom they conjured, by all the bonds of liberty and ancient friendship, not to give them up to a tyrant, whose ambition was insatiable, and which, if successful, would prove a scourge to Venice itself. The Venetians were then pressing the siege of Crema, which they resolved to make themselves masters of before they gave the Milanese an explicit answer. They however privately promised them assistance; and having taken Crema, while Sforza's soldiers were plundering the suburbs of Milan, they openly declared their intention to make peace with the Milanese, which they soon did, by promising to defend Milan in the possession of its newly acquired liberty. They next intimated the peace they had made to Sforza, and ordered their troops under him to withdraw from his army, allowing him twenty days to come to a resolution upon his being included in the peace, or not. Sforza, though he had long foreseen it, was shocked at this agreement. He kept the Venetian deputies for two days about his person, without returning them any answer; but at last he pretended a readiness to accede to the peace, and nominated ambassadors to repair to Milan, and ratify the treaty. He gave them, however, secret instructions to raise difficulties, in order to gain time, and not to ratify it at all. We are now to return to the affairs of Florence, which, in the subsequent part of the history, could not have been understood, without relating what had happened in Lombardy.

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Though Florence at this time was neutral in the disputes between the Venetians and the Milanese, yet it was the scene of great intrigue and action. The Turks were then so powerful, that they threatened the extinction of the Greek empire; the head of which, John Paleologus, had promised to submit to the Latin church, provided the western powers would assist him against the infidels. Though this offer was contrary to the sentiments both of his clergy and his people, yet the glory of converting a Greek emperor was too important a circumstance for the pope to disregard. The council of Basil, who declared itself superior to the pope, had voted money and ships for bringing the emperor over to that city, where they intended to settle the reconci-
A.D. 1439 liation. The pope was then at Florence; but he had his emissaries at Basil, who surreptitiously voted, that the emperor should be received at Florence or Ferrara, to which last city the pope had adjourned the assembly. They even broke open the box where the seals of the council lay, and affixed them to this impudent forgery, which they had reduced into the form of a decree. The pope's gallies, being ready before those of the council, repaired to Constantinople with money sufficient for the expences of the emperor; and there they took him on board, with his patriarch, and a few of his clergy, who were willing, for conveniency, to
Arrival of the Greek emperor in Italy. follow his example. The pope received them at Ferrara where, after a few ridiculous disputes, they were reconciled to the Roman church; but neither the emperor nor his clergy kissed the foot of his holiness, or in the least descended from the dignity of their characters.

From Ferrara the pope adjourned the council to Florence as being a nobler scene for his triumph, and there the reconciliation was to be fully and finally completed. According to Aretin [b], no fewer than five hundred Greeks were then at Florence; amongst whom, besides the emperor and the patriarch, were the emperor's brother, many archbishops and bishops, and other persons of the highest distinction and learning. Every thing succeeded as the pope, who was a man of great temper as well as abilities, proposed. The Greek ecclesiastics embraced the opinion of purgatory; and the emperor, the patriarch, and the other prelates, subscribed to the supremacy of the Roman church.

Disputes between Cosmo and Capponi. Scarce was this great transaction finished, when the state of affairs in Lombardy fell under the consideration of the Florentines, and revived the factions in their city. The temporizing conduct of Sforza, who made a truce for a

[b] Aretin, ubi supra.

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month with the Milaneſe, and had withdrawn his troops, deceived both them and the Venetians. The former, no longer oppreſſed by his army, grew indolent and unguarded; and the Venetians, thinking peace as good as concluded, deſiſted from all preparations for continuing the war. Sforza improved this breathing time to his own purpoſes. He recruited and refreſhed his army, and applied to the Florentines for aſſiſtance. His chief reliance was on Coſimo de Medici, who had always proved his friend, and in his greateſt difficulties had ſupplied him out of his private purſe; but when Coſimo propoſed to the magiſtracy that Sforza ſhould be ſupported, he met with great oppoſition. Neri di Capponi was at the head of a powerful party, who declared for aſſiſting the Milaneſe to the utmoſt in preſerving their liberty; obſerving, that it was for the intereſt of Florence that Italy ſhould be divided into as many ſmall ſtates as poſſible. They added, that, if either Sforza or the Venetians ſhould acquire the maſtery of Milan, Florence would then have too powerful a neighbour; but that ſeparately, each might be an uſeful ally.

Coſimo's party thought that Capponi urged theſe reaſons, however ſpecious and indeed ſolid they might be, againſt Sforza, only becauſe he was Coſimo's friend. This ſuppoſition rendered the latter more vigorous in defence of his opinion: he urged, that the Milaneſe were ſo over-run with faction, and ſo imperfect in their ideas of civil government, that, if left to themſelves, they would ſoon forfeit their liberty; and that Sforza was an ally far preferable to the Venetians; that it was more probable that Milan would yield to him than to the Venetians, becauſe he had within t a ſtrong party, and they none; and that the Florentines, by their indeciſion, might forfeit his favour.

Thoſe debates, managed by two citizens of ſuch eminence and abilities kept Florence for ſome time in ſuſpence; nd at laſt the magiſtracy came to a reſolution, favouring of he policy of the times, which was to ſend deputies to forza, who, if they found him powerful and prevalent, ere to agree to grant him all his demands; if he appeared therwiſe, to amuſe him with delays and difficulties. But y this time, both Sforza and the Venetians had taken the eld. Though it was ſtill winter, the Venetians had adanced to the banks of the Adda; from whence they ſent gents to Milan, with mighty promiſes of ſuccour againſt forza, if the inhabitants could be prevailed upon to hold it for a little time. The eldeſt Picinino being dead, the ommand of the Milaneſe garriſon devolved upon his broer Jacob; and during the winter, Sforza had ſeveral ſkir-

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miſhes with the Venetians, who were hated by Pandolfo Malateſta. After many deliberations about the relief of Milan, it was agreed that the Venetians ſhould maintain the poſts they occupied, by which they greatly ſtraightened Sforza's army, which was now in want of forage and proviſions.

Siege of Milan.

In proportion as Sforza himſelf was ſtraightened, he hampered the inhabitants of Milan, till multitudes died of mere want in their ſtreets, and diſcontent and murmurs filled the whole city. At length the populace aſſembling, choſe one Gaſparo da Vimercato for their leader, and broke into the palace of their magiſtrates, where they put to death all who did not ſave themſelves by flight, and tore in pieces Leonard Viniero, the Venetian ambaſſador, whom they looked upon as the main ſpring of all their miſeries. They next began to conſider how they were to proceed. Some were for ſubmitting to the French king, ſome to the king of Naples, and ſome to the duke of Savoy; but ſo inveterate they were againſt Sforza, that none declared in his favour. At laſt Gaſparo, who had gained great authority over the aſſembly, finding them undetermined, propoſed Sforza as maſter of Milan. He proved to his fellow-citizens that their preſent condition was ſuch, that it could admit of no uncertainties or delays; that though Sforza had been their enemy, yet he was a brave man, and the moſt likely perſon in the world to protect them; and that he had been forced by the falſhood and injuſtice of the Venetians, and the other ſtates of Italy, to do all that he had done againſt them. In ſhort, that as it was now evident they muſt part with their liberty, they could not chuſe a better maſter. This ſpeech was received with wonderful applauſe, and the aſſembly were more unanimous in making Sforza their maſter, than they had been in declaring him their enemy. Gaſparo was then ſent as their ambaſſador to give him the invitation; and Milan, on the 26th of February, with the utmoſt joy and magnificence, received Sforza as its ſovereign [c].

A.D. 1450.

State of Italy.

The news of this event reaching Florence, couriers were diſpatched after the deputies, who were now on their road to Sforza's camp, with orders not to treat with him, but to congratulate him upon his acceſſion to the ſovereignty of Milan. Sforza received the Florentine ambaſſadors with demonſtrations of the moſt cordial friendſhip, as coming from the only people in Italy on whom he could rely as his natural allies. Thus Italy was divided into two parties;

[c] Simonett. Vit. Franciſc. Sfort. lib. xxi. tom. 21. Rer. Italic.

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one consisting of the Neapolitans and the Venetians, and the other of the Florentines and the Milanese. Alphonso and the Venetians entered into a formal league, by which it was agreed that he should fall upon the Florentines, and they upon the Milanese. To give some colour of justice to this measure, both Alphonso and the Venetians, who had leagues still subsisting with the Florentines, sent ambassadors to Florence to declare that their league was purely defensive; and yet the Venetians entered complaints which they thought might justify their acting offensively. They accused the Florentines of having given A.D. 1451. passage to Alexander, Sforza's brother, with his troops into Lombardy; and that they had been the means of Sforza's reconciliation with the marquis of Mantua.

Alliance between the Florentines and Sforza.

Cosimo de Medici being by the Florentine senate or magistracy appointed to answer their complaints, reminded the Venetian ambassadors of the vast acquisitions of power and territory their republic had made by the assistance of Florence. He observed, that the matters they complained of were mere trifles; and that, in all events, the Venetians might find their enmity as prejudicial to them, as their friendship had proved advantageous. With this answer the ambassadors departed; but Sforza and the Florentines, knowing their own danger, entered into fresh engagements with each other, and prepared for the worst. The engagements between Alphonso and the Venetians soon began to unfold themselves, and all the subjects of Florence were banished, without any reason assigned, out of the territories of Naples and Venice. Immediately after this step, the Venetians collected together all the exiles of Bologna, which still continued to be governed by Santi Bentivoglio, the firm friend of the Florentines. Their design was to introduce those exiles, and a body of troops by the common sewers, in which scheme they succeeded so far, that they never were discovered till they were in the heart of the city. Santi was awakened out of his sleep by an alarm that the rebels were in possession of Bologna. He was advised to save himself by flight, as the city was thought to be irrecoverably lost; but he bravely faced the danger, put himself at the head of his friends and the well-affected citizens, defeated the conspirators, drove them out of the city, and by his valour fully proved himself to be of the Bentivoglio blood [e].

The Florentines considered this attempt upon Bologna as aimed against them; and prepared for war by levying new

[e] Cronica di Bologna, tom. xviii. Rer. Italic.

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The Florentines enter into war with the king of Naples.

troops, and creating the council of ten field-deputies. Before they proceeded to action they ſent deputies to Rome, Naples, Venice, Milan, and Sienna, which laſt ſtate of late had connected itſelf with the Venetians, to juſtify their conduct, and to complain of the late attempt upon Bologna. The pope was too deeply engaged in controverſies with the council of Baſil to take any part in the quarrel, farther than by giving the deputies good words. Alphonſo, who by this time ſecretly thought the Venetians were becoming too powerful, invented excuſes for having baniſhed the Florentines out of his dominions, and offered paſſports to all thoſe who choſe to return: but, notwithſtanding this fair language, the deputies could eaſily ſee that he harboured reſentment in his heart againſt their country. The Venetians, who in reality at that juncture aſpired to the ſovereignty of all Lombardy, excuſed themſelves, on account of their engagements with Alphonſo, from admitting the Florentine deputies into their territories; and they carried their enmity to the Florentines ſo far as to ſolicit the emperor of Conſtantinople to prohibit their trading in his dominions; but he rejected their requeſt. The Sienneſe afforded the Florentine deputies a courteous reception, becauſe their allies were not yet prepared to ſupport them.

The king of France and the Genoeſe join the Florentines.

The implacable ſpirit the Venetians diſcovered againſt the Florentines, ſerved but to ſtrengthen the connections of the latter with Sforza, who brought the Genoeſe into their alliance, and compromiſed all ancient differences between them and the Florentines. The French king became a party in the ſame league; and his acceſſion to it was proclaimed by the Florentines and their allies with great pomp, throughout all their dominions[f].

The emperor comes to Italy.

The Florentines, thus encouraged and ſtrengthened, refuſed to admit the Venetian ambaſſadors into Florence, where they intended, in conjunction with Alphonſo's miniſter, to juſtify the conduct of their reſpective maſters; and Alphonſo's ambaſſador refuſed to go by himſelf. In the mean time Frederic III. emperor of Germany, arrived in Italy. His buſineſs was to receive the crown of Lombardy from the pope, and to meet Eleanora, the daughter of the king of Portugal, who had been betrothed to him in marriage, and who arriving at Piſa was conducted to Sienna. On the 30th of January, the emperor entered Florence, attended by four hundred horſe, and ſtayed till the 6th of February, receiving from the ſenate all the honours due to his high ſtation; but we know

[f] Machiavel. delle Hiſtor. lib. vi.

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of no particular affairs he tranſacted in Florence. Sforza's eſtabliſhment in Milan was but yet new, nor was he well affected to the emperor; ſo that the latter durſt not venture to repair to Milan, to receive what is called the iron crown, by which the Germanic emperors were crowned kings of Lombardy. The pope, however, crowned him at Rome; and in the following May he and his empreſs returned to Florence, where he was received with the ſame honours as before; and, during this journey, he made Borſi d'Eſte, marquis of Ferrara, duke of Modena and Reggio, as a reward for his ſervices in perſuading the people to grant him the tutelage of young Ladiſlaus, king of Bohemia.

A.D.1452.

Succeſs of Sforza.

In the month of May, the Venetians, and their ally the marquis of Montferrat, entered the Milaneſe at the ſame time; the former with fourteen thouſand horſe and ſix thouſand foot by the way of Lodi, and the latter by that of Aleſſandria. Sforza, whoſe army conſiſted of eighteen thouſand horſe and three thouſand foot, having thrown ſtrong garriſons into Aleſſandria and Lodi, carried the war into the enemies country by deſtroying Breſciano, and taking many inconſiderable places, though without forming any important ſiege: but the marquis of Montferrat was defeated by his troops near Aleſſandria.

The Neapolitans invade Tuſcany, but are baffled.

The Neapolitans invaded Tuſcany with twelve thouſand men, commanded by Ferdinand, eldeſt ſon to Alphonſo, and Frederic of Urbino[s]. The operations of the invaders began by the ſiege of Foiana, in the vale of Chiana; the only defence of which was a pitiful caſtle and a very weak wall, the whole garriſon being no more than two hundred men. Ferdinand, favoured by the Sienneſe, through whoſe country he marched, beſieged this place with all his army, thirty-ſix days before he could take it. The Florentines made uſe of this time to ſtrengthen their garriſons and reinforce their army, whilſt the Neapolitans marched farther into the vale of Chiana, where they were baffled in all the ſieges they attempted. The Florentines at that time had on foot an army of eight thouſand men, under Aſterra of Faenza and Giſmond Malateſta; but perceiving their enemies to be ſo aukward and inexperienced in the field, they kept upon the defenſive, knowing well that their chief towns were in no danger, and that their enemies would waſte themſelves in idle attempts. Ferdinand at laſt laid ſiege to Caſtelma, which lies in the vale of Chiana, within ten miles of Sienna; but though it was a very inconſider-

[s] Machiavel, lib. vi.

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able place by art and nature, he was obliged, after having lain forty-six days before it, shamefully to abandon the siege [h].

During the siege of Castelma, the Neapolitans had brought up a squadron of about twenty gallies, which lay off Pisa, and surprised the town of Vada in the Volterran, situated at the mouth of the river Cecina, from whence they annoyed the neighbouring country; but they were soon confined within their walls and ships by some troops which the Florentines sent against them. The inactivity of this campaign is some proof that Alphonso was irresolute as to the part he had to act, and that his jealousy of the Venetians had increased. Hitherto the Florentines seemed rather to deride his attempts than be terrified by his arms; but in the spring of the year, they thought it was high time to retake the places they had lost. Being reinforced with two hundred horse under Alexander Sforza, brother to the duke of Milan, they besieged and retook Foiana, and with some difficulty re-peopled it, as it had been abandoned by its former inhabitants. The town of Vada was likewise regained by the Florentines, after it had been set on fire, and deserted by the Neapolitans, who now behaved like robbers rather than soldiers, subsisting by plunder and violence, without daring to face their enemies in the field.

A.D 1453.

Their attempt upon the vale of Bagno disappointed.

Their sovereign Alphonso perceiving how little he gained from the Florentines by force of arms, now tried the effects of money. The vale of Bagno had been subjected to the Florentines many years, and the lord of it, Gerardo Garribatorti, had always served in their armies. His castle, which was called Corzano, and estate lay convenient for making incursions into the Casantine and the valley of Tevere; and Alphonso tampered with him to give them up in exchange for an estate in the kingdom of Naples, to which proposal Gerardo agreed. The Florentines had some suspicion of the negociation, and sent a messenger, who taxed Gerardo with it; but he not only solemnly disclaimed it, but, pretending that he himself was indispосed, sent his son to Florence as a pledge of his fidelity, of which the Florentines seemed now to be quite satisfied. In the mean time the bargain being finished between Alphonso and Gerardo, the former sent one Puccio, a knight of Jerusalem, with some troops, who took possession of all the vale of Bagno, excepting the castle of Corzano, greatly against the inclination of the inhabitants. A brave young Pisan, called Antonio Gualandi, was with Gerardo when

[h] Ammer. Ist. de Firent. lib. xxii.

Puccio

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Puccio came to take poſſeſſion of the caſtle; and Gerardo going to the gate to admit him, Antonio, who deteſted his treachery thruſt him out of the gate, which he locked, and took upon himſelf the command of the garriſon, who declared for the Florentines. The news of this ſpirited action flying abroad, the people of Bagno had the courage to take up arms under the Florentine ſtandards, and drove the Neapolitans out of their country; Gerardo himſelf eſcaped with difficulty, but left his wife, family, and effects, in the hands of the Florentines, who impriſoned his ſon the hoſtage, and ſent troops into the country, who took poſſeſſion of all Gerardo's eſtate.

Regnier of Anjou comes to Italy.

Though Alphonſo's invaſion of Tuſcany had done no great damage to the Florentines, yet it had obliged them to keep up an army at a great expence, of which they ſought to eaſe themſelves. For this purpoſe they ſent Agnolo Acciaivolo as their ambaſſador to the court of France, to engage Regnier, commonly called René of Anjou, to come to Italy, and aſſert his claim to the crown of Naples, by joining the Florentines and the duke of Milan. Regnier liſtened to the propoſal; and it was agreed, that the Florentines ſhould pay him thirty thouſand florins ready money, and ten thouſand florins a-month, upon his entering Lombardy at the head of two thouſand four hundred horſe againſt the Venetians: but when he was ready to march, the duke of Savoy and the marquis of Montferrat, as allies to the Venetians, gave him to underſtand, that if he proceeded they would oppoſe his paſſage, which Regnier was in no condition to force. Upon this intimation, by Acciaivolo's advice, he put part of his troops on board the tranſports which carried them to Lombardy; and the king of France dealt ſo effectually with the duke of Savoy, that the reſt went by land. Regnier, who now aſſumed the title of king of Naples, was received with great marks of reſpect by Sforza, and the French and Milaneſe troops joining, they recovered from the Venetians all that they had taken in the Cremoneſe, with a great part of the Breſciano, and obliged the Venetian army to retire under the walls of Breſcia itſelf[1]. The winter then coming on, both armies went into quarters.

He returns.

Before the ſpring the politics of the court of France took an unexpected turn; and when the duke of Milan prepared to take the field, and to finiſh the conqueſt of the Breſciano, Regnier, who had wintered at Piacenza, informed the duke that he was obliged to return to France; nor could

[1] Sanuto. Iſtor. Venez. tom. xxii. Rer. Italic.

Sforza's

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Sforza's perſonal application and intreaties detain him in Italy. The truth is, he had been drawn thither by the Florentines, without any intention to ſerve the duke of Milan (to whoſe dominions another prince of the blood-royal of France laid claim) farther than as he was connected with the Florentines. The latter, on the other hand, never had any deſign of aggrandizing Sforza farther than was conſiſtent with the balance of power they wiſhed to maintain in Italy, which they thought had been ſufficiently eſtabliſhed by his late ſucceſſes. They were therefore under no concern at Regnier's departure, eſpecially as they had nothing now to apprehend from Alphonſo. All that Regnier could be prevailed on to do, was to leave part of his troops in Lombardy, and to promiſe to ſend his ſon John to command in his place. This young prince accordingly came to Lombardy, but he reſided at Florence, where he met with an honourable reception.

The reconciliation of the Greek with the Latin church.

The ſyſtem of public power all over Chriſtendom, but in Italy eſpecially, now received a great alteration. The Greek empire was little benefited by its emperor's ſubmitting to the ſupremacy of the weſtern church. This ſubmiſſion was ſo hateful at Conſtantinople, that it was there commonly ſaid, they would rather ſee in their churches a turban than a cardinal's hat. The emperor, however, ſtill hoping to be aſſiſted by the weſtern princes, conformed to the Roman ritual, and was publicly attended by Iſidore a Roman cardinal. But all the aſſiſtance he received from Italy conſiſted in four Genoeſe ſhips, one of which was furniſhed by the emperor Frederic III. ſo that the great city of Conſtantinople fell into the hands of the infidels, and the emperor loſt his life in defending his capital.

The princes and ſtates of Italy could not with indifference ſee ſuch an acceſſion of power to the Othmans. Conſtantinople was then reckoned the firſt city in the world, and the infidels were ſtrong enough at ſea fully to avail themſelves of all the advantages of its ſituation. Their fleets had already made great depredations on the ſubjects of the pope and Venice, and it was every day expected they would invade Italy. The pope was inceſſantly exhorting the Italian princes and ſtates to reflect upon their own danger; and indeed the ſtate of their affairs favoured his admonitions. The duke of Milan being deprived of the aſſiſtance of France, ſought to apply himſelf to the regulation of his own dominions. The Venetians had more than any other power to fear from the Turks. The Florentines had attained all they aimed at; and though Alphonſo ſtill held out, yet it was plain that he would be obliged to yield

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at last. At the pope's earnest request, all the powers at war sent ministers to a congress at Rome. Great altercations happened between the duke of Milan and the Venetians: the former insisted upon their giving up to him Bergamo, Brescia, and Crema, and they demanded that he should yield to them Cremona. Those differences which were thought insuperable at Rome, were accommodated in Lombardy. On the 9th of April, a peace was concluded between Sforza and the Venetians, importing that each side should be restored to the towns and lands they had possessed before the war; and the duke was left at liberty to recover all that had been taken from him by the duke of Savoy, the marquis of Montferrat, or their allies [k]. The pope, the Florentines, the Siennese, and other Tuscan states, immediately acceded to this treaty, which was followed by a triple alliance, to be in force twenty-five years, between the Florentines, Sforza, and the Venetians. Alphonso thought himself ill used both by his allies and his enemies, in not being considered as a principal in this treaty; but his obstinacy was at last overcome by the solicitations of the pope, and by a double marriage of his son and daughter with the daughter and son of Sforza; so that he acceded to the peace, reserving however to himself a liberty of making war upon the Genoese, as well as upon Gismond, Malatesta, and Asterra of Faenza. After this accommodation, he recalled his troops under Ferdinand out of Tuscany.

A.D. 1454.

A peace concluded.

It soon appeared that Alphonso was far from being sincerely disposed to the continuance of the peace. Jacob Picinino was now dismissed from the Venetian service; and Lombardy, the Romagna, and Tuscany, were filled with officers and soldiers, who had no employment. This recess led them to associate amongst themselves; and they chose for their leader Jacob Picinino, who, in right of his father, had many family claims both in Tuscany and the Romagna. Having assembled a small army, which Alphonso privately assisted him to raise, he marched into the Siennese, where he took many strong towns, and threatened Sienna itself. Pope Nicholas was now dead, and succeeded by Calixtus III. an active pontiff, who gave orders to his general, Giovanni Ventimiglia, to join his forces with those of the Florentines, and march against Picinino. They accordingly engaged him near Bolsena, where Ventimiglia was taken prisoner; but Picinino was entirely defeated, and fled to Castiglione, where he must have been obliged to surren-

A.D. 1455.

Picinino renews the war.

[k] Sanuto, ubi supra.

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der himself prisoner, had he not been supported by Alphonso. As Picinino was considered by the other Italian states to be little better than a free-booter, Alphonso's abetting him was highly resented by them; and that king, to regain their favour, induced Picinino to restore to the Sienese all their towns for twenty thousand florins, and then to retire to Naples.

A crusade published.

The progress of the Turks, and the detestation in which they were held, bade fair, at this time, to revive the spirit of crusading in Europe. The pope filled all the Christian courts with his nuncios, legates, preachers, and other ministers, to awaken them to a sense of their danger; and they were no where more successful than in Florence. There the chief citizens liberally contributed towards an expedition against the infidels; and many of them even wore the sign of the cross, which had not for many years been seen in Europe, as a proof that they designed to serve in person. Public processions were every day seen in their streets, and their pulpits resounded with the mighty rewards that would attend, in this and the next life, those who should embark in the expedition. This fervour, however, soon began to cool, and at last wholly subsided, upon some slight advantages gained by the Christians over the infidels on the side of Hungary.

A.D. 1456.

State of Florence.

Florence had been for some years under an excellent direction, while Cosimo de Medici and Neri di Capponi acted with unanimity in the public councils. Capponi's services to his country had gained him more friends to his virtue than followers to his person; while the liberality, the beneficence, and affability of Cosimo, gave him as many followers as he had friends. The conduct of both in the state was irreproachable, their judgment equal, and each supporting the other, the government was firm and unshaken. Sometimes, it is true, they differed, as in the case of Sforza; but this difference arose from the natural severity of the one, and the easiness of the other; nor did it proceed to any rancour of party. Cosimo, however, lived long enough to be sensible that he was mistaken in his opinion of Sforza, whose mind was formed more for ambition than friendship. Cosimo had been over lavish in assisting him; and it was owing to him that he was now duke of Milan. In their hours of intimacy, Cosimo had secretly opened his heart to Sforza, and told him, that his great ambition was to be the occasion of putting Lucca one day in the possession of the Florentines; and Sforza solemnly promised to assist him in the attempt as soon as he should become master of Milan. This promise greatly influenced Cosimo

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Cosimo in supporting Sforza's interest; but the matter for a time was kept private, and when Cosimo called upon Sforza, duke of Milan, to perform his engagements, he was answered with sorry excuses and affected delays.

Cosimo disappointed by Sforza.

Capponi's death occasioned a great abatement of Cosimo's interest. Divisions went so far, that it was proposed to discontinue the balia, or the extraordinary powers, by which the city had been governed under Cosimo and Capponi, and to return to the old method of imborsations, and filling up the chief posts by ballot. Secret ambition was at the bottom of this proposal; for many who had all along appeared attached to Cosimo, seeing him now deprived of Capponi's assistance, and that it was unlikely he should be succeeded by a son of equal authority and virtue with himself, thought that a proper time to lay the foundations of their own greatness. Cosimo perceived their drift; and though he might easily, by force, have seized upon the government, yet he chose to shew them their own insignificancy, by suffering their plan to take place, which it did, especially as he knew that few or none but his own friends would be returned by the imborsations; so that he was safe in all events.

Parties in Florence.

The other party made the experiment, but they soon perceived they had mistaken their measures. Popular elections being restored, put the meanest inhabitant, in that respect, on a footing with the highest. Cosimo's pretended friends, instead of being treated as they had formerly been, with reverence and respect, met now with the most bitter insults and reproaches in all public places, though none of them were returned by the imborsations as persons fit to serve the commonwealth, but those of his party. The great men who restored the popular system, now saw plainly that, instead of diminishing his authority, they had ruined their own; so firmly was Cosimo rivetted in the affections of his fellow-citizens; but he wisely dissembled his resentment, and his secret enemies had themselves only to blame.

Cosimo declines public business.

Cosimo being now well assured, that no revolution of state, or form of government, could affect him, gave way to the re-establishment of the tax catasto, which subjected all imposts to the law, and not to the discretion of any man, or set of men. This political self-denial had great effects in his favour; for the law being passed, and the commissioners for executing it appointed, all the great nobility and citizens repaired in a body to Cosimo, intreating him to deliver himself, as well as them, from the tyranny of the people. He seemed very willing to agree to their request, provided the imposts could be regularly repealed, and a new balia take place

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place without force, and with the consent of the people. The great men attempted this revolution in vain, and renewed their applications to Cosimo, who gave them a flat denial; and thus shewed how insignificant the aristocratical power was, while he who was at the head of that aristocracy was upon good terms with the people.

Donato Cochi was then gonfalonier of justice, and would have gratified the demands of the great citizens, had not the other magistrates, who were entirely in Cosimo's interest, treated him with such taunts and reproaches as turned his brain; and he actually was confined as a lunatic. He was, by the connivance of Cosimo, succeeded by Lucca Pitti, who, being bold and enterprising, raised himself upon the dissensions of his country.

Distractions in Florence.

He attempted to revive the balia, or high commission, that had been abolished upon Capponi's death; but not succeeding, he brought troops into the city, and forced the people to agree to all he demanded. He then proceeded to humble his chief opponents, amongst whom was Girolamo Machiavel, whom he banished, and who, after having wandered up and down Italy, exciting its princes and states to revenge his quarrel, was at last sent prisoner to Florence, where he died under confinement. Pitti, by this time, had succeeded to all Cosimo's power in the state; but he was intemperate in the use of it. He ordered the name of presidents of the trades, or artists, to be exchanged for that of presidents of liberty; and instead of sitting, as the gonfaloniers used to do, on the right hand of the magistrates, he took place in the middle of them, as being their superior. He even carried his insolence so far as to claim the sanction of Heaven for what he did, and ordered public processions and thanksgivings to be made for the restoration of his country's liberty. The presents he received from the wealthy citizens are said to have amounted in one year to twenty thousand ducats, and he lived at a prodigious expence. He built two sumptuous palaces; one within the city, the other in its neighbourhood. In the former, which is called the palace of Pitti, the grand-duke of Tuscany now resides. To carry on those fabrics, Pitti neglected no means that his high station put in his reach; and assassins, thieves, and robbers, were pardoned, on condition of their assisting to finish this edifice [1]. Florence was now become the admiration of the world for riches and magnificence, especially in buildings, by keeping itself neutral in all the dissensions of Italy, particularly between the Malatesta fa-

[1] Machiavel. delle Histor. lib. v.

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mily and the pope, who endeavoured to deprive them of Rimini and Cesena. Thus, for several years, the Florentines applied themselves entirely to the cultivation of the civil arts; and nothing else remarkable is recorded of them.

In the year 1464 died Cosimo de Medici, who, though the private subject of a republic, had more riches than any king in Europe, and laid out more money in works of taste, magnificence, learning, and charity, than all the kings, princes, and states of that, or the subsequent age, those of his own family excepted. He lent vast sums of money to the public, the payment of which he never required; and there was scarce a citizen in Florence whom he did not, at one time or other, assist with money, without the smallest expectation of its being returned. His religious foundations were prodigious. He not only founded a great number of churches and chapels, but he endowed them likewise with rich furniture, magnificent altars, and chapels. His private buildings were equally sumptuous. His palace in Florence exceeded that of any sovereign prince in his time; and he had others in different parts of the country. His munificence even reached Jerusalem, where he erected a noble hospital for poor distressed pilgrims. A.D. 1464. *Death and character of Cosimo.*

In those works, of more than royal expence, he might have been equalled by men equally rich; but his deportment and manner was unexampled. In his private conversation he was humble, unaffected, unassuming. Every thing regarding his own person was plain and modest; a proof, at once, of his virtue and his wisdom, because nothing is more dangerous in a commonwealth, such as Florence was, than pomp and parade. The expences of Cosimo were laid out for the embellishments of his country, and begot no envy, because all his fellow-citizens partook of them. He declined ostentation, even in his family settlements. He matched his two sons, John and Peter, into families of reputable citizens; and he married his granddaughters in the same manner. Cosimo, however, with all that simplicity of life, had towering bold notions of his country's dignity and interest. His intelligence was beyond that of any prince, and there scarce was a court in Europe where he did not entertain a private agent. By these means, he always had it in his power to disappoint, perplex, and confound the intrigues of his country's enemies. His long continuance in power, for thirty-one years, is a proof of his great abilities; and his so often disappointing and countermining the formidable confederacies and leagues which brought Florence, more than once, apparently to the *Cosimo's virtues.*

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brink of destruction, gives us the highest idea of his dexterity and management in the greatest undertakings. According to Machiavel, his wealth and credit were so extensive, that he forced the Venetians, the duke of Milan, and the king of Naples, into his own terms, merely by distressing them for money. The short exile he suffered served to make him appear with the greater lustre, and to establish his influence in the commonwealth, whose dominions he increased, by adding to them Borgo di Sepolchro, Montidoglio, Casentino, and Valdibagna. The former part of his life, to his fortieth year, was tumultuous, and may be said to have been unfortunate, for he was sometimes obliged to save his life by flying in disguise from his enemies. But the noble spirit he shewed in making all his friends partakers of his riches and good fortune, at last fixed his felicity. His presence was venerable, though his stature was mean; and, by the pictures we have of him, his features appear to have been strong and harsh. He is not celebrated for learning, though he was the greatest patron of learned men of his age. He hired several learned Greeks to reside in Florence, and thereby revived the study of that tongue, and consequently of those arts that have rendered Italy, and that city in particular, so celebrated. He has been reproached with implacability towards his enemies, and for having driven a great many of his fellow-citizens into exile; but it is easy to clear him from that charge, by considering the nature of parties in Florence, which left Cosimo no choice between the destruction of his enemies or his country. He never was known to regret but two things: first, that he had not done all the good he wished to do to mankind; secondly, that he had not sufficiently aggrandized his country. Notwithstanding his many religious endowments, Cosimo was no bigot; for one of his usual sayings was, "That a commonwealth was not to be defended by beads in men's hands." Towards the end of his life, some family misfortunes are said to have given him uneasiness; and he was ashamed of having been duped by Sforza, duke of Milan. But all reproaches on his memory are wiped off by the unanimous consent of his fellow-citizens, who inscribed his tomb with the title of "Father of his Country [m]."

His love of learning.

His patriotism.

[m] Machiavel. delle Histor. lib. vii.

SECT.

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SECT. IX.

Containing the History of Peter de Medici's Administration. The Venetians invade Tuscany; a Peace; Peter succeeded by his two Sons. John de Medici murdered. History of Florence under Lorenzo de Medici, and his Son Peter. New Model of the Florentine Government.

LEWIS XI. of France was at this time so employed in civil wars against his own nobility, that he could give little or no assistance to the duke of Anjou, in his claim either upon Genoa or upon Naples. He therefore endeavoured to gain the friendship both of Sforza and Ferdinand, by suffering the latter to remain unmolested in his kingdom, and by enabling the former to become master of Genoa, which was the great object of his ambition. Sforza succeeded in this attempt, and sent his son Galeazzo at the head of fifteen hundred horse to the assistance of Lewis. The alliance between Ferdinand and Sforza was productive of great revolutions in Italy. Jacob Picinino was still formidable, though he had no territory. The reputation of his family, and his own valour and courage, had attached many to his service; and neither Sforza nor Ferdinand thought themselves in safety, while he continued in a state of independence on both, and yet always ready to hire himself to the best paymaster. Ferdinand, therefore, having compromised matters with his great nobility, and joined the duke of Anjou's party in Naples, endeavoured to make them sensible of his and their danger from Picinino, who, being without dominions, and at the head of the old Braccian army, the irreconcileable enemies of Naples, would not fail to acquire territorial possessions at their expence. Picinino, whose troops lay at Sulmona, foresaw and understood his danger; and not suspecting the secret connections that had been formed between Ferdinand and Sforza, he offered his service to the latter, and threw himself into Milan with no more than one hundred horse. Sforza received him with the greatest demonstrations of friendship, and Picinino was even married to his natural daughter. Sforza, however, could not without jealousy behold a soldier of fortune so popular, and so respected all over the Milanese, as Picinino was; and, under pretence of serving him, he undertook to reconcile him with Ferdinand, who actually took Picinino into his pay, and gave *State of Italy.*

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Picinino put to death.

him one hundred thousand florins in advance. But after Picinino, with his wife, and the Milanese ambassador had repaired to Florence, he and his son were decoyed by Ferdinand into the kingdom of Naples, and imprisoned in the castle, where in a few days he was strangled [q]. By this time pope Pius II. was dead, and succeeded by Barbo, a Venetian, who took the name of Paul II. Soon after died Sforza, duke of Milan, leaving his succession to his son Galeazzo.

Peter de Medici betrayed.

These events produced great alterations in Florence. The expedition against the Turks was dropt at the death of pope Pius; and the death of Sforza dissolved the union, in which the dread of his power had confirmed the Florentines. To add to the public distractions, Peter de Medici, son and successor to the great Cosimo, was far inferior to his father in abilities, though a well meaning man, and might have made a great figure in another station. Diotisalvi Neroni had been the intimate companion and counsellor of Cosimo de Medici, who, upon his death-bed, recommended him in the same capacity to his son Peter. The latter, in strict obedience to his father's will, admitted Diotisalvi into his most private counsels, and consulted him not only upon the management of the commonwealth, but upon his family affairs, which, it seems, then stood in need of œconomy. As Peter was possessed of a great estate, he ordered his stewards, and all he had concerns with, to send in their accounts to Diotisalvi, on whom he relied so implicitly, that he looked very little into his own affairs. This indolence induced the other to believe that it might be easy to supplant Peter in his authority and power, after having examined the accounts laid before him, he told Peter, that the ready money he was in possession of was not sufficient for supporting his figure, and maintaining his credit in the state, without calling in his father's debts. Peter inadvertently followed this plausible advice, and Cosimo's debtors were accordingly required to pay what they owed to his estate. This requisition had not been foreseen or expected; and as there scarcely was a family or man of note in Florence to whom Cosimo had not lent money, Peter, by his demands, acquired a vast number of enemies, who upbraided him for deviating from his father's principles, and for oppressing his fellow-citizens by his avarice.

Reflection upon his power.

When the reader reflects, that the power of the Medici in Florence was rather personal than constitutional, and

[q] Christofor. de Soldo, Hist. Brescian. tom. xxi. Rer. Italic.

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that it reſted in a great meaſure upon private attachments to the family, he will not be ſurpriſed at the effect of ſo general a clamour, which was increaſed by the then ſtate of parties in the republic. Luca Pitti, whom we have already mentioned, continued ſtill to be poſſeſſed of great power in the ſtate; but Diotiſalvi knew, that, now Coſimo was dead, Pitti's abilities would appear inſufficient for ſupporting his ambition, which was to ſucceed Coſimo in the entire direction of affairs. Agnolo Acciaivoli and Nicolo Soderini were two other citizens of great weight and authority, but both of them ſecret enemies to the houſe of Medici. Soderini thought their power was unconſtitutional, and inconſiſtent with public liberty. The enmity of Acciaivoli was perſonal, and aroſe from the following grounds: his ſon Raſael had married Aleſſandra, of the Bardi family, with a large fortune; but family-diſcontents ariſing, one of her friends, by force of arms, took her from her huſband and his family, who complained of this violence; and the matter was referred to the deciſion of Coſimo de Medici. His ſentence was, that the lady's fortune ſhould be reſtored to her and her family, and that ſhe ſhould be entirely at her own diſpoſal. Acciaivoli reſented this determination, and reſolved to be revenged on Peter, though he could not upon Coſimo. All thoſe citizens diſguiſed their private ſentiments under plauſible pretexts. They exclaimed againſt the monopoly of power in one family; and that it was neceſſary to reſtore the conſtitution to its firſt principles, by reſtoring the magiſtrates to their regular functions in the government. The numerous bankruptcies, which happened by Peter's demands, ſoon increaſed this ſpirit of diſcontent, which was crowned by a treaty of marriage entered into by Peter between his ſon Lorenzo and a Roman lady of the noble family of Orſini. This match correſponded ſo little with his father's principles, that Peter was publicly reviled as being ambitious and arrogant, in not marrying his ſon into a Florentine family.

He grows unpopolar.

Notwithſtanding all thoſe murmurings and diſcontents, the Medici family had ſtill a great ſway in Florence; and, Coſimo being now dead a year, it was thought proper to exhibit ſome public ſhews, that might divert the minds of the people from ſtate affairs. The Florentines were exceſſively fond of ſuch exhibitions; all Florence was employed five months in preparing for one dramatic performance. This exhibition was ſucceeded by juſts and tournaments, in which the Florentine youth challenged thoſe of all Italy; but Lorenzo de Medici, the eldeſt ſon

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of Peter, signalized his valour and address above all his contemporaries.

Peter takes part with the duke of Milan.

Nevertheless, after these shews, the public discontents revived. The authority of the balia was near expired; and a great party was for discontinuing it, and putting the government upon its ancient foundation. But other difficulties now occurred. Galeazzo, the young duke of Milan, demanded that the subsidy paid by the Florentines to his father should be continued. This demand was strongly opposed by a great party, who thought that Galeazzo did not deserve the same consideration his father had done; and that the payment of the subsidy ought to cease at the latter's death. Peter de Medici was of a very different opinion. He reproached the other party with avarice, and an ill-timed frugality; and urged, that the liberty of Florence would be ruined by the Venetians, if she should separate herself from the duke of Milan, whose youth and inexperience would render him an easy prey to that republic. The people, in general, did not relish Peter's reasoning; and his enemies now held private meetings, and subscribed to associations for his ruin. But when they came to deliberate upon particulars, they could agree in nothing. The wisest and most public-spirited part of them were for immediately putting an end to the power of the balia, and for restoring the old form of government. They urged, that this step would ruin Peter's power, without doing any injury to the peace of the public; and that any violent methods would give him great advantages, by affording him a specious pretext for arming himself and his party. They who were of the opposite opinion urged the danger of delays, and the folly of suffering Peter to live in a city where his interest was so powerful, and where he might make a bad use of it; and affirmed that the other opinion was more plausible than practicable. They added, that they never could have so favourable an opportunity, as then presented itself, for Peter's ruin; and that they ought immediately to take the marquis of Ferrara into their pay, to put themselves in arms, and to call a senate which should finish the work. One Nicolo Fidino, who was secretary to the meetings of Peter's enemies, suffered himself to be corrupted; and he made a full discovery to Peter of all his enemies, with their debates and practices. He was startled at seeing the power and numbers of his enemies, and had recourse to a counter-association, in which he succeeded so well, that he prevailed with great numbers to subscribe for him, though they had subscribed against him before.

Conspiracy against Peter discovered.

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The time for the choice of a new magiſtracy being now arrived, Nicolo Soderini was choſen gonfalonier, with ſuch unanimity and applauſe of his fellow-citizens, that he was crowned with an olive-garland, upon his exaltation to that dignity, as a ſign they depended on him for reſtoring peace and liberty to the ſtate. Nicolo had good intentions, and was bold and ſpirited; but his brother Thomas was a wiſer man, and a determined friend of the houſe of Medici. He adviſed Nicolo to perſevere in his deſign of reſtoring the old conſtitution of government, of making new imborſations, and eſtabliſhing a ſet of magiſtrates who ſhould be at once friends to the peace and the liberties of their country. Nicolo made the attempt, but found it impracticable, through the oppoſition it met with from the violent party. The time of his magiſtracy therefore expired, without his doing any thing anſwerable to the high idea conceived of him. This inſignificancy gave great advantages to Peter, whoſe party was now more united and ſtrengthened than ever; and his enemies found it adviſeable to temporize for ſome months. Finding, however, that they loſt ground every day, they reſolved to make uſe of force, to aſſaſſinate Peter, who then lay ſick at his houſe at Coreggio, and to invite the marquis of Ferrara with his troops to their aſſiſtance. They reſolved to ruſh armed into the ſenate-houſe, and to oblige the members to come into their meaſures, by eſtabliſhing ſuch a magiſtracy as they ſhould preſcribe. Diotiſalvi had a great hand in thoſe reſolutions; but diſſembled ſo well, that he every day attended Peter, and gave him his advice relating to public affairs, ſeemingly with great ſincerity. *He retains his power.*

Peter had early and certain intelligence of all his enemies deſigns, and reſolved to be beforehand with them. Summoning his friends, he put himſelf and them in arms; and declared, that he had received a letter from Giovanni Bentivoglio of Bologna, informing him, that the marquis of Ferrara was in full march, at the head of an army, againſt Florence. He then ſet out for this city, and entered it before his enemies ſuſpected his deſign. They immediately ran to arms likewiſe; but were inferior, both in numbers and appearance to Peter's friends. Diotiſalvi, in conſternation, ran about, ſometimes perſuading the ſenators, and ſometimes Pitti, to oblige Peter to lay down his arms. Nicolo Soderini put himſelf at the head of the common people of that quarter of the town where he lived, and repaired to Pitti, whom he ſtrenuouſly exhorted to appear on horſeback againſt Peter, and to encourage the ſenators to oppoſe him. But Pitti, who had been before

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this time brought over to the party of the Medici, was ſo far from following Soderini's advice, that he obliged him to return to his houſe, declaring, that his intention was to refer all matters in diſpute to the ſenate, and that every man ſhould lay aſide his arms. This declaration of Pitti was of great ſervice to Peter; and many, who had been the moſt forward againſt him, now appeared on his ſide. The ſenators ſtill continued to be ſhut up in the palace, without coming to any determination; but an accommodation was now ſet on foot, and it was reſolved, that a deputation ſhould be ſent to Peter, who remained indiſpoſed at his houſe, to complain of the tumults in the city, which had been begun by his taking arms, and to know his meaning
A D. 1466. and reaſons for ſo doing. Peter's anſwer was, that he had been conſtrained by the injuſtice of his enemies, and by
His enemies baffled. their ſecret unwarrantable cabals againſt his life and dignity, to put himſelf in arms; that he had remained, ever ſince his re-entering Florence, upon the defenſive, without ſtirring from his own houſe; that his enemies were miſtaken, if they imagined he had any intention of reviving the power of the balia, or of depriving the magiſtrates of their authority; that neither he nor his father had ever had ſuch intentions; and that it was not owing to them that the powers of the balia were continued. He then reproached them with ingratitude to Coſimo, and the family of the Medici; and with their not thinking themſelves ſafe to live in the ſame city with him, who was the ſon of their greateſt benefactor. He next addreſſed himſelf, in a more particular manner, to Diotiſalvi, and others, who lay under the greateſt obligations to his father and his family, in ſo ſpirited a manner, that it was with difficulty he reſtrained his friends from putting them to death. He concluded by declaring, that all he meant was to live in peace and ſecurity, and that he was ready to refer all matters in diſpute to the ſenate.

The heads of the oppoſite party, however, were far from truſting to Peter's profeſſions. Nicolo Soderini, retired to his houſe in the country; and it was eaſy to ſee that the city was upon the eve of a new revolution. Bernardo Lotti, one of Peter's adverſaries, was then gonfalonier; but upon the expiration of the time of his magiſtracy, he was ſucceeded by Roberto Lioni, who no ſooner entered upon his office than he ſummoned the people, and created a new balia and magiſtracy, compoſed of Peter's friends.

Fall of Pitti. Upon this turn of affairs, Agnolo Acciaivoli fled to Naples; Diotiſalvi and Nicolo Soderini went to Venice; Giovanni

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Giovanni Neroni, archbishop of Florence, took refuge in Rome: and thus the whole faction, that had opposed the house of Medici, were dissipated and attainted; for all who fled were declared rebels. Those who had the courage to stay were put under confinement, and some were even put to death, while others underwent the rack. Luca Pitti, relying upon the connections he had formed with Peter de Medici, had the courage to remain in Florence; but fell from the height of popularity into the most abject contempt: all his friends were either ruined themselves, or had abandoned him, and none ventured to take any public notice of him. A stop was put to the magnificent edifices he had begun, and many now demanded restitution of the presents they had made him for carrying them on.

Intrigues of the exiles.

The exiled Florentines, as usual, formed cabals and conspiracies for restoring themselves to their country. But Agnolo Acciaivoli, before he entered upon any practices of that kind, sent an apology for his conduct in a letter to Peter; putting him in mind of his fidelity and sufferings for the house of Medici, and for Cosimo in particular. He declared at the same time, that he had no motive for opposing Peter, but the service of his country, which he was afraid might suffer, if Peter, who was in a bad state of health, should die. Peter answered this letter in a very sarcastical manner, and put Acciaivoli in mind of the great rewards he had received for his services to his father; and concluded with the following expression, "If you have been rewarded for your merits, it is but just you should be punished for your offences. You never can plead the love of your country as an excuse, as it is well known that the family of Medici have been as good friends as ever that of Acciaivoli were to Florence. Live therefore where you are in disgrace, as you knew not how to live here with honour [r]."

This remarkable letter breathes the spirit of those times, and shews the rancour of the two factions against one another. Acciaivoli, finding his application ineffectual, went to Rome, where many of the other exiles resided, and did all they could to blast the credit of the house of Medici there; but to no purpose. Diotisalvi and Nicolo Soderini, on the other hand, applied to Giovanni Francisco of Ferrara, the son of Palla Strozzi, who had been banished from Florence, and persuaded him to join them in soliciting the doge and senate of Venice, in assisting them to

The Venetians declare against Florence,

[r] Machiavel, delle Histor. lib. vii.

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drive the Medicean faction out of Florence. They put the Venetians in mind, that all the loſſes they had ſuſtained in Lombardy were owing to Coſimo de Medici; and they repreſented Peter and his party as a treacherous bloody ſet of men, who had uſurped the government of their country, and had baniſhed or put to death, her beſt friends and patriots; and they concluded with imploring the compaſſion of a ſtate which enjoyed its liberty, in favour of one that was enſlaved. Thoſe arguments were ſo well received by the Venetians, that they ordered their general Bartolomeo Coglione to invade the Florentine territories, and to join his troops with thoſe of the duke of Ferrara, under Ercole d Eſte[s].

A.D.1467. *and invade Tuſcany.*

It appears that the Florentines did not expect this invaſion. Peter de Medici, and his friends, had celebrated days of ſolemn thankſgiving for the preſervation of the ſtate, and the re-union of their government; but they had taken no meaſures for warding off the blow that now fell upon them. The combined army having entered the Florentine territories, committed great ravages, and the Florentines applied for aſſiſtance to the king of Naples, and the duke of Milan, appointing the count of Urbino at the ſame time their general. Ferdinand readily promiſed them his aſſiſtance, and ſent them ſome troops under the command of his ſon Alphonſo; but Galeazzo came in perſon to their relief. We are, however, to underſtand, that the Florentines were to pay for their ſuccours, and had advanced great ſums for that purpoſe. The rendezvous of their army was appointed to be at Caſtracuzo, a Florentine town between Tuſcany and the Romagna; but before the armies could be aſſembled, the Venetians and their allies had retreated to Imola, with little or no loſs. This retreat created great diſcontents amongſt the Florentines, who loudly accuſed their field-deputies, or council of war, with miſmanagement, and blamed them with having ſquandered the public money to no purpoſe. It ſoon appeared that the fault lay in Galeazzo, a young unexperienced prince, and without any talents for war. A few inconſiderable ſkirmiſhes however enſued, and the Florentine council of war declared, that they could expect no ſucceſs while Galeazzo commanded. Upon this remonſtrance deputies were ſent to perſuade him to return to Milan, on pretence that if he ſhould come to any misfortune in the field, his perſon was of ſo great conſequence to the common cauſe, that their ſtate muſt be ruined. They repreſented at the

Diſcontents at Florence.

[s] Ammurat. Hiſt. di Fiorenz. lib. xxiii.

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same time, that having but lately succeeded to his dukedom, his presence might be necessary in his own dominions. An application so seemingly respectful, prevailed on Galeazzo to return immediately to Milan.

This obstacle being removed, the Florentines and their allies took the field, and one of those ridiculous battles, which was so common in those days, was fought: for though it lasted for half a day, no person was killed on either side, and neither gained the least advantage; only a few horses being wounded, and some prisoners made (D). *A remarkable battle.*

This battle, however, though it may be said to have been bloodless, was decisive. Winter coming on, the Venetian general was obliged to retire to Ravenna. The Milanese and the Neapolitans returned to their several countries, and the Florentines marched back to Tuscany. The Florentine exiles, animated by resentment and despair, would have kept the field; but their followers beginning to clamour for money, they were obliged to disperse. Diotisalvi took refuge in Ferrara, where he met with a kind reception from that duke. Nicolo Acciaivoli fled to Ravenna, where the Venetians settled a pension upon him, and he there died in old age. The Venetians now found that the Florentine exiles had been too sanguine in their expectations of an insurrection in that city; and seeing that they were no longer to be depended upon, began to listen to terms of accommodation, which was concluded with little or no difficulty. The Florentines might now have lived quiet, had not the remains of faction still been alive amongst them. To complete the public misfortunes, Peter de Medici, though not much above fifty years of age, was so infirm and feeble, that he could not stir abroad, and was ignorant of the intrigues and heart-burnings that prevailed amongst his fellow-citizens, who seemed to make use of the peace they had acquired abroad, only that they might prosecute their dissensions more furiously at home. Many of the wisest and most virtuous amongst them, had behaved with moderation during the late troubles, and all such were branded by the violent as friends to the exiles and the outed faction. Bardo Altoviti, who was then the gonfalonier of justice, increased the disorders of the public by displacing from their office many citizens, and banishing others. *A peace concluded.*

(D) The Cronica di Bologna, in Muratori's Collection, vol. xviii. says, that above one thousand men were killed, or dangerously wounded in this action,

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Peter de Medici checks the Florentines of his party.

At last Peter was informed of the oppression, pride, and tyranny of those in power; but being confined to his bed, he could apply no other remedy, except earnest exhortations for unanimity. To give some amusement at the same time to their restless spirits, the marriage of his son Lorenzo with Clarice of Orsini, was now celebrated with all the profusion of pomp and magnificence which Peter's great wealth could furnish, and the fertile genius of the Florentines invent. Those amusements diverted the public for some time; but the spirit of faction recurred with such violence, that Peter, whose infirmities every day increased, found himself under the necessity of altering the whole system of his conduct. For this purpose he called before him the chief Florentines: he bitterly reproached them for their ambition, their rapaciousness, their having monopolized to themselves the revenues of the public, the estates of the exiles, with all the honours and dignities in the city; and finally with having exercised their power with injustice and cruelty over the innocent, by their violence and venality. He concluded his speech by solemnly assuring them, that unless they amended their behaviour, he should repent of his successes, and find means to make them repent the abuse of their power.

It appears from this speech, that the spirit and intellects of Peter were still vigorous, and his name was so much respected, that they to whom it was addressed returned him a respectful answer. In a few days, however, they relapsed, into all their former disorders, and Peter privately invited Acciaivoli to come to his house at Caffagivolo, to consult with him about the reformation of the state; they had actually resolved to recall all the exiles, and to repress the fury of the factious citizens, when Peter de Medici died, in the fifty-third year of his age [t].

Peter succeeded by his two sons.

He left two sons, Lorenzo and Giuliano, both of them, particularly the eldest, of great hopes, but as yet too young for taking into their own hands the reins of government. Not only the people of Florence therefore, but most of the princes of Italy, turned their eyes upon Thomas Soderini, who was then the leading man in Florence, and as such paid him their compliments; but Thomas exhibited on that occasion a noble and disinterested proof of the attachment he had always professed to the family of Medici. He did not even deign to answer the letters of felicitation which the Italian princes sent to him; and he took all occasions to recommend the sons of Peter de Medici to his

[t] Machiavel, lib. vii.

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fellow citizens, as the proper objects of their love and regard. At last, that he might confirm them in their interests, he summoned the heads of all the Florentine nobility to the convent of S. Antonio, and presented to them the two young noblemen, requesting them to maintain them in the full possession of the honour and authority of their house, as being the surest means of consulting the tranquillity and independency of Florence; adding, that every other power set up in the state, than that of the Medici family, must be tumultuous and short-lived. Thomas having finished his speech, Lorenzo, the eldest brother, addressed the assembly in so manly, yet moving a manner, as to convince them that he would one day become an honour and ornament to his country; insomuch that all present before the assembly broke up, swore solemnly to stand by Lorenzo and his brother, as if they were their own children; while the two brothers promised to obey the nobility then present as their fathers. From thenceforth those young men were looked upon as the princes, or leading persons of the city, and they were so wise as to be directed by Thomas Soderini. A.D. 1471.

Fidelity of Soderini to them.

Nevertheless as Lorenzo de Medici advanced in years, he found himself more and more uneasy under the tutelage of Soderini, and began to listen to those who advised him to throw it off. A difference that happened at this time between the Florentines and the Volterrans, served to widen the breach. A vein of alum was discovered by certain private citizens of Volterra, who applied to those of Florence, for their assistance and protection in working the mine. The community of Volterra at first disregarded this undertaking; but, perceiving what profits arose from it, they claimed the mine as lying in grounds belonging to the public, and sent a deputation to Florence, who made that demand. The matter was referred to a committee of citizens, who reported it as their opinion, that the claim of the Volterrans was unjust, and that as private persons had been at the trouble and expence of working the mine, it was their property, on condition of paying only some acknowlegement to the community, because it lay in their grounds. This report threw the city of Volterra into a flame, the people insisting upon the mine being delivered up to them, and the proprietors urging the expences they had been at in working it, and the judgment of the Florentines in their favour. Those disputes produced tumults, in which a citizen of rank, one Pecorino, was killed, the houses of many of his party were sacked or burnt, and the lives of the Florentine magistrates, who resided there, were endangered. Those disorders produced another deputation

War with Volterra.

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putation from Volterra to Florence; and the deputies, by orders of their principals, declared, that the maintaining their citizens in their rights, was the price of their subjection to Florence.

Thomas Soderini and Lorenzo de Medici differed upon this occasion. The former was of opinion, that the Volterrans ought to be gratified, and that the flames of war, kindled so near them, might reach Florence. He urged the restless ambition of Sextus IV the reigning pope; his connections with the king of Naples, who was a powerful prince; and the uncertainty of Florence being supported by the Venetians, or the duke of Milan, as neither the good faith of the former, nor the courage of the latter, was to be depended on; and concluded with observing, that a lean peace was preferable to a fat victory. Lorenzo de Medici, on the other hand, urged, that if the insolence of the Volterrans went unpunished, all other states and places in subjection or dependence to Florence, would follow their example; and that they never would be without pretexts for mutiny and rebellion. Lorenzo's opinion prevailed; and the Florentine senate sent back the Volterran deputies
A.D. 1472. with this answer, that they must either submit to the terms prescribed them, or prepare for a war. The Volterrans chose the latter, and applied for assistance to the princes and states of Italy, who, all but the Siennese and the lord of Piombino, were deaf to their representations. All, therefore, the Volterrans could do, was to fortify their city, and
Volterra sacked. to hire one thousand mercenaries for defending it.

Meanwhile the Florentines, sensible how dangerous delays are in such cases, raised an army of ten thousand foot and two thousand horse, and gave the command of it to their general Frederic, lord of Urbino, who immediately reduced all the open country of Volterra, and laid siege to the city itself, which he battered with great violence on its most accessible side. Upon this occasion, the Volterran mercenaries, in a manner, deserted the defence of the city; but were very forward in insulting the citizens, who made the best resistance they could; but were obliged to submit to the mercy of the Florentines. No capitulation having been made, the magistracy of Volterra was dissolved, and the city given up for a whole day to the plunder of the Florentines, who were joined by the soldiers who had been hired to defend it[1]. The news of this success was received with great joy at Florence, and Soderini was insulted upon it by the friends of Lorenzo de Medici. The event, however, did not alter that wise man's opinion. He declared,

[1] Ammurat. Ist. de Fiorenz. lib. xxiii.

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that he looked upon the conquest of Volterra to be a loss rather than an acquisition to Florence, which might have been benefitted by it, had it been taken by capitulation; but that, as it was taken by sack, it would, in time of war, be a thorn in the sides of the Florentines, and in time of peace a useless burden upon the republic.

Ambition of the pope.

The ambition of pope Sixtus every day discloſed itself more and more. His professed design was to re-annex to the church all the territories and places that ever had belonged to her; and with that view he had stormed Spoletto, and laid siege to Citta di Castello, then in possession of Nicolo Vitelli. This nobleman was the intimate friend of Lorenzo de Medici, who, upon his application, sent him some assistance; a step which laid the foundation of many calamities to the house of Medici. The pope took the place, and sent his son Peter, whom he had created cardinal of Sisto, to endeavour to form a league amongst the Italian princes against Florence. This cardinal, under all the disadvantages of birth and education, had great abilities both for peace and war, and an equal share of ambition; so that his father employed him as his chief confident and first minister. Under pretence of doing honour to the nuptials of the marquis of Ferrara, he made a kind of a tour through Lombardy, and other parts of Italy, and particularly to Venice, which he wanted to engage in the league against the Florentines. But, by this time, both the Venetians and the duke of Milan were alarmed at the ambition, and the great progress of the pope, when served by such a counsellor and minister; and the former, it is said, secretly gave him poison, which, upon his return to Rome, put an end to his life. The Florentines afterwards joined in an alliance with the duke of Milan and the Venetians; but time was left for the pope and the king of Naples to accede to the treaty. Another league was formed between the above three contracting powers, into which they invited the lesser states to enter, for maintaining the balance of power in Italy, which was endangered by a new dispute between the king of Naples and the Venetians. The former laid claim to the island of Cyprus, which the latter were in possession of; and the pope taking the king's part, all Italy was engaged in the quarrel. Frederic of Urbino still continued to head the Florentine army; and his reputation as a general was so great, that the pope and Ferdinand offered him very high terms to enter into their service. Urbino made some difficulty; but the pope prevailed upon him to undertake a journey to Naples, which the Florentines as strenuously endeavoured to dissuade him from, by putting him

Parties and intrigues in Italy.

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him in mind of the fate of Jacob Picinino. Frederick, however, went to Naples, where he was received with a profusion of honours, and accepted of the proposed service, and thus became general of the league against the Florentines.

New alliances.

Notwithstanding those dispositions, and the dread or ambition of all the parties concerned in them, no war broke out in Italy for two years; but every thing was managed in the way of intrigue or negotiation. The Florentines took into their pay, as their general, Robert of Rimini, renewed their league with the Perugians, and entered into new connections with the Government of Faenza. The pope and the king, on the other hand, employed all their arts to detach the Venetians from the Florentines, as being the only means of maintaining the pope's late acquisitions to the church, and of preserving his son Girolama in the possession of his estates in the Romagna

A D. 1477.

State of the house of Medici.

The house of Medici was now, possessed of more power in Florence than it had ever acquired before this period. Its branches and private alliances were numerous and well cemented, and Lorenzo seemed to possess the popular virtues of his ancestors. All the opposition which his father had met with, contributed to his greatness; for they who secretly hated and envied him, durst not oppose him, because they well knew that in republics, especially in that of Florence, there was no forgiveness amongst factions. This flourishing state of the house of Medici increased the aversion of the pope to it, and made him resolve, if possible, to effect its ruin. The archbishop of Pisa, who was of the Medici family, happening about this time to die, the pope nominated Giacomo Salviati, a professed and determined enemy of the house of Medici, to be his successor. The Florentines remostrated strongly against this nomination; but finding all their efforts vain, they refused to suffer Salviati to take possession of his new dignity.

Conspiracy against it.

The pope ascribing this obstinacy to the influence of the house of Medici, set up against it that of Pazzi, the second then in Florence for riches and authority. The head of this family was Jacob Pazzi, who had received signal honours from the people; and though he had no children of his own but a natural daughter, he had seven nephews, William, Francis, Renate, John, Andrew, Nicholas, and Galeatto. Cosimo de Medici had, from a sagacious foresight of the rivalship between the two houses, given his niece Biancha to William Pazzi, thereby hoping to cement the interest of the two families. But in proportion as that of Pazzi advanced in riches and popularity, Lorenzo de Medici grew the

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the more jealous of their obtaining any ſhare in the government; ſo that Jacob Pazzi and his nephews, notwithſtanding their riches, remained no more than private citizens of Florence. Their rank, however, gave them a right to be preſent at popular aſſemblies; but the magiſtrates paid little or no regard to their opinions. They even went ſo far as to ſummon Francis Pazzi, who happened to reſide ſome time at Rome, to repair to Naples; a ſtep which plainly ſhewed they either were jealous of his buſineſs at Rome, or that they wanted to affront the Pazzi family. John Pazzi, another of the nephews, having married the daughter and heireſs of Giovanni Borromeo, a diſpute at law happened between the daughter's huſband and Borromeo's nephew about the ſucceſſion to the eſtate of Borromeo, who was now dead; and the cauſe was given in favour of the nephew by the judges, not quite agreeably to the principles of juſtice. The Pazzi had long been ſecretly exaſperated againſt the Medici; but as there was no diſguiſing that this iniquitous ſentence was procured by their influence, the Pazzi loſt all patience, and every where accuſed and reproached the Medici for their injuſtice and partiality. This charge was looked upon by Lorenzo as an open attack upon his authority, and was far from producing any ſteps towards an accommodation. Giuliano de Medici, who had leſs ambition, and more candour than his brother, often regretted the breach between the two families, and adviſed Lorenzo to moderate meaſures: but the latter, who, with all his judgment, was young and fiery, continued ſtill to carry it with a high hand towards the Pazzi.

Francis Pazzi, the moſt conſiderable of all the nephews for ſpirit, abilities, and wealth, was then a merchant, or rather a banker at Rome, where the vaſt eſtate he had acquired, introduced him to the company and intimacy of the principal perſonages in that city; and he lived in the ſtricteſt friendſhip with Girolamo, the pope's ſon or nephew. This connexion gave him an opportunity of conſulting about the ruin of the Medici family, which was equally obnoxious to Girolamo as to Pazzi, becauſe the former, while their power ſubſiſted, did not think himſelf ſecure in the poſſeſſion of his eſtates. Nothing, however, but the deaths of Lorenzo and his brother could anſwer their purpoſes; and it was neceſſary to bring the pope and the king of Naples into their party. To ſucceed into this ſcheme, they applied to Salviati, the archbiſhop of Piſa, who readily promiſed them his aſſiſtance. It was then determined, that Francis ſhould repair to Florence, to bring Jacob Pazzi into their deſign, while the other two ſhould remain at Rome to keep the pope ſteady in their party.

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Francis could make little interest with his uncle; and Montesecco, the pope's general, was applied to second him. Montesecco disliked the office; but, overpersuaded by the archbishop, he at last undertook it, and, under pretence of recovering to Girolamo certain towns near Faenza, he took Florence in his way. By this time the pope had fully approved of the horrid design of the assassination, and had ordered his general to forward it to the best of his power. Montesecco behaved with great address; pretending business with Lorenzo de Medici, he was surprised at his affability and politeless; but, devoted to the pope his master, he at last, in conjunction with Francis Pazzi, prevailed on Jacob to consent to the conspiracy, provided it should be backed by the pope's army. Nothing was now wanting but the consent of the king of Naples, which was soon obtained. The whole plot was carried on with such profound dissimulation, that the Florentines admitted the archbishop into their city; and through his interest, which was very powerful, the conspiracy was greatly strengthened by the accession of several young noblemen of great families and interest. The better to cover their designs, cardinal Riario, nephew to count Girolamo, came to Florence, where he hired a magnificent palace, in which the chief conspirators were concealed and held their consultations. Many of their deliberations proved abortive, from various causes; but at last they resolved, that the two brothers de Medici should be assassinated in the church of St. Riparata. Giovanni Battista, who was appointed to murder Lorenzo, refused the horrid office, which was therefore committed to Antonio of Volterra, and one Stephen, a school-master, but at the same time a priest; while Francis Pazzi and Bernardo Bandini undertook to murder Giuliano, at the same time that the archbishop Salviati, and Poggio, another of the conspirators, were to seize the palace and force the senators to come into their measures. The hour for the assassination being arrived, Giuliano de Medici, not coming as was expected to the church, Francis Pazzi and Bernardo, who were destined to murder him, went to his house to persuade him to accompany them to church. They addressed him with the most tender expressions of friendship; and even embraced him, that they might discover whether he had about him any private armour; and acted with such openness of behaviour, that Giuliano lost all mistrust, and entered the church along with them, where he found his brother Lorenzo. The first wound given to Giuliano was by Bernardo, with a short dagger, in the breast, which proved mortal; but, though he almost immediately

Giuliano Medici murdered

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immediately fell to the ground, Francis Pazzi threw himself upon the body, and gave it several stabs with such fury, that he even desperately wounded his own leg. The other two assassins, who were destined to the murder of Lorenzo, attacked him; but he bravely stood upon his defence, and obliged the assassins to fly: they were however afterwards found, and put to a shameful death. Mean while Lorenzo, and the friends whom he happened to have about his person, had barricadoed themselves in the vestry of the church; and Bernardo Bandini, after having killed Francis Neri, because he was a friend to the Medici family, ran about in search of Lorenzo to dispatch him; but in this aim he failed. The cardinal took refuge at the altar, where he was saved with the utmost difficulty from the rage of the people, by a guard which the senate sent him, and which escorted him to his palace. As to the archbishop, he repaired with some fugitive Perugians to the public palace; and leaving a party to secure the gates, went up into the apartments of the gonfalonier, who was Cæsar Petrucci; but his confusion was so great, that his design was soon known; and the senate being alarmed, he and Poggio, with two kinsmen who attended him, were seized, and the rest of his party, who had by this time entered the palace, were either killed or thrown alive from the palace-windows, out of which the archbishop, the two Salviati, and Jacob Poggio, were immediately hanged[m]. The conspirators, however, who had been left below, had forced the guards and the gates of the palace; but could proceed no farther, the senators and their attendants making good the upper rooms. Francis Pazzi's wound was so severe, that he could not, as he proposed, get on horseback to proclaim liberty to the people; but he prevailed on Jacob Pazzi to undertake that office. Jacob, at the head of about one hundred horse, accordingly sallied into the Great Square; but his success was very indifferent. The people, who had not been sensible of the loss of their liberty under the Medici, refused to join him: the senators pelted him with stones from the palace; and he himself, now old, infirm, and naturally unambitious, was persuaded by his brother-in-law to retire, at the head of his troop, towards the Romagna.

Lorenzo escapes.

A.D. 1478.

Punishment and deaths of the conspirators.

Lorenzo de Medici was now greater than ever; his enemies were subdued or dissipated, and his name was joyfully proclaimed through every quarter of the city by the

[m] Ammurat. Istor. di Fiorenz. lib. xxiv. Machiavel, delle Istor. lib. viii.

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people, who dragged Francis Pazzi out of his houſe, and hanged him up in company with the archbiſhop and his other confederates. Lorenzo's houſe was now the rendezvous of all the citizens, who offered to ſerve him with their lives and fortunes. As to the reſt of the family of Pazzi, Jacob was taken in his flight, as likewiſe was Renate; and both of them, though the latter was innocent, were brought to Florence, where they were ignominiouſly executed. William Pazzi was confined, as were the reſt of his kinſmen who remained alive; and the other chiefs who had been ſeized were put to death. After theſe executions the funeral of Giuliano de Medici, who left a poſthumous ſon of his own name, was magnificently celebrated. All this time a body of troops, under Lorenzo de Caſtello, in the vale of Tevere, and another under Giovanni Franciſco Tolentino, in the Romagna, both of them in the pay of the pope and the king of Naples, were advancing in full march towards Florence to ſupport the conſpirators; but hearing of their defeat they returned.

Tuſcany invaded by the pope.

The miſcarriage of this deteſtable conſpiracy ſerved only to increaſe the rancour of the pope againſt the Florentines; and both he and the king of Naples ordered their generals to march into Tuſcany, but publicly to declare, that they had no other enemy for their object than Lorenzo de Medici. Upon this invaſion Lorenzo convoked the nobility and chief citizens, to the number of three hundred, where he pronounced a ſpeech in vindication of his own and his family's conduct, which drew tears from the audience. They aſſured him, that, with the ſame readineſs and affection with which they had revenged his brother and defended him, they would ſtill preſerve his life and reputation; nor ſhould he loſe either till they had loſt their country. A guard to be maintained by the public was then voted, and raiſed, for his perſon; and levies of men and money were every where made through their ſtate, to defend them from the impending ſtorm.

Firmneſs of the Florentines againſt the pope.

It cannot be denied, that the conduct of the Florentines on this occaſion was great and manly, and ſuch as ſcarcely can be paralleled in any other Roman catholic ſtate. The pope had excommunicated them; but they were ſo far from regarding his cenſures, that they forced their prieſts to perform divine ſervice. They ſummoned before them all the prelates under their dominion, enjoining them to pay no regard to the pope, from whom they appealed to the next general council; and they publiſhed a manifeſto againſt him, in which they reproached him as being the very worſt of tyrants and parricides, for having given ſanction

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to murderers in a church, and during the very celebration of the holy ſacrament. The pope had nothing to oppoſe againſt thoſe dreadful allegations, but the ſtale arguments of the independency of the eccleſiaſtic upon the civil power, and the illegality of the latter's impriſoning cardinals, hanging archbiſhops and quartering prieſts. But, notwithſtanding all the juſt cauſes of provocation which the Florentines had received from the pope, they delivered up to him the cardinal, becauſe it appeared he had been employed only as a blind, and had not been active in the conſpiracy; for, if he had, it is more than probable he would have undergone the fate of the archbiſhop [n].

The combined army of the pope and the king of Naples had advanced by the way of Sienna to Chianti, the army of the church being commanded by Frederic, count of Urbino, and that of Naples by Alphonſo, the eldeſt ſon of Ferdinand, duke of Calabria. Their firſt enterprize was againſt Caſtiglione, belonging to the Florentines, which they took, after a ſiege of forty days. The truth is, the Florentines had little at this time to depend upon but their own courage and ſpirit. The Milaneſe government was then unſettled, and in the hands of the young duke's mother, who was at variance with all her huſband's relations; but, in virtue of the late confederacy, ſhe ſent the Florentines ſome aſſiſtance; an example which the republic of Venice refuſed to follow, on pretence that the quarrel was of a private nature. Notwithſtanding this diſappointment the Florentine army, under Hercules, marquis of Ferrara, took the field, and would have deſtroyed their enemies, who beſieged and took Monte St. Sovino in the Arezzan, had it not been for the incapacity or treachery of their general, who granted them a truce for ſome days; after which both armies retired to winter-quarters.

Revolution in the Milaneſe.

The pope and the king of Naples, perceiving the Florentines were ſupported by the ducheſs of Milan, employed the rebel princes of the Sforza family, and the Adorni, to ſhake off the Milaneſe yoke; whilſt Fregoſo, by favour of the ducheſs, who was unable to recover the city for her ſon, got poſſeſſion of it, and drove from thence the Sforzi and S. Severino, a Neapolitan general of great reputation, who, putting himſelf at the head of ſome troops, ravaged the territories of Piſa, and advanced almoſt to the gates of that city; and thus the Florentines, in the ſpring, found themſelves oppreſſed by the confederate army on the ſide

[n] Machiav. lib. viii.

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of Sienna, and by S. Severino on that of Pisa. It was, at the same time, with the utmost difficulty that they could keep the Lucquese faithful to their engagements. But the Venetians having lately made peace with the Turks, the Florentines took into their pay Charles, Braccio's son, and count Deiphobo, the son of Jacob Picinino. These two generals, bringing with them a body of mercenaries, forced S. Severino to desist from his attempt upon Pisa, and recovered all the places he had seized. But the animosities which had subsisted between their grandfathers broke out afresh, which obliged the Florentines to put them upon separate services. The body under Deiphobo remained at Poggiobonzi; that under Charles marched against Perugia; while Nicholas Vitelli, with the third party, attempted to retake Citta di Castello. Charles died in the career of his victories and successes, and was succeeded by Robert of Rimini; and all that Vitelli could do was to spoil the open country about Citta di Castello. The death of Charles gave such spirits to the pope's army, that they attacked that under Robert, near the lake of Perugia, but were defeated. This advantage was counterballanced by a mutiny of their troops at Poggiobonzi, which obliged the Florentines to dismiss the marquis of Ferrara from their service. Upon his dismission, Alphonso, duke of Calabria, Ferdinand's eldest son, attacked and totally routed their army, which left all their ammunition, carriages, artillery, and baggage, a prey to their enemy[o]. A pestilence, which at that time raged in Florence, had driven most of its inhabitants into the country; while the council of ten was obliged to recall the army under Robert, which was then besieging Perugia, to the defence of their capital; and it encamped at St. Cassiano, within eighteen miles of Florence. This retreat gave the duke of Calabria an opportunity of extending his conquests on the side of Sienna. He took Poggiobonzi, Vico, and Certaldo; and laid siege to the strong castle of Colle, which, notwithstanding all the efforts of the Florentine army to relieve it, yielded on the 13th of November; on which both armies went into winter-quarters.

Death of Charles Braccio.

Progress of the duke of Calabria.

A.D. 1479.

A truce for three months.

The affairs in Italy, at this time, induced the pope and the king of Naples to offer the Florentines a truce for three months, which was accepted. This respite enabled the Florentines the more cooly to reflect on their own disagreeable situation. They perceived they had nothing to trust

[o] Machiavel. lib. viii.

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to, either from Venice or Milan; and that their victorious enemies would probably next year, be at the gates of their city. Each blamed the other; but the great charge of misconduct lay against Lorenzo de Medici; and one of the Florentines, in a public assembly, bluntly told him, that he must, some way or other, think of giving them peace. Lorenzo wanted no inducement to follow this counsel, and, after many deliberations with his friends, in which they resolved not to trust the pope, he came to the generous resolution of going in person to Naples, to treat of an accommodation. Leaving the charge of affairs in the city to Thomas Soderini, then gonfalonier of justice, he repaired, without any public character, and without acquainting the senate, to Pisa; from whence he sent them letters, informing them of his intention, which they answered, by sending him full powers to treat, as the ambassador of the people of Florence, with the Neapolitan king. The commanding presence of Lorenzo, the force of his reasoning and eloquence, and the openness of his manner, with a thousand other circumstances that characterise a great and wise man, did more than an age of negociation could have effected. Ferdinand, now old, and experienced in the arts of government, no sooner heard him speak of the interests of Italy, and of her several states and potentates, than he was brought over to his sentiments, and resolved, at any rate, to make him his friend. Nevertheless, Ferdinand could not lay aside his insidious habits. He protracted the negociation, that he might see the turn which affairs might take in Florence during the absence of Lorenzo, who had many enemies there. But at last a league, offensive and defensive, was concluded between the king and the Florentines; and, on the 6th of March, Lorenzo set out on his return to Tuscany.

Negociation of Lorenzo.

The amazing sagacity that gave rise to this negociation, the abilities with which it was conducted, and the success that attended it, form an extraordinary period in civil history, and were worthy the genius of the first man in the Florentine state. Lorenzo had the glory and satisfaction to see his labours rewarded by the gratitude of his country, in the reception he met with at his return, and in the extinction of party-spirit, which now centered in the admiration of his virtues. Two days after his arrival the articles of the offensive and defensive league were proclaimed. By them the king was to dispose of the places he had taken from the Florentines as he pleased. The Pazzi, who had been imprisoned, were to be freed; and the duke of Calabria was to receive from the Florentines a subsidy for a certain time.

His high merit in concluding the same.

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The Venetians and the pope complained of the disrespect shewn them by this peace, as they neither had been invited to the negociation, nor were they included in the terms. they expressed their resentment in such a manner, that the Florentines, to prevent the consequences, probably by Lorenzo's advice, constituted their supreme council of seventy citizens, who were invested with the highest powers in government. This council ratified the peace with Ferdinand, and, and nominated ambassadors to go to Rome; but they perceived through various accidents, that they had still great difficulties to encounter.

Character of Lewis the Moor.

The duchess of Milan had been obliged to resign that government to Lewis the Moor, so called from his swarthy complexion, brother to the late duke, one of the most extraordinary characters in history. Though politic and penetrating, he was irresolute and timid, and fear generally determined him to the most dangerous courses. Sarzana was taken from the Florentines by Fregoso the Genoese, who made all the garrison prisoners; and, what was more afflicting than all to the Florentines, the duke of Calabria still lay on their confines with his army, and not only totally disclaimed the late peace, but endeavoured to possess Sienna, as the first step towards his becoming master of all Tuscany. It is difficult to say what the consequences might have been, had not the Turks, who had been repulsed before Rhodes, made a descent upon Italy, and taken Otranto, the most convenient port for them in all the kingdom of Naples, which they fortified, with a view of continuing their conquests. This alarming event delivered Tuscany from the duke of Calabria's ambition; for he was obliged to return with his army to Naples; and the pope now declared himself willing to treat of an accommodation with the Florentines. They, on the other hand, named twelve deputies to go to Rome; where, after a great variety of submissions on their part, the pope gave them his benediction, and ratified the peace. Nevertheless, he insisted upon their maintaining fifteen armed gallies against the Turks. This demand, which the Florentines complained heavily of, was afterwards mitigated by the address of Guido Antonio Vespucci; and thus the Florentines were placed in a situation the most desirable of any they had known for many years.

The Florentines reconciled to the pope.

A.D. 1481.

A peace.

Their first care was to obtain restitution of the towns that had been taken from them by the duke of Calabria, and which had been left to the disposal of Ferdinand, but were now in the hands of the Sienneſe. Ferdinand was warmly plied by the Florentines to resist their importunities,

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ties, because he might have thereby kindled a new war in Italy, which would have deprived him of the assistance he expected against the Turks; and the towns were restored[p]. Fortune thus seconding the virtues and abilities of Lorenzo, he was in his own country as great and glorious as a good citizen could wish to be; and even accidents were now construed as the effects of his policy.

The pope defeats the duke of Calabria.

The surrender of Otranto soon after by the Turks, though it quieted the fears, renewed the dissensions of the Italian princes and states. The Venetians had pretensions upon the Ferrarese; and, gaining the pope to their side, made S. Severino their general. The Florentines placed Costanzo Sforza, the lord of Pesaro, at the head of their army, and that of the Milanese was commanded by Frederic of Urbino. The pope not having declared himself, Ferdinand ordered the duke of Calabria to demand a passage for his troops through his dominions, for the assistance of the marquis of Ferrara, which was denied. The Florentines joining with Ferdinand, considered this denial as a commencement of hostilities on the pope's part, and took the field against him. The duke of Calabria's troops, assisted by the family of Colonna, carried their incursions to the gates of Rome, and Nicholas Vitelli, by the assistance of the Florentines, recovered Citta di Castello from the pope's governor. His holiness being thus straitened on every side, took into his pay Robert of Rimini, whose great reputation and experience gave so much spirit to the Romans, that they marched out of Rome, and obliged the duke of Calabria to come to a battle. The event was glorious for his holiness, or rather for his general. The battle was more bloody than any that had been fought in Italy for fifty years before: almost one thousand men were killed on both sides; but at last the Neapolitans were entirely defeated, and the duke of Calabria himself must have been taken prisoner, had he not been saved by some Turks, who had entered into his service after the surrender of Otranto. A few days after this action, Robert of Rimini, who is styled the Magnificent, died; and his holiness, to testify his gratitude to a general who had served him so faithfully, sent his nephew, count Girolamo, to deprive his infant son of his inheritance of Rimini. The Florentines, on this occasion, generously interposed in favour of the infant and his mother; and the pope was baffled by them, not only in that attempt, but in another that he had formed against Citta di Castello. The war all this while went

[p] Machiavel, lib. viii.

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on in the Ferrareſe, where the Venetians took Figarola from the marquis of Ferrara, and muſt have taken Ferrara itſelf, had not Ferdinand and the Florentines threatened the pope with the authority of a general council, which the emperor had then convoked at Baſil. His holineſs, obliged to give way to neceſſity, at laſt ſent ambaſſadors to Naples, where a league, or rather a truce, for five years was concluded between him, Ferdinand, Lewis the Moor, and the Florentines; and the pope ſignified his pleaſure to the Venetians, that they ſhould deſiſt from their war in Ferrara.

Alarming power of the Venetians.

The Venetians, at that time, were ſo powerful, as to become formidable to the other ſtates of Italy. They defeated both the Milaneſe and the Neapolitan troops that had been ſent to the aſſiſtance of the marquis of Ferrara, and were actually beſieging Ferrara itſelf, when Lorenzo de Medici, with the pope's legate, and the other allies of the Florentines, aſſembled at Cremona, to conſult about doing ſomething deciſive againſt the Venetians. At firſt it was propoſed, that Lewis ſhould make a diverſion in their own country, which he declined doing; and then they reſolved to march and attack the Venetians before Ferrara. It was, however, judged expedient to begin with the Venetian fleet, which they effectually deſtroyed. The land-army of the Venetians conſiſted of two thouſand two hundred men at arms, and ſix thouſand foot; that of the Florentines, and their allies of four thouſand men at arms, and eight thouſand foot. The Venetians, not daunted by this great ſuperiority of numbers, ſent S. Severino acroſs the Adda, where he proclaimed the young duke and his mother, the ſovereigns of Milan, under the walls of that city. This meaſure produced no commotion in Milan, and exaſperated Lewis ſo much, that he now agreed to the diverſion he had rejected before, and, in conjunction with the duke of Calabria, he fell into the Bergamaſe, the Breſſan, and the Veroneſe, where they deſtroyed all the open country; and it was with difficulty that S. Severino, the Venetian general, could prevent their becoming maſters of the cities.

A league againſt them.

A.D. 1483.

It is broken.

Nothing now, but diſſenſion amongſt themſelves, could have prevented the allies from driving the Venetians out of Lombardy: but the intereſts of the duke of Calabria and Lewis the Moor, became then incompatible. John Galeazzo, nephew to Lewis and the true duke of Milan, had married the duke of Calabria's daughter; and Gonzaga, the marquis of Mantua, who had always kept them in friendſhip, being now dead, the duke inſiſted that Lewis ſhould put his ſon-in-law in poſſeſſion of his inheritance, hoping that as Galeazzo

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Galeazzo was but a weak prince, he himself would succeed Lewis as administrator of that duchy. This demand made Lewis fall off from the confederacy, and threw him into the arms of the Venetians, with whom he made a peace, by which the Venetians were restored to the possession of all the towns that had been taken from them, and put into the hands of Lewis, while they retained all they had taken from the marquis of Ferrara. It was in vain for the Florentines and their allies to remonstrate against this treaty. They stood in need of peace, and they were obliged to accede to it. In the mean while, the allies had agreed with his holiness to withdraw all assistance from Vitelli, who remained in possession of Citta di Castello, which was besieged by his forces: but they were defeated by Vitelli, with whom his holiness was obliged to come to a compromise. The pope then joined the Orsino against the Colonnas, who favoured the Neapolitans. But at last each party drubbed the other into peace, neither being able to continue the war.

A.D. 1484.

A peace.

The Florentines all this time had employed Antonio de Marciano to lie with some troops near Sarzana, in hopes of having an opportunity to retake that city. Nothing however but slight skirmishes passed on either side. It may therefore be said, that all Italy was at this time in a state of tranquillity; a circumstance so disagreeable to his holiness, that it broke his heart[q]. His death filled all Rome with uproar and blood, occasioned by the differences between the families of Orsini and Colonna, and count of Girolamo possessed himself of the castle of St. Angelo, which may be considered as the citadel of Rome. He, however, being desirous to oblige the next pope, retired to his own estates; and cardinal Cibo, who took the name of Innocent VIII. succeeded to the popedom, and restored the tranquillity of Rome.

The Florentines at war with the Genoese.

The Florentines still continued very uneasy under the loss of Sarzana, and the more so, as it had been taken from them by Fregoso, a private Genoese. They therefore made vigorous preparations for retaking it; upon which Fregoso yielded up the possession of it to the proprietors of the bank of St. George, who then possessed almost all the territories belonging to the Genoese, without the walls of their city. By this cession the Florentines had no pretext for making war against the Genoese as a community; and they yet could have no hopes of succeeding in the recovery of Sarzana, without taking Pietra Santa, a town belonging to the Genoese. That they might have a good colour for a breach,

They besiege Pietra Santa,

[q] Murator. Annali. ad ann. 1484.

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they ordered a great quantity of provisions, under a very slight convoy, to be sent from Pisa to their army before Sarzana, by the way of Pietra Santa. That garrison could not resist the bait; they sallied out, and easily became masters of the plunder. Upon this violence, the Florentine army abandoned the siege of Sarzana, and undertook that of Pietra Santa; and the war thus becoming general between them and the Genoese, the fleet of the latter took and burnt the fortress of Vada, and ravaged the territory of Volterra. Their ravages were repressed by Buongianni Gianfigliazzi, a Florentine officer, who was sent with a party of horse against them. The Genoese navy, however, made an attempt upon Leghorn, a place which now began to make a figure in Tuscany, from whence it was repulsed with loss.

Pietra Santa taken.

The siege of Pietra Santa still went on; but so remiss was the Florentine army in its discipline, that they were surprised by a sally from the besieged, and driven from their works to the distance of four miles from the town. There they deliberated about abandoning the siege, and retiring into winter-quarters. The news of this repulse filled Florence with indignation. Antonio Pucci and Bernardo del Nero, two of the most respectable citizens, were immediately dispatched, with a large sum of money, to remonstrate to the army, which it seems was numerous and well appointed. The shame of being baffled before so inconsiderable a place, joined to the good conduct of the new commissaries, was so successful that the soldiers stormed the works they had lost before, but with the loss of their general Marciano; and the town itself, perceiving their resolution, proposed a capitulation. To give the more honour to the defence made by the besiegers, Lorenzo de Medici came in person to the Florentine camp, and in a few days after his arrival, the castle, as well as the town, was surrendered. This siege cost the Florentines some of their best troops and officers, and amongst the latter Antonio Pucci, who died through the unwholsome heats of the country, during the autumn season.

It is claimed by the Lucquese.

The Lucquese did not fail to claim from the Florentines Pietra Santa, as a place that had formerly belonged to their state. The others, without denying the fact, told them, that before they gave it up, they must be satisfied for the vast loss of blood and treasure which the reduction of the place had cost them, and a treaty of peace being now set on foot by the pope, they were not sure whether they might not be obliged to restore the town to the Genoese. In those altercations the winter past, and all the next spring. Lorenzo de Medici was so afflicted with an hereditary gout, that

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that he could do no business, and none could be done by the Florentines without him. This indisposition delayed the siege of Sarzana: and the ambition of the duke of Calabria threw fresh obstacles in their way. The city of Aquila was so little dependent on the crown of Naples, that though it lay in that kingdom, it might be said to have been free. The duke of Calabria being in the neighbourhood with his troops, under pretence of business, trepanned the count of Montorio, who had the greatest sway in Aquila, into his power, and sent him prisoner to Naples, in hopes of reducing Aquila to an absolute subjection to that crown. The Aquilians upon this flew to arms, and not only put to death the king's commissary, and several of Ferdinand's friends in that city, but erected the papal banners, and invited the pope to take them under his protection. His holiness greedily accepted of the invitation; and taking into his pay S. Severino, who had been dismissed from the Milanese service, all the friends of count Montorio, and many of the Neapolitan barons declared in his favour. Ferdinand applied to the Florentines for assistance; and though they were extremely averse from either entering into a war with the holy see, or prosecuting the advantages they had obtained over the Genoese, yet they sent an army to his assistance, by which Alphonso remained master of the field against his holiness, and all his other enemies. At last, the Spaniards offering their mediation, a peace was concluded, by which all Italy was once more restored to its tranquility, the Genoese alone being excluded, for having shaken off the yoke of Milan, and detaining the Florentine possessions.

Revolution in Aquila.

A peace.

The punctuality with which the Florentines had fulfilled their engagements with Ferdinard, gave them great credit with the pope, who, during the war with the Neapolitans, had been betrayed by his general S. Severino, and he publicly declared, that he would do every thing in his power to serve and oblige them. This declaration being reported to Lorenzo de Medici, he omitted nothing that could cement or improve the growing friendship, and actually gave one of his daughters in marriage to Francis, son to the pope, who had been married before he was exalted to the popedom. From that time the interests of Florence and the holy see became the same, as Lorenzo had agreed to every thing proposed for the advancement of his son-in-law in Italy. The pope, on the other hand, insisted strongly with the Genoese that they should restore Sarzana to the Florentines, as holding it from an iniquitous title derived from Fregoso. The Genoese were so far from paying regard

A.D. 1486.

The pope favours the Florentines.

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gard to the remonstrances of his holiness, that they fitted out a fleet of gallies, then landed three thousand foot at Serazanella, and having plundered the town, and the neighbouring places, belonging to the Florentines, they planted artillery against the castle. These hostilities being carried on while a truce was subsisting under the pope's mediation, the Florentines complained loudly at Rome, but ordered their general Virginio Orsini at Pisa, to draw their troops together. They then sent ambassadors to require aid from their allies. But Ferdinand excused himself because of his war with the Turks, and Lewis of Milan trifled with them; so that they received none. Depending, therefore, on themselves, they appointed James Guicciardini and Peter Vittori, to command against the Genoese, who still pressed the citadel of Serazanella, and lay encamped on the river Magra. A battle quickly ensued, in which the Genoese were entirely defeated; and Lorenzo de Medici, arriving in the Florentine camp, Sarzana itself was besieged and taken, after an obstinate resistance, by the Florentines[r].

A.D. 1487.

Sarzana taken.

Events in Romagna.

During these transactions on the Magra, Lewis Sforza, under pretence of sending some troops to the assistance of the Florentines, sent them to support an insurrection which he privately procured to be made in Genoa, by which that city once more fell into the hands of the Milanese. About the same time the Venetians were defeated near Trent by the Germans, and their general S. Severino was killed. But the Venetians soon made a peace, by which they gained more than all they had lost by war. The connections between the pope and Lorenzo de Medici grew every day stronger; for the latter persuaded Boccalino, of Osimo, in the marquisate of Ancona, to restore that town to his holiness, after having been the occasion of its rebelling.

State of Florence.

Florence had now attained a very high state of power and prosperity. The Venetians were in no condition to hurt her; Lewis Sforza had no inclination, nor was it his interest. The pope and the king of Naples were her friends; and she actually possessed the ballance of power in Italy. Her people were rich, powerful, united, and flourishing in learning, arts, and sciences. All this prosperity was owing to the wisdom and virtue of a private citizen, Lorenzo de Medici. For some years the tranquillity of his country was such, that it afforded no events proper for history to record. Lorenzo, though honoured with the appellation of the Father of the Muses, did not forget his own family. He

[r] Ammurat. Istor. di Fiorenz. lib. xxiii.

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married his eldeſt ſon to Alphonſina, daughter to the chevalier Orſini. Though his ſecond ſon John, afterwards the famous pope Leo X. was not above thirteen years of age, yet he procured for him the dignity of cardinal; but his third ſon was too young for any proviſion. He had four daughters; one of them was married to James Salviati, another to Francis Cibo, a third to Peter Ridolphi, all of them of great houſes; and he would have given the fourth in marriage to James Medici, had ſhe not died.

At length, this great man, worn out by a complication of diſtempers which ſettled in his ſtomach, died, aged no more than forty-four years. For his character, we muſt, in a great meaſure, refer to thoſe we have drawn of his illuſtrious predeceſſors, whom he reſembled in all their public and private virtues; but he ſeems, in progreſs of time, to have exceeded them in perſonal accompliſhments. He owed, as we have ſeen, his life to his valour, and he had a turn for military affairs, which was of infinite ſervice to his country, though peace was the darling object of all his meaſures. The commerce of Europe began, during his time, to run into new channels. Lorenzo found that he was impoſed upon by his factors, who lived like princes, and he therefore contracted his mercantile dealings, and laid out the money he was maſter of in territorial acquiſitions, within the ſtate of Florence, as being the moſt likely to give permanency to his family. He not only loved and rewarded, above any prince of his age, the fine arts, but practiſed them in his own perſon. According to Machiavel, compoſitions of his are ſtill extant, that prove him to have been both a poet and a critic. He was alſo a good judge of architecture, painting, and muſic. He founded the univerſity of Piſa, to which he brought the moſt learned and ingenious men in Italy. He built near to Florence a monaſtery for father Moriano, who was an excellent preacher [s].

A.D. 1492.

Death and character of Lorenzo de Medici.

He is ſaid to have been more amorous than was conſiſtent with the ſtrict practice of virtue, and, like Scipio, Lelius, and other great men of antiquity, to have unbent his more ſerious hours with juvenile recreations. Though he had no opinion of diſtant conqueſts, yet he fortified Florence againſt invaſion from abroad, not only by adding to the ſtrength as well as the beauty of the city, but by putting his friends into the government of thoſe ſtates and places, that were in a manner the keys of the republic. He kept in his own hands the adminiſtration of Faenza; and, by his intereſt, the Baglioni governed in Perugia, and the Vi-

[s] Ammurat. Iſt. de Fiorenz. Machiavel. lib. viii.

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telli in Citta di Caſtello. To amuſe his buſy pragmatical countrymen, as well as to render Florence more populous and frequented, he was perpetually exhibiting public juſts, tournaments, plays, entertainments, and other diverſions, which had a wonderful effect upon the minds of the people, and reconciled them, in a great meaſure, to that ariſtocracy of which they were naturally ſo jealous. As Italy was then the country of learned princes and nobility, Florence became the reſidence of all who cultivated, practiſed, or ſtudied the fine arts: and the famous Pico, count of Mirandola, after having travelled all over Europe, here fixed his abode.

Lorenzo's fortune, in ſome reſpects, was equal to his merit. Several attempts, beſides that of the Pazzi, were made upon his life; but all of them were defeated, and the aſſaſſins puniſhed. The moſt diſtant princes were ſtruck with reverence and eſteem for his perſon and virtues; witneſs the correſpondence he kept up with Matthias, king of Hungary, the ambaſſadors and preſents he received from the reigning emperors of the Turks, one of whom delivered up to him the murderer of his brother Bernardo Bandini, who had taken refuge amongſt the infidels. His palace was the centre of unity for all Italy, and by his wonderful addreſs, he brought it to a ſtate of tranquillity, which it had not known for ſome ages before. Upon his death, all the Italian ſtates and princes ſent compliments of condolence by their ambaſſadors to Florence.

Succeeded by his ſon Peter.

By the death of Lorenzo de Medici, which was ſucceeded by that of pope Innocent VIII. the balance of power in Italy was again deſtroyed. Lorenzo was ſucceeded by his ſon Peter; but he was far from being qualified, either by age or abilities, for maintaining his father's ſyſtem. Both his wife and mother were of the Orſini family, and he reſigned himſelf entirely to the direction of his kinſman Virginio Orſini, who perſuaded him to ſtrengthen his intereſt, by connection with the court of Naples; a meaſure which gave ſuch umbrage to Lewis Sforza, that it produced the moſt diſmal calamities to Italy.

Borgia choſen pope by the name of Alexander VI.

Innocent VIII. was ſucceeded by Roderigo Borgia, a Spaniard, who called himſelf Alexander VI. a name that has ever ſince implied all manner of impiety, impurity, cruelty, and wickedneſs. He mounted the papal throne by open ſimony, and was even above the practice of hypocriſy in his vices. At the ſame time he was cunning, and ſagacious in finding out reſources under all difficulties.

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As the great strength of Italy now lay in an union, Sforza proposed that the ambassadors of all her princes should present themselves in one day, as the members of one body, to make their usual congratulations upon the pope's accession, and that one should harangue him in the name of all the rest. Peter, and the bishop of Arezzo had been named ambassadors from the Florentines, and both of them designed to make a great figure; the former by the magnificence of his dress, equipages, and attendance; the other, by the speech he intended to make. They therefore privately prevailed on Ferdinand, who had approved of Sforza's scheme, to oppose it, which he did, but at the same time named his advisers. This discovery increased Sforza's suspicions. Cibo, who was the natural son of the last pope, and brother-in-law to Peter, lived then at Florence, and was persuaded to sell the castles of Anguillara, Cervetri, and some others, which he held in the neighbourhood of Rome, to Virginio Orsini, who they intended should be a check upon the pope. Alexander, who had destined the crown of Naples for one of his own family, declared that the bargain was null, because those castles were fiefs of the Holy See; and he was supported in his resentments by Sforza, who remonstrated to Peter de Medici the impolitic step he had taken, and pressed Ferdinand to compromise matters with his holiness. Notwithstanding this opposition, Virginio took possession of the castles, at the secret instigation of Ferdinand himself.

Peter differs with Sforza.

Sforza was penetrating enough to perceive how strong the connections were between Peter and Ferdinand; and he endeavoured, but in vain to break them, that he might preserve Florence still for his friend. He had usurped the power of his nephew, son-in-law to the duke of Calabria, who, with his daughter the duchess of Milan, made no secret of their sentiments, and that the young prince and his family were in danger from the practises of his uncle. Sforza, at the same time, was sensible that he was hated by the people of Milan, and that the new alliance was necessary for his safety. He applied to the Venetians, who appeared cautious and backward; and to the pope, whose haughty spirit had been exasperated by the court of Naples which refused to give their king's natural daughter in marriage to one of his sons, with a large territory in Naples for her portion. The Venetians, at last, perceiving the pope irreconcileable to Ferdinand, came into the confederacy proposed by Sforza, the professed object of which was to dispossess Virginio of his acquisitions. Peter de Medici and the duke of Calabria could easily, by the assistance of the

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Colonnas and the Orsini, have dashed this confederacy in pieces, had they not been restrained by the caution of old Ferdinand. In consideration of this, and of the uncertainty of the continuance of the friendship between the pope and the Venetians, and his own dangerous situation, Sforza had recourse to the desperate expedient of inviting Charles VIII. king of France, to invade the kingdom of Naples, under the title of the Anjouvin princes, which had been made over to him. This title, it must be acknowleged, was plausible. Charles was a giddy young prince, weak, both in body and mind; but had ambition, and a courage that well suited with the proposed expedition, from which he was dissuaded by his ablest counsellors; but he undertook it upon Sforza's promising to supply him with money.

He invites Charles of France into Italy.

Negociations on that head.

In this negociation it it hard to say which was most absurd, the conduct of Charles, or that of Sforza, who, blinded by his fears, invited the most powerful prince then in Europe into Italy. Ferdinand seemed to dissemble his apprehensions; but he was dreadfully alarmed. He endeavoured by his ambassadors at the court of France, to divert Charles from his resolution, by even offering him an annual subsidy. He endeavoured to compromise affairs with the pope, and to move all Sforza's jealousies. He succeeded so far with the pope, that after having made great sacrifices both of honour and interest, the Venetian and Milanese troops, raised in consequence of the late treaty, were dismissed. By this time, Sforza, either from natural dissimulation, or inward conviction, expressed his apprehensions that he had gone too far; and promised Peter de Medici, that he would prevent the consequences of the invasion. But it was now too late; for Charles, having taken all measures that could secure his success, by alliances and negociations with the great powers of Europe, required from the Florentine ambassadors a categorical answer, whether their state would give his army a passage through their dominions; and, upon their evading the question, he threatened to banish all the Florentine merchants out of France, if it was not instantly answered.

Death of Ferdinand king of Naples.

Peter de Medici, at first, endeavoured to bring Ferdinand to consent that he should yield to Charles; but Ferdinand remained inflexible on that head, and died in the beginning of the year. His son Alphonso, duke of Calabria, though possessed of all Ferdinand's faults of cruelty, oppression, and treachery, was inferior to him in address and temper. He perceived that the pope was exasperated by the difficulties he met with at home from the Florentine and Neapolitan factions, which were now in the French interest; but he brought him over, by making him a present of thirty thousand

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and ducats, and by providing in the most extravagant manner for his three sons, one of whom was the famous Cæsar Borgia. The French king, on the other hand, without minding the intrigues of Italy, intimated to the Florentines, and the other Italian states, his intention of marching towards Naples. D'Aubigny, son to the regent of Scotland, was at the head of this embassy; and when the ambassadors came to Florence, they put both the Florentines and Peter de Medici in mind of the infinite obligations they lay under to the crown of France. Peter had hitherto avoided giving the French court any positive answer; but he found the Florentines, in general, very averse from taking upon themselves to oppose the French march. Peter's influence, however, was so great, that the ambassadors were dismissed without any positive answer.

Designs of Peter.

He had formed a design, by Alphonso's assistance, of changing the Florentine government, by making himself prince or duke of that city. It is certain, that his father had no favourable opinion of his son's capacity[t]; and that about this time two of his near relations, Lorenzo and Giovanni de Medici, men of great property, had entered into a correspondence with the French king and Sforza, for depriving him of his power in the state, where all public offices were filled up by his appointment, and no measure could be concluded without his approbation. The design was discovered; but all the censure the conspirators received was a slight confinement to their own houses, though it was with difficulty that Peter was restrained from taking a much severer revenge. This discovery served only to render him the more irreconcileable to Sforza, whom he considered as author of the plot, and to confirm him in the measures he had proposed. A peremptory but a plausible answer was now sent to the French ambassadors, setting forth the inability the state of Florence was under of complying with the king's demands, without violating her most sacred engagements, which obliged them to defend the kingdom of Naples against any person that should invade it. This answer being intimated to Charles, he ordered the Florentine ambassadors immediately to quit his dominions; but, to shew that his resentment was chiefly levelled against Peter, he allowed all their merchants to remain in his territories, excepting those who were Peter's factors or agents.

Conspiracy against him defeated.

Neither the Florentines nor the pope had yet openly broken with Sforza; and they were so cautious, that they

Charles invades Italy.

[t] Annotatione in margine, fatte da Thomaso Porcacchi. Guicciardini, libro primo.

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even refused to admit Alphonso's gallies into the harbour of Leghorn. Alphonso and the pope, on the 13th of July, had an interview at Vico Varo, in which the operations of the war were settled, in case that Charles should execute his threats of invading Italy. Alphonso at that time had a noble fleet, with which he endeavoured to make an impression upon Genoa; but the design was defeated by the vigilance of the French in that city. The duke of Calabria, Alphonso's son, a young prince of great hopes, marched at the head of an army into the Romagna, where the Florentine interest was very strong. Astorre Manfredi, the prince of Faenza, was directed by them; but Catherina Sforza, mother of Ottaviano Riverio, lord of Imola and Forli, refused to expose her son's territories, unless the Florentines would declare themselves, and indemnify him for all he might suffer in the war. This difficulty put a stop to all the operations that had been concerted; and it now appeared, that there was in the Florentine senate a party against breaking with the French, which Peter durst not venture of himself to encounter. To remove his apprehensions, the duke of Calabria, in an interview at Borgo San Sepolcro, offered him, in his father's name, to employ his army as he (Peter) should direct. This offer elated Peter so much, that, returning to Florence, he obtained, against the sense of his wisest countrymen, leave from the republic, which was to defray all expences, to take Ottaviano's towns under the protection of the allies. Giovanni Bentivoglio, of Bologna, entered into the service of the allies upon much the same terms.

Peter favours the court of Naples.

The success of these negociations might have been attended with the reduction of the Milanese, had it not been for the unaccountable slowness of the Neapolitans, or the Arragonians, as they were called, which gave an opportunity for D'Aubigny, the French general, to march with amazing celerity into the territory of Imola, before the duke's army had quitted Cesena; and thus the operations of the Neopolitans were confined to the Romagna, where the French and Milanese lived in great opulence. All this inactivity did not discourage Peter de Medici, who now declared himself openly against the French. He admitted the Neapolitan gallies to anchor and victual in the port of Leghorn, and to raise recruits all over the Florentine state. He sent one thousand men and some artillery to Ferdinand's army, which, by his order, was now joined by the troops under Bentivoglio and Astorre. We are, however, given to understand that those steps, taken by Peter, were far from being agreeable to the sense of the Florentine senate; nor

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nor did their ambaſſadors at Venice with any vigour ſecond the warm inſtances made by thoſe of the pope, to induce that republic to join the league; the heads of which, at this time, applied for aſſiſtance even to Bajazet, the emperor of the Turks.

Conduct of Sforza.

It is probable that Sforza would now gladly have reſtrained the vivacity of the French, who were making prodigious preparations for invading Italy; but the allies, inſtead of encouraging thoſe ſentiments in him, and bringing him over to a common league with all the ſtates of Italy, by their conduct rendered him deſperate. His miniſter at Florence had ſtrenuouſly endeavoured to perſuade Peter, by all means, to continue inviolably attached to his league with Alphonſo; and Peter, by Alphonſo's advice, diſcloſed to Charles all that paſſed between him and Sforza's ambaſſador on that head. He went ſo far as, under pretence of ſickneſs, to give that ambaſſador audience in his own bed-chamber, where he had concealed the French miniſter, who overheard all that had paſſed between him and Sforza's ambaſſador, who ſtrongly inſiſted on Peter's entering into engagements for oppoſing the French invaſion, and for continuing in his league with Alphonſo. This ſtratagem, though natural, had a different effect from what Peter expected. When it became public in the French camp, Sforza had addreſs enough to perſuade the king, that all he meant was for his ſervice; and having now nothing to hope farther from his intrigues, he applied himſelf in good earneſt to forward the French expedition. Charles wanted no incitement: he was then advanced as far as Vienne, in Dauphiné, but deſtitute of every thing for proceeding on the expedition. To raiſe money, he was obliged to pawn all the jewels of his crown and perſon. His ſubjects, in general, were averſe to his proceeding farther; and even his generals, having ſuch proofs of Sforza's irreſolution or treachery, were very backward in their obedience. But the inviolable attachment of the French to their monarch overcame all difficulties. The king, obſtinate and determined as he was, ſeemed to be ſtartled, and to waver, at hearing of the diſaffection of his troops to the ſervice, and on being diſappointed of a ſum of money he had expected from Sforza. But the cardinal of St. Pietro in Vincola, the determined enemy of the pope and the Florentines, having confirmed his reſolution, he advanced to Aſti, where he received news that the Neapolitans had been defeated by the duke of Orleans from Rapalle, and that Genoa was thereby ſecured in the French intereſt. In the French army ſix thouſand Swiſs, then reckoned the beſt

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troops on the continent of Europe, ſerved; and Charles, who, by falling ill of the ſmall-pox, was detained a whole month, at laſt received from Marſeilles a large ſupply of artillery. That prince having now entered Italy, affairs in the Romagna took an unfavourable turn for the pope and the Florentines, where many princes and ſtates fell off from his and their intereſt. And though the duke of Calabria at firſt obtained many advantages over the French and Milaneſe, he was at laſt, through the treachery of thoſe about his perſon, obliged to retreat, and to act on the defenſive. Charles, by this time, was advanced to Pavia, where he found his couſin-german, Galeazzo, the true duke of Milan, in extremity, occaſioned through poiſon adminiſtered by Sforza. But neither his languiſhing condition, nor the tears of his beautiful wife and infant ſon, who threw themſelves at his feet, begging for protection againſt Sforza, could diſſuade Charles from proceeding; and the duke dying ſome days after, Sforza was inveſted with the enſigns of the duke of Milan, in prejudice of his grand-nephew, who was only five years of age. Charles was then at Piacenza; and neither he nor his court, abandoned as it was, could reflect without horror on the villainy and practices of Sforza.

He applies to the Florentines.

It is probable that this horror, and Sforza's trifling with his engagements, were ſo ſtrong, that Charles, not being joined as he expected by the Italians, would have repaſſed the Alps, had it not been for the encouragement he met with from the enemies of Peter de Medici. Lorenzo and John de Medici, whom we have already mentioned, having broken out of their confinement, repaired to Charles at Piacenza, where they repreſented the unpopularity of Peter, and the affection the Florentines had for the French, in ſuch colours as determined the French king, at all events, to proceed. He was, however, ſo ſolicitous to gain over the Florentines, that he ſent them freſh ambaſſadors, offering them great advantages if they would ſuffer him to proceed, and threatening them with the ſevereſt vengeance if they ſhould preſume to obſtruct his march.

This meſſage had great effect upon the minds of the Florentine people, who now ſaw themſelves expoſed to the wrath of a great king, merely through the imprudence of Peter de Medici. It was plain that Charles, had it not been for his reſentment againſt Peter, might have marched to Naples without touching the Florentine territories; but he was determined to ſubject Tuſcany before he proceeded, and he took the route of Parma, at the inſtances of Sforza, to whom he was now reconciled, and who wanted to

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to become master of Pisa. His army being strengthened by the junction of the Swiss from Genoa, he advanced victoriously, and took several places that belonged to the Florentines in the Lunigiana, The Florentines, or rather Peter de Medici, resolved to make their stand against him at Sarzana and Serazanella, in a country where his army would find it difficult to procure subsistence.

Peter submits to him, and betrays his country.

But the French carried on war in a manner that for many years had not been known in Italy. Their slightest skirmishes were attended with more bloodshed than had been for a century lost in the greatest battles fought in that country. The artillery was irresistible, and they put a garrison which opposed them to the sword. All those considerations dismayed Peter de Medici, who, finding so strong a dislike to him in Florence, came to a resolution unworthy of his rank and family, which was that of throwing himself at the feet of the French king. All that can be alleged in favour of Peter for this dastardly resolution, was the inability of the courts of Rome and Naples to support him, joined to the fresh resentments of his fellow-citizens, occasioned by a new order issued by the French court, for all the Florentine merchants, without distinction, to evacuate their dominions. While Peter was preparing for his journey, a detachment of Florentine horse and foot, under Paul Orsini, marching to reinforce the garrison of Sarazana, was cut in pieces by the French. Peter being admitted, with some difficulty, to the presence of Charles, whose army lay before Serazanella, he agreed, in the most abject manner, to more than was required of him. He immediately gave up Sarzana, Sarazanella, Pietra Santa, and the citadels of Pisa and Leghorn to the French; that king engaging, by an instrument, to restore them as soon as he should be seated on the throne of Naples; and it was agreed that the Florentines should pay for the French protection and friendship two hundred thousand florins.

Peter's concessions secured all Tuscany to the king, and paved his way into the Romagna, where the duke of Calabria was entrenched within the strong lines of a camp near Faenza, which were, with a great deal of bloodshed, forced by the French. The Florentines now submitted to Charles; and the duke, not knowing whom to trust to, was obliged to retire with precipitation under the walls of Cesena, and from thence towards Rome; so that the Neapolitan affairs began now to wear a very gloomy aspect. It was plain, that the unexpected progress of the French in Italy, was owing to the pusillanimity of Peter de Medici; and the magistrates of Florence sent some of his most de-

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termined enemies as their ambassadors to the king. Peter, under pretence of executing his late engagements with Charles, repaired to Florence, where his best friends looked coldly upon him. He was not only denied admittance into the palace of the republic but proclaimed a rebel, together with his two brothers; and they all three fled to Bologna, where they were received by Bentivoglio with the most bitter reproaches upon Peter's misconduct and cowardice.

Revolt of the Pisans.

Upon this revolution of the Florentine state, the Pisans applied to the king, beseeching him to deliver them from the oppressive yoke of the Florentines, which, contrary to his agreement, he promised to do. Upon this assurance the people pulled down the Florentine standards; and the king, sensible of his mistake, ordered the Florentine magistrates to continue in their places; but took possession of the new citadel, leaving the old one, which was of small importance to the Pisans, to the great disappointment of Sforza, who was in hopes of being put into possession of Pisa.

Charles enters Florence as a conqueror.

Charles was then at Pisa; and sending for d'Aubigny to join him, he proceeded towards Florence, which he entered in the midst of his guards and army as a conqueror, with his beaver up, and his lance erect. This terrible array, depressed and divided as the Florentines were, did not dispirit them. Charles had again and again declared, that he expected to be put into possession of the sovereignty of that republic; and finding the Florentines obstinate on that head, he dispatched messengers to Bologna to recall Peter de Medici, who, by that time, had precipitately fled to Venice. But the Florentines were resolved to live or to die free. They called all their soldiers and subjects into their capital; and the word was given, that the moment the great bell was tolled, all should run to arms. It is more than probable that Charles came to the knowlege of this desperate resolution; for he had every motive that could induce him to prosecute his demands, which he at last receded from, on condition that the Florentines would suffer his deputies, under the denomination of men of the long robe, to remain in Florence, with a kind of jurisdiction; but the Florentines continued inflexible even on that head. It was now every moment expected that Florence would be deluged with blood; but the calamity was prevented by the unparalleled magnanimity of Pietro, a descendent of the famous Neri di Capponi. A day being fixed for the last determination, when all parties were assembled in the king's presence, Charles ordered his secretary

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tary to read the terms upon which Florence should be safe. They were harsh and tyrannical; and the secretary had scarcely finished the paper, when Pietro started from his seat, snatched it from him, and tore it before the king's face. "Now, sir, (said he) sound your trumpets, and we will ring our bells:" and then he left the room, attended by his companions. The French were no strangers to the wisdom and resolution of Capponi, who had resided in their court as the Florentine ambassador. They were daunted by the boldness of his behaviour; and civilly desiring the deputies to return, a convention was made, by which Florence was to be the friend and confederate of France; and it was agreed that the citadels of Pisa and Leghorn, with Pietra Santa, Sarzana, and Sarzanella, should be restored by Charles as soon as he was in possession of Naples, or, as soon as he should return to France; but that, in the mean time, their revenues should accrue to the Florentines. The rebellion of the Pisans was to be forgiven. The Florentines were to take no steps in the present war without previously acquainting two ambassadors the king was to leave behind him. The attainders of Peter de Medici, and his two brothers, were to be taken off; but Peter was not to come within one hundred miles of the borders of the republic; nor his two brothers within one hundred miles of Florence. The Florentines were at liberty to reduce, by force of arms, all who rebelled against them; and the king, who was to receive in hand forty thousand ducats, and seventy thousand afterwards, most solemnly swore to the performance of all the articles [c].

Capponi brings about a peace.

Charles proceeded from Florence to Sienna, and from thence to Rome, where the pope was now inclined to favour him; but he was so divided between hopes and fears, that Charles could not fix him to any resolution. His fears at last got the better. He yielded to all that was demanded of him, and ordered the duke of Calabria, with his army, to evacuate the ecclesiastical state. Charles entered Rome as he had entered Florence, and would have deposed the pope, at the earnest solicitation of the Romans, both ecclesiastics and laics, had not Alexander corrupted some of his principal favourites; so that an accommodation was effected. While Charles advanced to Naples, Alphonso, who was extremely disagreeable to his subjects, abandoned his kingdom, and his son was crowned; but he too in a few days was obliged to yield to the superior fortune of Charles,

A.D. 1494.

Charles enters Rome.

[c] Ammurat. Hist. de Firenz. Guicc. Hist. d'Italia.

who

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who, almost without a blow, became master of that great and populous kingdom.

Disputes between the Pisans and the Florentines.

Charles, before his departure from Florence, had neglected to give orders for paying the Pisan revenues to the Florentines. The Pisans availed themselves of this omission; and being favoured by the French governors, drove from their city, or imprisoned, all the Florentines, and were supported by the republics of of Sienna, Lucca, and Genoa; but chiefly underhand by Sforza; so that the Pisans recovered their liberty, both within their walls and in their territory. The Florentines, all this while, depended for redress on the good faith of Charles; but he was influenced by his courtiers, and his own natural instability, rather to favour than to quell the revolt, and he put the Florentines off with dilatory answers; so that they at last took arms, and recovered several places in the Pisan. At last Charles appointed the ambassadors of both people to attend him, to hear the allegations of each.

The Pisans deputed Burgundio Lolo, one of their townsmen, to be their spokesman; as the Florentines did Francisco Soderini, then bishop of Volterra, and afterwards a cardinal. Each pleaded the cause of their principals to the best of their abilities. Lolo inveighed against the pride, tyranny, oppression, and cruelty of the Florentines, who had reduced Pisa, once a noble republic, to misery; while Soderini, on the other hand, insisted upon the double right which the Florentines had to Pisa, by compact and conquest. He affirmed, that Pisa owed her existence to Florence; and concluded, by putting the king in mind of the oath and engagements he was under.

Charles favours the Pisans.

Charles favoured the Pisans, but proposed several expedients to keep the Florentines quiet; all which were rejected. He was, however, obliged to temporize, because he wanted money, and he sent the cardinal of St. Malo to Florence, under pretext of reinstating them in the possession of Pisa; but with secret orders to amuse them till he got the money; which was not yet due. The Florentines, however, generously made their next payment of forty thousand ducats; and the cardinal went to Pisa, where, instead of putting the Florentines in possession, he augmented the French garrison, and pretended he could do the Florentines no service, because, not being a soldier, but an ecclesiastic, he could not conquer the obstinacy of
A.D. 1496. the Pisans. In the mean time the latter daily increased both in strength and courage. Sforza, making use of the agency of the Genoese, who were still at war with the Florentines,

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Florentines, ſent them a ſtrong reinforcement, both of horſe and foot, under Lucio Malvezzo, one of his beſt generals, and privately encouraged the Sienneſe to keep poſſeſſion of Monte Pulciano, which had lately revolted to them from the Florentines.

The government of Florence ſettled.

The latter, as if the perplexity of their affairs called for a continuance of their diviſions, were at this time ſplit into a thouſand factions about re-ſettling, or rather re-moulding, their form of government. They ſeemed to look back with ſurprize and horror at their ſituation under the family of the Medici; nor did they conſider all the advantages it had brought to their country, as an equivalent for the interruption which they had given to the power of the people. They had preſerved the forms of the conſtitution, but had deprived them of the ſubſtance; and no ſooner had Charles left Florence, than a meeting of the whole body of the citizens, called a parliament[d], was held in the great ſquare before the palace; and there, according to our author, they formed a model, ſeemingly popular, but really calculated for the intereſt of a few. The Florentines quickly perceived the defects of this model; and another meeting was held ſoon after to alter it. At this aſſembly Paolo Antonio Soderini made a long ſpeech, recommending a popular form of government, in which he made a diſtinction between the ordinary and extraordinary power of the magiſtrates. He propoſed, that all the magiſtrates and inferior officers, both in the city and territory, ſhould be choſen in an aſſembly of all who were legally qualified to partake of the government; and that no new laws ſhould be enacted but by ſuch an aſſembly. This method, he thought, would be an incentive for citizens to aſpire to public offices by virtue, merit, and modeſty. As to the extraordinary powers, thoſe which related to peace or war, the amendments of laws, and other matters of the higheſt importance in the government, he propoſed that the people ſhould chuſe a ſeparate magiſtracy for that purpoſe, who were to meet and deliberate independently upon them, on all matters committed to their determination, becauſe they require to be treated with ſuperior ſagacity, learning, and ſecrecy. He thought, that on theſe two points depended the true form of popular government, which might be leiſurely poliſhed and improved by his fellow-citizens till it arrived at perfection; and he ſaid, it was owing to the partition of policy which he propoſed, that the ſtate of Venice had ſo long maintained its

[d] Nel Parlamento, Guicciardini, lib. ii.

liberty

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liberty and independency. He adviſed the members preſent to lay hold of the preſent opportunity, now that they were their own maſters, to introduce this popular method.

Soderini was anſwered by Guido Antonio Veſpucci, a citizen likewiſe of great eminence, who treated Soderini's propoſal as chimerical and impracticable, and of all people in the world the leaſt fitted to the genius of the Florentines. He thought that Florence, under a popular government, might run from one extreme to another; and being freed from tyranny, might plunge into licentiouſneſs, which, he ſaid, was the worſt tyranny of the two. He thought there was a ſpecifical difference between the conſtitutions of Florence and Venice, becauſe the latter had always a doge at the head of its government. He appealed to the experience of hiſtory, whether their own country, as well as Athens and Rome, had not been always ſaved by the wiſdom of a few from the miſgovernment of the many. "But why, (ſaid he) ſhould you object to the method that has been ſettled by the parliament, which leaves every thing to the diſpoſal of the magiſtrates, who are not created for life, nor elected by a few, but are choſen by ballot from amongſt thoſe qualified, according to the ancient cuſtom of Florence."

Hiſtory of Savanarola.

It is poſſible our author himſelf compoſed the ſpeeches he puts into the mouths of theſe two citizens, the better to illuſtrate the political topics then agitated amongſt his countrymen. But the madneſs of a Dominican friar ſet at nought all their wiſdom. He was of Ferrara, and his name was Girolamo Savanarola. He was perpetually haranguing from the pulpit; and he at laſt worked himſelf up to a pitch of enthuſiaſm, and thought himſelf endued with the ſpirit of prophecy. An enthuſiaſt never fails to gain proſelytes, eſpecially in a free ſtate; and if his doctrine admits of politics, he is ſoon at the head of a great party. Savanarola was a profeſſed advocate for the power of the people in the government. He avowed the utmoſt hatred to pope Alexander and the houſe of Medici; and in a ſhort time he became ſo popular, that he was above the reach of civil juſtice. Having, according to the gloomy ideas of enthuſiaſts, foretold the invaſion of Italy by foreign armies, which no walls nor troops could oppoſe; and that the Florentine government was upon the eve of a change, when Italy was in full tranquillity, and the houſe of Medici in power; he was conſidered by the people as a prophet, for he diſclaimed all carnal learning and human foreſight, and pretended that his information came from God himſelf. In ſhort, he brought the ſame great authority to prove,

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prove, that a new parliament ought to be ſummoned, in order to aboliſh the preſent form of government, and to inſtitute one entirely popular. His arguments were irreſiſtible, and his party ſo numerous, that it was at laſt determined that a ſupreme council ſhould be formed of the whole body of the citizens, who, according to the ancient laws, were qualified to bear poſts in the government. The buſineſs of this council was to chuſe all the magiſtrates in the city and the ſtate, to ſettle the public ſubſidies, and to ſtrengthen, amend, or alter, the laws in being. This council being ſettled, a public decree paſſed, in the nature of an Athenian amneſty, for aboliſhing all heart-burnings in the ſtate, and preventing future diſcords, by enacting, that all paſt tranſgreſſions and treaſons ſhould be forgot.

The government new modelled.

Thus, from the ravings of a mad enthuſiaſt, the foundations of a noble conſtitution were laid, by placing the legiſlative power in the hands of citizens legally qualified for poſts in the government, who were to diſpoſe of the executive power as they thought proper. This new model admitted of improvements; but theſe were deferred till the citizens ſhould be reconciled to it, and ſenſible of its benefits.

Before we proceed to other matters we ſhall, though not in order of time, recount the fate of Savanarola. The friends of the Medici and the pope, perceiving the prodigious power he had over the people, reſolved to encounter him with his own weapons; and for that purpoſe raiſed up a Franciſcan, an order of men that are mortal enemies to the Dominicans, who oppoſed Savanarola ſo effectually, that, in a ſhort time, the populace was divided between them, and the parties ſeldom met without blows. At laſt a Dominican was found hardy enough to propoſe an ordeal for proving the ſanctity of Savanarola; and he offered to walk through a kindled pile of wood; and a Franciſcan, to prove the ſanctity of his order, offered to do the ſame. The challenge was accepted of on both ſides, and piles were lighted; but when the two champions were to enter upon the fiery trial, both their hearts failed them. The Dominican inſiſted upon having the hoſt in his hand, which was obſtinately oppoſed by the Franciſcan, as being no part of the agreement; and neither yielding, both eſcaped. The Franciſcans, however, greatly triumphed over the Dominicans; and Savanarola's party perceiving his ſanctity not to come up to the ideas they had conceived of it, abandoned him to the fury of his enemies. The magiſtrates, out of compaſſion, deſired him to make his eſcape; but though he knew how very powerful and inveterate his enemies were,

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were, he refused to leave the city; he was therefore apprehended, and seven times put to the torture. Little credit is to be given to confessions taken from a rack; but it is said, that he acknowleged himself to be a false prophet, and that he had abused auricular confessions, both those that were taken by himself, and those that had been communicated to him by his brethren. He was at last condemned, with two of his fraternity, to the flames, into which their bodies were thrown after they had been strangled [e].

Death of Savanarola.

Charles forced to leave Naples.

Charles VIII. of France may be said not to have taken so much pains in conquering as he did in losing Naples. He succeeded by the panic, which his new method of making war, and the French impetuosity, had spread over Italy: he lost it by a series of miscarriages, to which none but a weak-brained prince, surrounded by worthless sycophants, could have been exposed. Having conceived an infinite contempt of the Italians, he suffered his soldiers to run into all kind of excesses, and to practice every indecency that could wound the delicacy of his new subjects, who, in a few weeks, thought the Arragonian severity far preferable to the French insolence. Add to this, that Charles, far from acknowleging the zeal of the Neapolitans and Italians who had sided with him, gave away all places of posts and power to the French favourites. He was equally inattentive to all the other affairs of government. His scandalous breach of faith with the Florentines; his seizing their castles; his keeping possession of Pisa; and his trifling with Sforza, and many other circirstances, made all Europe believe that he intended to conquer and to hold all Italy; so that the neighbouring powers were now alarmed. Sforza became as active an instrument against him, as he had been before zealous for his success. Finding himself disappointed in all his favourite views, particularly that of re-annexing Pisa to the duchy of Milan, he founded the Venetians, whom he found disposed to his wish; and the emperor Maximilian, who had particular grounds of quarrel with Charles, came into their party. Before he left France, he had given up to Ferdinand and Isabella of Spain, the fine country of Rousillon, on their engaging not to molest him in the conquest of Naples; but they soon found evasions for breaking those engagement, by pretending that they had been formed under a salvo to any other person's right, and that they discovered that the kingdom of Naples was a fief of the Roman church: they likewise, therefore came into the confederacy. As to the pope, he greedily embraced it.

[e] Murator. Annal. ad an. 1498.

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The allies, however, thought their confederacy imperfect, till they could bring the Florentines into it. The ſtrongeſt applications were made for that purpoſe; and Sforza offered to employ all the power of the league in protecting them againſt the reſentment of Charles, and in aſſiſting them to recover Piſa and Leghorn. This offer, joined to the king's ſcandalous infidelity towards them, would, at another time, have moved the Florentines: but they had experienced, that they could have as little dependence upon the Venetians, Sforza, and the pope, as they could have upon Charles, and therefore they determined for a neutrality. There was the more merit in this, as they had engaged the cardinal of St. Malo, by a large ſum, to befriend them with Charles, and he had deceived them. When they complained to Charles himſelf, and requeſted him to oblige the Sienneſe to reſtore to them Monte Pulciano, he treated them only with taunts and ſneers; but ſtill they thought that their intereſt was ſafer with him than with Sforza, who, if he obtained poſſeſſion of Piſa, would retain it for ever; whereas Charles would be ſoon obliged to abandon it. *The Florentines refuſe to join.*

The French king, notwithſtanding his natural indolence, was alarmed when he heard of the ſtrength of the league formed againſt him. He ordered the garriſon he had left at Aſti, under the duke of Orleans, to be ſtrengthened from France; but above all, he ſent a new body of ſix hundred French to reinforce his garriſon at Piſa. Librafatta was at that time beſieged by Malvezzo, who was in the pay of the Piſans, and he had been obliged to raiſe the ſiege; but being joined by the new garriſon, he renewed it, and took both town and caſtle, which the Florentines could not relieve, becauſe of the overflowings of the Serchio; the garriſon afterwards treated the Florentine territory as a conquered country. The Florentines complained bitterly to Charles of thoſe abuſes; and he had at laſt the complaiſance to aſſure them, that if they would have a little patience, he would give them full redreſs, as he was now upon his return to France. *Librafatta taken.*

But by this time the league had acquired a formidable degree of ſtrength. The French army, in the kingdom of Naples, had been greatly reduced, and Charles was under a neceſſity of leaving half of it behind him to preſerve his conqueſts. Upon repeated advices of his danger, he reſolved to run all riſks, and to force his way to Aſti, in his return to France. He firſt, however, endeavoured to obtain the inveſtiture of the kingdom of Naples from the pope, to whom he offered favourable terms if he would comply; *Return of Charles towards France.*

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comply; theſe, however, his holineſs rejected, and ſent for a party of the Venetian and Milaneſe army to defend Rome, in caſe Charles ſhould attempt to enter it by force. Sforza and the Venetians at firſt ordered three thouſand men to his aſſiſtance; but, on farther reflection, they countermanded their march; ſo that they having garriſoned the caſtle of St. Angelo, left Rome, which Charles entered, and afterwards marched peaceably through all the eccleſiaſtical ſtate, except at Toſcanella, which refuſing entrance to his troops, was ſtormed and plundered. Charles then arrived at Sienna, where, notwithſtanding the urgent motives he had to continue his march, he remained ſix days, and gave audience to the Florentine deputies, who applied to him for the reſtitution of their caſtles, according to his ſolemn promiſe. To prevail upon him to perform it, they offered not only to pay the thirty thouſand ducats that were ſtill due to him, but to eſcort him to Aſti with three hundred men at arms, and two hundred foot, under their general Franciſco Secco. Charles, conſidering his ſituation, would not have heſitated a moment in accepting thoſe offers, had he been rightly adviſed; but Ligni, his kinſman and favourite, having a private pique again the Florentines, repreſented them as an inconſiderable power, and that the French army was able to force its way through all Italy without their aſſiſtance. He was joined by de Pienes, who expected from Charles the government of Piſa and Leghorn. Thus the application the Florentines miſcarried. Before Charles left Sienna, a party of the Sienneſe themſelves, diſſatisfied with the government of the nine magiſtrates they were under, applied to be taken under the protection of Charles, and to have a French garriſon, commanded by Ligni. Though all the reſt of Charles's counſellors diſſuaded him from accepting this offer, yet Ligni's counſel prevailed, and Charles received Sienna, and all its territory, under his protection, excepting Monte Pulciano; the difference about which he left to be adjuſted between the Sienneſe and the Florentines. Charles leaving to the Sienneſe the choice of their governor, they pitched upon Ligni, and aſſigned him an appointment of twenty thouſand crowns, on his engaging to maintain an officer and three hundred foot for their defence. It ſoon appeared that this weak young man thought of no leſs than making himſelf ſovereign of Sienna, and perhaps of other parts of Tuſcany; but very ſoon after Charles had left Sienna, the council of nine recovered their authority, and drove the French garriſon out of their city.

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The ambaſſadors of Maximilian had now given to Sforza the ſolemn inveſtiture of the duchy of Milan; and he and the Venetians prevailed with Bentivoglio to bring the Bologneſe into the league. Sforza ſent to inliſt two thouſand German foot, and ordered Galeazzo di San Severino to beſiege Aſti, with the reſt of the Germans in his ſervice. Sforza's avarice diſappointed his deſign. The Germans refuſed to inliſt, becauſe he did not come up to their price. Thoſe under Galeazzo deſerted, while the duke of Orleans was ſo well reinforced from France, that he not only defended Aſti, but made himſelf maſter of the important city of Novara, and laid ſiege to its citadel; and Sforza, who was hated by the Milaneſe, muſt have been ruined, had he not been ſupported by the Venetians. *The ſtrength of the league increaſes.*

Peter de Medici was at Venice when he received Charles's letter, offering him his friendſhip, and promiſing to reſtore him to his power. He communicated this offer to the Venetians, who not only ſtrenuouſly diſſuaded him from agreeing to it, but ſecretly planted guards over him to obſerve his motions, and to prevent his eſcape. He found means, however, to repair to Charles at Sienna. The Florentines expected the latter would pay them a viſit, and that he would bring along with him Peter de Medici. Being conſtant to their former purpoſe, they immediately filled their city with troops, and put the people under arms, to oppoſe any attempt in his favour; and this ſhew of reſolution determined Charles to leave Florence on his right hand, and to march to Piſa. There, the inhabitants of all ages, ſexes, and conditions, threw themſelves at his feet, beſeeching him, in the moſt moving manner, not to abandon them to their former tyrants the Florentines, from whom they had nothing to expect but the extremes of cruelty. Their diſtreſs moved even the Swiſs guards. One of their captains, Salazart, in the name of the reſt, conjured the king to conſult his own honour, and that of his crown, by protecting the Piſans againſt their enemies; declaring that if he ſtood in need of the Florentine money, they were ready to lay their collars, plate, money, penſions, and pay at his feet. Charles ſtill appearing irreſolute, a kind of a tumult enſued. The cardinal of St. Malo, and all about his perſon, who were thought to be in the Florentine intereſt, were threatened with death; and Charles ſtill, to keep up ſome appearance of juſtice, deſired the Florentine ambaſſadors, who remained at Lucca, to meet him at Aſti, where he promiſed to give them ſatisfaction. He then left *Reſolution of the Florentines.* *Charles keeps poſſeſſion of Piſa.*

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Pisa, after having changed the governor of the citadel, and strengthened the garrisons of the other castles.

A.D. 1495. It was now perceived that Charles could not proceed to Asti without a battle. The confederates were strong in the Parmesan; but three-fourths of their army consisted of Venetian troops, commanded by Francesco Gonzaga, a brave young prince, under whom served several officers of great reputation and experience. Charles proceeded under great disadvantages; and when his van arrived at Fornuovo, the marshal de Gié demanded, in his master's name, a passage for himself and his army. Before he had time to receive an answer, a party of the French was defeated by the Venetians; but they not following their blow, the French had time to collect together all their force, and the boldness of Charles's attempt struck his enemies with terror. Both armies at last came to an engagement on the banks of the Taro, in which the French were victorious, notwithstanding the great superiority of their enemies in numbers, and proceeded to Asti [f]. He was not equally successful in his operations where he did not command in person. Ferdinand, king of Naples, re-entered into possession of that kingdom, and was vigorously supported both by the natives and the Spaniards. An expedition which Charles had sent both by sea and land against Genoa, miscarried; while the Venetians and Sforza, now dropping all their frugal maxims, engaged in their service ten thousand choice German troops. The turn which affairs had taken at Naples in prejudice of Charles, was favourable to the Florentines, because it rendered their money necessary to him. They had reduced some places which had revolted from them, in the neigbourhood of Pisa, particularly Pontesacco, which had surrendered upon capitulation. The Florentine soldiers, however, were so exasperated by the cruel treatment they had received, that they broke the capitulation by putting to death some of the French who had been in the fort, and would have killed more, had not the Florentine commissaries interposed. Their enemies about Charles made a handle of this outrage for breaking off the treaty; but his necessities determined him at last to sign it with their deputies, which he did while he was at Turin.

The French gain the battle of Fornuovo.

A treaty.

The terms imported, that all the towns and forts belonging to the Florentines should be immediately restored; the Florentines obliging themselves, upon a valuable considera-

[f] Memoires de Comines. Sanut. Hist. de Venez. tom. xxii. Rer. Italic. Guicciardin. Hist. de Italia.

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tion, at the end of two years, to give up Pietra Santa and Sarzana to the Genoese, if Charles was then master of that city; that the ambassadors should pay down the thirty thousand ducats, that were in arrears upon the convention at Florence; and that upon the restitution of the castles, for which they had security in jewels, the Florentines should lend to the king, upon the credit of his receivers-general, seven thousand ducats, which they were to distribute amongst his friends in Naples; that if they were not engaged in any war in Tuscany, excepting that concerning Monte Pulciano, they should send to the king's assistance in Naples, the troops that served under Vitelli in the Pisan; but if they were free of all war, they were then to send two hundred and fifty men at arms on the same service, but not to stay longer than the month of October; that the Pisans should enjoy a general indemnity; that their effects should be restored to them, and that they should be encouraged in the cultivation of the arts and sciences; and that six of the principal citizens of Florence, should be delivered to the king as hostages.

Another treaty was on the carpet at Vercelli, between Charles and the allies, who granted him every thing with an intention to perform little or nothing. All they meant was to prevail on him to leave Italy, which he accordingly did. Sforza set all the French prisoners at liberty, restored the ships taken at Rapalle, removed his general Fracassa from Pisa, and delivered the castelletto of Genoa to the duke of Ferrara, and performed some other immaterial circumstances of the treaty, but evaded the rest; and such was his artful management, that he prevented the execution of the treaty of Pisa between Charles and the Florentines. He pretended that though he was sovereign of the Genoese, yet he had no compulsive power over their conduct; a distinction he invented after the treaties were signed. Under this evasion, he disappointed the French king of the succours that had been stipulated to be sent from Genoa, to support his interest in Naples; but, without having recourse to any pretexts, he stopped Antonio Vespucci, one of the Florentine deputies, in his road between Turin and Florence, with the treaty in his pocket, rifled him of his papers, and sent him prisoner to Milan. Perceiving by the treaty that the Florentines, as soon as Pisa was given up, were to send succours in men and money to the French in Naples, he and the Venetians contrived how to defeat the rendition. Each of them had an eye upon Pisa; Sforza, for reasons already hinted at, and the Venetians, because they aspired to the sovereignty of Italy,

Treaty in favour of the Pisans.

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and knew that the Florentines could not preserve Leghorn without Pisa, the possession of which would give them the command of all the Mediterranean. Sforza knew their design, and counteracted them. Thus Pisa was fed with hopes from both.

The war is renewed. The Florentines, sensible of the difficulties they had to encounter before the treaty of Turin could be executed, raised an army, took the castle of Palaia, and encamped before Vico Pisano, almost at the gates of Pisa. Here it appeared, that Entragues, the governor of the citadel of Pisa, and the other French generals, were as backward as the Pisans themselves in admitting the Florentines. Paul Vitelli, pretending secret orders from Charles, threw himself into Vico Pisano, from the siege of which the Florentines were driven with loss and disgrace. Authentic duplicates of the treaty of Turin, however, arriving in Tuscany, Beaumont, the French governor, presently gave up Leghorn to the Florentines; but when he began to consult with Entragues about the redention of Pisa and the other places, the latter trifled so egregiously, that the Florentines were obliged to complain to Charles, who was at Vercelli. That prince seemed to blame Entragues, and sent him positive orders, which were no better obeyed than the former. He still found means to evade the performance; and the Pisans, who had now one thousand mercenaries in their pay, erected a strong fort at the Florentine gate, for their defence. This fort lay under the cannon of the citadel; and Entragues thinking the Florentines could not take it, invited them to come to the Florentine gate, and take possession of Pisa. Paul Vitelli, whom the Florentines had brought, or rather bought over to their interest, knew that the Pisans were determined to make resistance; and instructed the Florentines so well, that they carried the fort and drove the Pisans within it into the suburbs, which they entered and took possession of. But while they thought themselves secure of success, the French governor on a sudden fired upon their troops so furiously, that they were obliged to abandon the place, and retire to Fascina, from whence they again complained to Charles.

The Florentines defeated.

A.D.1496 Entragues, notwithstanding the most peremptory orders sent him by Charles, not only refused to deliver up the citadel to the Florentines, but by the intervention of Lucio Malvezzo, who was an agent for Sforza, he agreed to deliver up the citadel to the Pisans, on the payment of twenty thousand ducats. The Pisans accepted the offer, though all their state was not able to raise half the money. But they borrowed of the Genoese and the Venetians, who enabled them to pay the twenty thousand ducats, twelve thousand of which

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which Entragues appropriated to himself, and divided the remainder amongst his troops.

Disingenuity of the French governor towards the Florentines.

The general opinion was, that Charles had either secretly authorized Entragues for what he did, or that the latter would lose his head. Neither was the case. Charles was sincere, but was weak enough to be intimidated, or flattered, into an approbation of all that had been done by Entragues, who stipulated in the convention, that he still should be sovereign of Pisa. This measure was the more extraordinary, as the surrender of Pisa absolutely disabled the Florentines from performing to Charles the engagements they had entered into by the treaty of Turin, and greatly contributed to his losing the kingdom of Naples. The Pisans, who razed their citadel as soon as it was in their possession, did not pretend to be independent; but they had a mortal aversion at all dependency upon the Florentines. They implored the assistance of all the Italian powers, and would have directly given themselves up to the subjection of Sforza, had he not been afraid of incurring the resentment of his other allies. The affairs of Pisa were by them considered as a common cause, though each secretly aspired to be master of that city. As to the Florentines, they were odious to all the rest of Italy, on account of their attachment to the French; and all the confederates engaged to support the Pisans in maintaining their newly recovered liberty, which was confirmed to them even by Maximilian, as lord paramount of Italy. The dispute for the possession of Pisa lay now between the Venetians and Sforza, who vied with each other in assisting the Pisans with troops and money. Sforza, however, partly through avarice, and partly through a natural craft, which led him sometimes to spin his politics too fine, began to slacken in his remittances to the Pisans, a relaxation which made them apply the more assiduously to the Venetians, who supplied them so generously, that the Pisans offered to put themselves under their protection. The matter was debated in the senate of Venice, where the wisest members were against accepting the offer, and declared for maintaining the independency of the Pisans; but they were over-ruled by the party of their doge Agostino Barbarico. A public decree was drawn up by the senate, for taking the Pisans under the protection of Venice, for the defence of their liberty [b].

Charles prepares to return to Italy.

The Florentines, on the other hand, having no dependence but on the French, most earnestly requested Charles to return in person into Italy; and that prince made great

[b] Guicciardini, lib. iii.

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preparations for the expedition. Charles was the more animated to this, as the duke of Savoy and the marquis of Montferrat ſeemed to be diſpoſed to join him; and he was not even without hopes that the terror of his arms would induce Sforza to break with the allies. For this purpoſe, he diſpatched Rigault, one of the chief officers of his houſhold, to let Sforza know his danger; but to offer him his friendſhip, upon his performing the articles of the treaty of Vercelli, and renewing his alliance with France. Sforza was ſtartled at the news of the preparations making by Charles, which far exceeded thoſe for his laſt expedition; but he amuſed Rigault with plauſible pretexts, till that miniſter, finding himſelf impoſed on, left Milan. Sforza invited Maximilian to march into Italy, and brought the Venetians to conſent to ſend an army and money to Aleſſandria, to oppoſe the French: they objected, however, to the march of Maximilian, who had pretenſions upon ſome of their territories, and ſcrupled to make Sforza general of the confederacy; but at laſt, leſt he ſhould throw himſelf into the arms of France, they agreed to all he propoſed.

The allies attack the Florentines.

We are now to conſider the intereſts of France and Florence as the ſame. The allies employed Bentivoglio to attack the Florentines on the ſide of Bologna, while the Sienneſe and the Piſans were to invade them in other quarters: but though Bentivoglio was in the pay of the confederates, he was terrified by the greatneſs of the French power, and gave Charles private aſſurances that he would not execute his commiſſion. It was with ſome reaſon thought, that, if Charles had proſecuted this undertaking with vigour, he might have reduced all Italy to his obedience. But the cardinal of St. Malo, his treaſurer and firſt miniſter for Italian affairs, had been corrupted by the pope and Sforza, to retard the operations; which he found plauſible pretexts to do, notwithſtanding all the impetuoſity of Charles, who loitered away his time in a love-intrigue, though all his friends in Italy, even with tears, implored him to be expeditious, the French being now reduced to the laſt extremity in the kingdom of Naples; where Ferdinand died, in the height of all his glory, and was ſucceeded by his uncle Federigo, or Frederic, a prudent prince. Pleaſure rendered Charles deaf to all ſolicitations to ſet out on his march, though Maximilian, in conſequence of a convention between him and the allies, had already entered Italy, and undertook to compromiſe all differences relating to Piſa. The Florentines, notwithſtanding the indolence of Charles, and all the applications of the allies, continued firm in their attachments to France, in which the government was greatly confirmed

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confirmed by the ſermons and harangues of Savanarola, who thundered out judgments againſt the court of Rome and the allies. This enthuſiaſt had even intereſt enough to prevail upon the Florentines ſingly to ſtand the ſhock of the confederacy, though the French king could give them no aſſiſtance; and, had he been willing, his abilities were very queſtionable, becauſe his generals and miniſters paid no regard to his orders. It is certain, that, humanly ſpeaking, the proſpect of the Florentines was at this time very uncomfortable. They ſtill maintained, at a great expence, a war with the Piſans, who continued to be ſupported by the Venetians; but its operations were indeciſive, and ſo trifling, that they deſerve no particular mention in hiſtory.

Their generals, Franceſco Secco and Ercole Bentivoglio, however, obtained ſome advantages, which coſt the former his life. Their war with the Sienneſe, who were likewiſe ſupported by the allies, was equally unimportant; though that great patriot Peter Capponi was killed in ſtorming a little place, which is not to be found upon the maps. By thoſe wars, the enemies of Florence became good ſoldiers, and the Venetians continued vigorouſly to ſupport them; while Sforza, who ſeldom was in earneſt in any thing he undertook, cooled more and more in his friendſhip, and at laſt ſeemed entirely to abandon their intereſt. This defection was owing to his dependence on the great authority of the emperor Maximilian, who now ſent two ambaſſadors to the Florentines, to notify his intention to adjuſt all differences amongſt the Italian princes and ſtates, and to require them to ſuſpend their hoſtilities againſt the Piſans. The Florentines returned a polite but evaſive anſwer to this intimation; and the Venetians, equally ſuſpecting Maximilian and Sforza, ordered to Piſa greater ſupplies, both of men and money, than they ever had ſent before. This conſideration drove Sforza once more into a correſpondence with the Florentines, and he endeavoured by all means to perſuade them to ſubmit to Maximilian's deciſion. This they peremptorily refuſed to do, unleſs they ſhould be previouſly put into poſſeſſion of Piſa; and having put Leghorn into a ſtate of defence, they re-aſſembled their forces in the Piſan territory. The truth is, Maximilian, notwithſtanding his high-ſounding titles, made ſo poor a figure in Italy, and was himſelf in ſuch needy circumſtances, that the Florentines deſpiſed him, and believed him to be only the tool of Sforza. They affected, however, to profeſs the moſt profound regard for his imperial authority; but gave him to underſtand, that they expected he would put them in poſſeſſion of Piſa, before they ſhould join in the confede-

They refuſe to ſubmit to Maximilian's arbitration.

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racy. Maximilian was so much nettled at this declaration, which he received at Genoa, that he gave the deputies no other answer than referring them to the pope's legate; and this last remitted them to Sforza, who was at Milan; to which city the deputies repaired, and there a most exquisite scene of dissimulation passed: for while the deputies were waiting for an audience from Sforza, they received orders from Florence to return home, without proceeding farther in the negociation. They were introduced, however, into his presence, under pretence of paying him their compliments; but all his art, though he declared the emperor had impowered him to give a categorical answer, could not draw them into any negociation on that or any other head. Sforza, therefore, who could not bear the thoughts of being outwitted, fell into a violent passion; and abruptly broke up the conference, to which he had invited all his chief nobility and foreign ministers, that they might be witnesses of his triumph in over-reaching the Florentines.

Maximilian repairs to Pisa.

Maximilian now in good earnest proceeded against the Florentines; and a Genoese squadron landed him at Porto Spezia, from whence he went to Pisa, and made dispositions for besieging Leghorn both by sea and land. The Florentines, on their part, hired a body of French troops; and a French fleet, designed for the relief of Naples, threw this reinforcement into Leghorn, together with a large quantity of provisions. This relief was so seasonable, that the Florentines attributed it to the immediate interposition of Providence in their favour, which Savanarola had predicted some days before. The siege, however, went on; and the French squadron proceeding on its voyage, Maximilian straitened the place both by sea and land. But the town was well provided for resistance; and a storm arose, which wrecking the Venetian and Genoese fleets, disheartened him so much, that he precipitately raised the siege; and, to the amazement of all Italy, marched into the Milanese. From thence, without acquainting any one with his intention, he returned to Germany, and left the Italians full of contempt for his pusillanimity, folly, and indigence [a].

The Venetians support the Pisans.

Maximilian, and the few German troops he had with him, which did not amount to above two thousand, being withdrawn from Tuscany, Sforza recalled his army likewise, and left the whole weight of the war upon the Venetians, who supported it at a prodigious expence. In the

[a] Guicciardin. Hist. d'Italia, lib. iii. Ammer. Hist. de Firenz. Murator. Annal. ad An. 1496.

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mean time, the French entirely loſt Naples; and Charles ſought to take his revenge upon the Genoeſe, who were out of humour with the duke of Milan, for not giving them the preference to the Lucqueſe in the ſale of Pietra Santa. Sforza took into his pay ſome troops that Maximilian had left in Italy, and ſent them to Genoa; and, forgetting all his animoſity to the Venetians, he offered them his friendſhip. Charles, by this time, had ſent a ſtrong body of Swiſs and French, under Trivulzi, to Aſti, and prepared to attack the Milaneſe as well as Genoa. With this view, he required the Florentines to favour him, by attacking the Lunigiana and the Eaſtern Riviera. Sforza, who had yet received no ſuccours from Venice, was not prepared to ſtand thoſe ſhocks, and the campaign opened with great advantages on the ſide of the French. Had Trivulzi been properly authorized, he might have taken Aleſſandria, and marched to the gates of Milan. But fearing to proceed without orders, Sforza not only received the Venetian reinforcements, but took ſuch meaſures againſt Genoa as defeated all the attempts of the French on that ſide. Their generals laid the blame upon the Florentines; but the miſcarriage was owing to the dilatory wavering counſels of Charles; for the Florentines refuſed to take the field at the time required, becauſe his army was not at hand to ſupport them. The ſame backwardneſs and inconſtancy obliged Trivulzi to forego all the advantages he had obtained in the Milaneſe, and to retire to Aſti. A D. 1497.

The war continues.

The war between the Florentines and Piſans was ſtill carried on, and count Rinuccio obtained ſome advantages over the Piſan general. But a long truce being made between the kings of France and Spain, in which the Piſans were included, gave them a breathing time; the Florentines, who were included in it likewiſe, not daring to continue the war againſt them, while they were under ſo powerful a protection. Sforza, who wiſhed to ſee Piſa in the hands of the Florentines rather than poſſeſſed by the Venetians, repreſented, both to the pope and the Spaniards, who had now a great ſway in the affairs of Italy, the bad policy of obliging the Florentines to depend on the French for the recovery of Piſa, which was detained from them by the Venetians. On the other hand, the Venetians repreſented the Florentines as naturally inclined to the French; and were ſo far from ſhewing any diſpoſition to reſtore Piſa to them, that they inſiſted upon Leghorn's being delivered up by the Florentines into the hands of the confederates; a demand which ſtartled the pope and Sforza ſo much, that they dropt the affair of the reſtitution, and conſulted how

Sforza favours the Florentines.

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to break off the connections between the Florentines and the French, by restoring Peter de Medici to his authority in Florence, which was now split into factions. Savanarola's enthusiasm in favour of the popular government, had gained him a great party; and many of the public offices were filled with his followers, who were generally men of low and illiberal education. Their misconduct, and a scarcity of corn which happened at that time, were favourable to the views of Peter, who was likewise supported by the Venetians, because they thought their friendship would be so necessary to him, and that he would give Pisa up for ever to their possession. Peter's chief dependence, however, lay upon Bernardo del Nero, a friend of his family, a man of virtue, interest, and ability, who was chosen gonfalonier.

Attempt of Peter de Medici unsuccessful.

The pope came into the scheme of restoring Peter; and Sforza seemed to be indifferent as to the matter. The cardinal S. Severino, and Alviano, an officer of some distinction, were Peter's friends. The Venetians furnished him with money. Sienna not being included in the late truce, he obtained from the Siennese one thousand horse and foot, and set out at their head in the afternoon, in hopes to surprise Florence by day-break. A storm, which arose in the night, disconcerted his measures; and it was late in the morning when he arrived before Florence. The magistrates, by this time, had taken the alarm: they gave Paul Vitelli the command of their troops in the city; they sent for their army which was in the Pisan territory, and imprisoned all whom they suspected to be Peter's friends. Thus, after he had waited four hours within bow-shot of Florence, he was obliged to return to Sienna; while his friend Alviano plundered Todi, and put to death fifty-three of the Ghibelin faction.

Its consequences.

The attempt of Peter de Medici upon Florence, though disappointed, was attended with bloody effects. It is certain he had many friends there; and the whole of his correspondence being laid open, they were either committed to prison, or obliged to fly. Four citizens of great eminence, Nicolo Ridolfi, Gianozzo Pucci, Giovanni Cambi, and Lorenzo Tornabuoni, were capitally convicted, and put to death, for favouring his interest. Bernardo del Nero, the gonfalonier, was tried, and condemned to die, for being privy to the conspiracy, and not preventing it. This sentence, though legal, was held to be severe, and his friends appealed to a general assembly of the people. The magistrates, however, pronounced his case not appealable, and signed a sentence, in consequence of which he was immediately executed. This strain of authority was undoubtedly

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edly a violation of the principles of popular government, which Savanarola and his faction eſpouſed; but it ſuited their intereſt, and all other conſiderations were forgot.

The crowns of France and Spain had now concluded a truce for two months, without conſulting any of the Italian powers, and loudly cenſured the Venetians for perpetuating diſcord in Italy, by keeping poſſeſſion of Piſa. Incredible are the fluctuations which at this time happened in Italy, where the public jealouſy of the Venetians diſpoſed almoſt every power in it to favour the French. The Florentines were perpetually ſoliciting Charles to haſten his expedition, and had made d'Aubigny general of their army. The marquis of Mantua, who had been ungratefully diſmiſſed by the Venetians, entered likewiſe into the Florentine pay. The duke of Savoy was naturally attached to the French, and conſequently to the Florentines. Bentivoglio of Bologna promiſed to join the French; and even the pope himſelf promiſed to favour their progreſs. The unaccountable trifling conduct of Charles deſtroyed all thoſe fair appearances. He had formed many engagements in Italy, particularly with the Vitelli and the Orſini; but had ſent no money to fulfil them; ſo that, in ſome caſes, the Florentines were obliged to make them good, and likewiſe to lend Charles money. In ſhort, the French intereſt in Italy was entirely deſtroyed.

Truce between France and Spain.

A.D. 1498.

The Florentines, having thus no dependence on France, applied ſecretly to the pope, and offered to come into the Italian confederacy, provided they were put in poſſeſſion of Piſa, which had been, in fact, all along the great bait for their attachment to France. The pope greedily embraced the propoſal, and preſſed the Venetians upon that head, affirming this would be the moſt effectual expedient to cement and conſolidate all the Italian ſtates in their efforts againſt the invaſions of the Ultramontanes. The Venetians, without pretending to any property in Piſa, upbraided their confederates for having deviated from their promiſe to maintain the Piſans in their liberty, and for having ungratefully rewarded the ſervices that Venice had performed for the public good of Italy, though their ſituation was ſuch, that they could not have ſuffered in the common calamity, had the Ultramontanes been ſucceſsful. During theſe altercations, Charles VIII. of France, died ſuddenly at Ambois, and was ſucceeded by Lewis, duke of Orleans, a prince of great courage and policy, who had been bred a ſoldier, and was, in almoſt every reſpect, the reverſe of Charles. His claim upon the kingdom of Naples was the ſame with that of Charles; and he had, beſides, a private claim,

The Florentines apply to the pope.

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The French king reſolves to invade Milan.

claim, in right of his own blood, upon the duchy of Milan, as a deſcendant, by the female ſide, from the Viſcontis, its lawful and original maſters. Even while he was duke of Orleans, he had made ſome attempts to aſſert his claims. Beſides, he had reaſons for entertaining a perſonal hatred to Sforza. On his acceſſion to the crown of France he aſſumed the titles of king of the Two Sicilies (which included Naples) and duke of Milan. He notified in form to the Florentines, and the other Italian ſtates, his determined intention to make good thoſe claims, and to begin with that of Milan. Many circumſtances concurred in favour of his undertaking. He had all the advantages his predeceſſor was poſſeſſed of, and the Italian powers had a great opinion of his ſteadineſs. By a ſtrange refinement in politics, the Florentines alone diſliked the acceſſion of Lewis to the throne of France, and preferred Sforza's friendſhip to an alliance with this monarch. The pope and the Venetians courted him; and Sforza, to divert the ſtorm impending on his own dominions, perſuaded the Florentines to make their court to him likewiſe. But Sforza never loſt ſight of Piſa, of which he wanted to diſpoſſeſs the Venetians, and now in good earneſt aſſiſted the Florentines to recover that city. All this while the war continued in the Piſan territory, and the Florentines were defeated at S. Regulo, in one of thoſe ſkirmiſhes which their hiſtorians call a battle. Their general was Rinuccio, who, on the loſs of this battle, the particulars of which are not worth recounting, entirely loſt his reputation. Then they gave Paul Vitelli the command of their forces, with the title of captain-general; and made application to the French king to interpoſe in their favour, but without any effect. They had much better ſucceſs with Sforza, who grew more and more jealous of the Venetians, and therefore ſent a truſty agent to Florence, to concert what was moſt proper for reinſtating them in the poſſeſſion of Piſa.

Sforza breaks with the Venetians.

Sforza at length came to an open rupture with the Venetians. He began by denying their troops a paſſage through the Parmeſan and Pontremoli to Piſa, a refuſal which obliged them to take a large compaſs by the Ferrareſe; and he ſent a ſtrong reinforcement to the Florentines, with an offer to pay his ſhare towards a new levy of three hundred men at arms, part to be commanded by Paul Baglione, and part by the lord of Piombino. He likewiſe lent them three hundred thouſand ducats; and ſo effectually repreſented the danger of leaving Piſa in poſſeſſion of the Venetians, that the pope promiſed to aſſiſt him and the Florentines with one hundred men at arms, and three gallies, for intercepting

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tercepting the ſuccours ſent thither from Venice. His holineſs, however, was ſo intent upon aggrandizing his own family, whom he expected to put into poſſeſſion of the kingdom of Naples, that he paid little or no regard to his engagements.

The Florentines, having a great opinion of their general Paul Vitelli, and truſting to the friendſhip of Sforza, once more took the field againſt the Piſans, who continued ſtill to be vigorouſly ſupported by the Venetians. Sforza brought Bentivoglio entirely to his own intereſts; he made large additions to his own troops, and lent others to the Florentines, to defend them from all attempts that might be made againſt them by the Venetians. The lord of Faenza was then the ally of Venice; and, to balance his intereſt, the Florentines took into their pay Octaviano Riccio, lord of Imola and Forli. This Ottaviano, was entirely directed by his mother Catherina Sforza, who had been privately married to the cardinal Giovanni de Medici, and therefore earneſtly deſired to ſee the authority of the Medici family reſtored in Florence.

The Piſan war continues.

The recovery of Piſa to the Florentines was now the bone of contention in Italy. Sforza, by his authority with the Lucqueſe, prevailed on them to withdraw great part of their ſuccours from the Piſans; but the Florentines had the misfortune at this time to be engaged in a war, not only with the Piſans, but with the Genoeſe, on account of their affairs in the Lunigiana; and both ſtates were the irreconcileable enemies of the Florentines. But the latter, now ſecure of Sforza, took the field againſt the Piſans, and obtained many advantages over them and their protectors the Venetians. The Florentine general, Paul Vitelli, might even have laid ſiege to Piſa; but he declined it, and croſſing the Arno, inveſted and ſtormed Buti, by which he ſtraightened Piſa itſelf. He afterwards erected a fort on the hill of S. Giovanni della Vena, and made great progreſs towards beſieging Piſa itſelf; for he even opened trenches before Vico Piſano, which was in a manner a ſuburb of Piſa, and obliged it to ſurrender. He afterwards cut in pieces a body of Venetian troops, who came to aſſiſt in taking the fort of Pietra Doloroſa, which had been beſieged by the Piſans.

A negociation ſet on foot.

The Venetians now thought they had proceeded in the war as far as was conſiſtent with their intereſt, which was entirely confined to Piſa. They therefore made ſome advances towards an accommodation with the Florentines; and the latter yielded up a point, which had been long conteſted, namely, that of giving the Venetian republic the right

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right hand in the negociation. Guido Antonio Vespucci, and Bernardo Rucellai, two citizens of great authority, were sent to Venice, to negociate on the part of the Florentine republic, which was at this time sincerely disposed to peace. To give weight to their negociations, they brought a powerful army into the field, and the duke of Milan declared openly in their favour. The ambassadors met with a polite reception at Venice; but insisted upon the right which their republic had to Pisa. The answer of the Venetians was civil, plausible, and dilatory. The Spanish ambassador was called in to mediate; and he proposed, that the possession of Pisa should revert to the Florentines as a confederate, but not a subject state. The Venetians exposed the futility of that distinction; and not only continued to reinforce Pisa, but espoused the cause of Peter de Medici. They likewise endeavoured to gain over to their service Bentivoglio of Bologna, who had seized on some castles belonging to the Milanese; and the Siennese refused to make any peace with Florence, unless the Florentines would absolutely renounce all their right to Monte Pulciano. But Pandolfo, who then had the chief sway in Sienna, being a friend to the Florentines, brought his countrymen to agree to a five years truce with them on such advantageous terms, as established his authority in that state; and the Venetians, under the duke of Urbino, were denied a passage through its territory.

The Venetians attack the Florentines.

The Venetians, therefore, resolved to attack the Florentines, by the Romagna, in hopes of being able to master the towns at the foot of the Appennines, through the interest of Peter de Medici. In this design they partly succeeded, and would have gained a passage into the vale of Mugelli, had it not been for the resolution of the governor of Castiglione, who held out so long, that count Rinuccio and the lord of Piombino, marching to its relief, raised the siege. This irruption into the Florentine territories induced the duke of Milan to send to the Florentines a powerful reinforcement, while Paul Vitelli, in the Pisan, took Vico Pisano and Librafatta, after a siege of four days. The Venetians, alarmed at this success, practised on the marquis of Mantua, who had some differences with the duke of Milan, to leave his service, which he accordingly did, and the marquis was sent to Pisa with three hundred men at arms. Great things might have been expected from this defection of so powerful a prince, had the Venetians encouraged him. But they were induced by some of the friends of the Medici family to believe they could get possession of Bibienna in the Casantine, which would have given

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given so powerful a diversion to the Florentines, as to secure to the Venetians the possession of Pisa without expence. Thus the marquis, having only a bare title, was left without any support or following; and, out of resentment, he returned to the service of Sforza, with the title of captain-general of the imperial and Milanese troops.

The irruption of the Venetians into the Casantine obliged the Florentines to recall their general Paul Vitelli from the Pisan territory. He marched directly into the Casantine, where the Venetians were encamped in the neighbourhood of Prato Vecchio, which he obliged them to abandon; and, being joined by Fracassa with one thousand Milanese troops, he drove the Venetians into prodigious difficulties; so that their wisest senators began to be tired of the war. At their persuasion, a fresh negociation was set on foot at Ferrara, where the principal deliberation was how to get decently rid of Pisa, which had cost such immense sums to the Venetian republic. But a new scene now opened in Italy. *They are worsted.*

Lewis XII. king of France, was bent on the conquest of Milan, and for that purpose had entered into a strict confederacy with the Venetians. The pope, on the other hand, had entirely devoted himself to the acquisition of the kingdom of Naples for his family, and to a match between Charlotta, the daughter of Frederigo, king of Naples, who had been brought up at the French court, and his son the cardinal of Valenza, afterwards the famous Cæsar Borgia, who, on that occasion, renounced the ecclesiastical life and habit. The French king and the pope mutually assisted each other. The king wanted to be divorced from his wife. The sentence of divorce pronounced by the pope, was presented to the king by Cæsar Borgia, who, as a reward, was made duke of Valentinois, with a revenue of twenty thousand livres, besides the possession of the city of Valence. Lewis then applied himself seriously to the conquest of the Milanese; and, for that purpose, made a peace with the emperor Maximilian, and the kings of England and France. Sforza was no stranger to his intention, and endeavoured to countermine him, by gaining the Florentines and the Venetians to his interest. That he might induce the Florentines to befriend him, he pressed the Venetians to deposit Pisa in his hands, and promised to deliver it to the Florentines in a certain time. Other historians say, that the Florentines agreed to deposit Pisa in the hands of Lewis, or of Paul Vitelli, or the college of the cardinals. Be that as it will, it is certain that the Florentines were divided on this occasion. They had hitherto no reason for trusting the French king, and a great party in their *Views of the Italian powers.*

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their ſtate wanted to ſee the duke of Milan humbled. The Venetians ſtrenuouſly oppoſed the ſcheme of a depoſit. The duke of Milan likewiſe countermined it, leſt it ſhould favour the means of uniting the Venetians and the Florentines. It was the intereſt of France to keep the Italian powers divided; and the pope, who had a great ſway in the negociation, took part with France upon this occaſion. The Venetians were offered Cremona and the whole Ghiradadda; but this offer could not be accepted of, without aggrandizing the French too much in Italy. The affair was debated in the ſenate of Venice, where it was reſolved, at all events, to declare againſt Sforza, and to join with France; but without concluding any thing with regard to the depoſit of Piſa. Lewis, whoſe great aim was to take poſſeſſion of Milan, did not reliſh this conduct; becauſe it tended to cement the intereſts of Sforza with thoſe of the Florentines. He, therefore, negociated a peace with Maximilian, who had many claims upon the Venetians, in order to keep them in awe; and openly declared to them, as well as to the Florentines, that he was determined to come into no terms with the Venetians, unleſs Piſa was depoſited as the Florentines had propoſed.

Lewis unites with the Venetians.

The inflexibility of Lewis on this head, created great uneaſineſs to his allies in Italy; and the pope himſelf was amongſt the firſt to counſel him to abandon the cauſe of the Florentines, rather than diſoblige the Venetians, whoſe friendſhip was abſolutely neceſſary for his conquering Milan. Lewis ſaw the cogency of theſe reaſons, and yielded to them by concluding a treaty with the Venetians. This treaty obliged both them and the French to invade the Milaneſe at one time. Cremona and Ghiradadda were ceded to the Venetians; they were to be guarantied in the poſſeſſion of their territory by Lewis; and they were, for a limited time, to keep on foot a body of troops for his ſervice [d]. Lewis was ſenſible that this treaty was inconſiſtent with his repeated profeſſions, and he kept it ſo ſecret, that it was long before either the pope or the duke of Milan came to the knowlege of it. In the mean time, he talked to the Florentine deputies in a ſtrain quite different from that which he had made uſe of before, which obliged them to enter into new connections with Sforza.

A.D.1499.

War in the Caſantine.

The war in the Caſantine was ſtill carried on with various ſucceſs; and many ſkirmiſhes were fought with little bloodſhed; at length all parties began to think in earneſt of peace; and, by the unwearied application of Sforza, the

[d] Navagero Iſtor. de Venez. tom. xxiv. Rer. Italic.

matter

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matter was referred to his father-in-law Ercole d'Este, duke of Ferrara, who decreed that the Pisans should again submit to the dominion of Florence; but that they should dispose of their own revenues, and still keep possession of their fortresses; and that the Florentines should pay one hundred and eighty thousand crowns to the Venetians in twelve years [e].

His decision displeases all parties.

This decision equally disgusted all parties, and the duke of Ferrara was personally insulted by the Venetians. The Pisans were the loudest in their complaints that they had been betrayed by the Venetians; that the concessions in their favour were imaginary and unsubstantial; and that they were now reduced to a state of greater slavery than ever to the Florentines. Those discontents arose to such a height as to oblige Ercole to make an explanatory addition to his sentence in favour of the Pisans; and the Venetians ratified the same, by immediately withdrawing all their troops from Tuscany. The Florentines were, if possible, more disgusted than either the Pisans or the Venetians, at the duke's award. They complained of being obliged to reimburse the charges of the war, and, in fact, to forego all their rights of sovereignty over the Pisans. They, however, were quieted, by Sforza's threatening to ratify the duke's decree; but it does not appear that they ever ratified the explanatory addition. The Pisans, rather than submit to Florence, offered to become subject to Sforza; but he declined the tender. Thus rejected, they resolved to hazard all extremities, rather than return to the Florentine yoke; a resolution which obliged the Florentines to order their general Vitelli to march with his army into the Pisan, and reduce that city by force.

He took the field accordingly, reduced several places, and advanced to the neighbourhood of the capital. He played with his cannon upon Stampace, one of the outworks, which was defended by Gurlino, the Pisan general, and shattered it so, that he took it by storm. Being at the head of ten thousand foot, and a proportionable number of horse, he might have taken the city at the same time with very little loss; but he unaccountably checked the ardour of his troops; and the Pisans recovering from their consternation, defended themselves more obstinately than ever. It was now the end of August, and the unwholesome situation of Pisa had filled the Florentine army with diseases, which cut off so many, that Vitelli, apprehensive of being himself attacked, abandoned the siege, notwithstanding all the

[e] Murator. Annal. ad ann. 1499.

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remonstrances of the Florentine officers and soldiers. This disappointment proved his ruin. In a few days after he was arrested at Cascina, from whence he was sent to Florence, where he was put to the torture. The charge against him was various and complicated; but perhaps his want of success was his greatest crime. Amongst other things, he was accused of holding a correspondence with the Pisans and the Medici family, and of having privately engaged in the Venetian service. He confessed nothing upon the rack, and next day he was beheaded. The Florentine magistrates endeavoured to seize his brother Vitellozzo, who would have undergone the same fate, but by the fidelity of his attendants he escaped to Pisa, where he was joyfully received [f].

Vitelli tortured and beheaded.

Treaty between Lewis and the Florentines.

By this time Lewis the French king had found means to drive Ludovico Sforza out of Milan, which he now entered in triumph. All the Italian states, excepting the king of Naples, made court to him, and he received the compliments of them all more favourably than he did those of Florence. Lewis thought that the conduct of the Florentines was timid and time-serving; and they scarce ever made a poorer figure than at this period, being hated and despised by all their neighbours, for their temporizing. Their enemies the Pisans, on the other hand, were in the highest reputation, for the noble stand they had made in defence of their liberties. The cruel death which Vitelli, whose reputation as an officer was very high, had undergone, increased the public odium against the Florentines, and they were reviled at the French court for having unjustly put to death a general, who was the friend and confederate of France. Reasons of state, however, favoured their cause; and Lewis consulting his interest more than he did the resentments of his courtiers, entered into a treaty with them, after they had previously made him a handsome present in money. He engaged to assist them against all invaders with six hundred lances and four thousand foot, to be employed with a proportionable train of artillery, in the recovery of Pisa, and of the lands and territories that had been taken from them by the Siennese and the Lucquese. The Florentines, on the other hand, undertook to supply four hundred men at arms, and three thousand foot, in defence of his majesty's Italian dominions. If Pisa was recovered, they were to join the royal army with five hundred men at arms, and advance [g] fifty thousand ducats towards the maintenance of five thousand Swiss for three months, besides the repayment

[f] Ammur. Ist. di Fiorenz. [g] Guicciardini, lib. iv.

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of thirty-six thousand ducats lent them by Lodovico, deducting from the said sum what Trivulzi should declare to have been paid or expended on his account. Lastly, they promised to elect for their captain-general the prefect of Rome, who was brother to the cardinal of S. Pietro in Vincola, at whose instance this demand was made.

This treaty between the French king and the Florentines had no immediate consequences; for the Italian potentates had almost all of them separate views. After the reduction of Milan, the pope prevailed with Lewis to lend him a body of troops, for the reduction, as he pretended of the Romagna to the Holy See; but in fact, for erecting a powerful principality there in favour of his son Cæsar Borgia, in which design he partly succeeded. The Venetians were obliged to turn their attention against the Turks, who had begun to besiege their maritime towns in Greece. As to the French king, he left the government of the Milanese under Trivulzi, and returned to France. Sforza, and his brother the cardinal Ascanio, were all this while at Maximilian's court, and fed with magnificent promises of his employing a great army in their favour. It soon appeared, however, that all his intention was to get money from them; so that they resolved to apply to another quarter for relief. They happened to be favoured by the perpetual disagreement between the Italian and French manners. Trivulzi was guilty of some cruelties, which rendered him unpopular in Milan. The insolence of the French, in a few weeks, became more odious to the Milanese than all the crimes and oppressions of Sforza had ever been; and they secretly encouraged him to return. He accordingly hired eight hundred Swiss and five hundred Burgundian men at arms; and returning to the Milanese, made himself master of Como. All that Trivulzi could do, was to send expresses to Venice for assistance, and to recall the French troops that were serving in the Romagna.

Design of the pope and his son.

But the inhabitants of Milan had, by this time, heard of Sforza's success at Como; which gave them such spirits, that they in a manner drove Trivulzi out of Milan to Novara, where he endeavoured to make a stand, till he could receive reinforcements out of France. Sforza and his brother were joyfully received in Milan; and had it not been for the Venetians, all that duchy would have declared for him, as Pisa and Parma actually did. Sforza having regained possession of Milan, sent the bishop of Cremona to the Venetians, offering to agree to any terms they should prescribe for effecting a reconciliation: but all his endeavours were fruitless, they refusing to abandon their alliance

Sforza recovers the Milanese.

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with France. The Genoese were applied to in like manner; but could not be prevailed upon to return under Sforza's government; and the Florentines, who certainly lay under great obligations to him, refused to pay him the money he had advanced them towards the recovery of Pisa. The marquis of Mantua however, and the lords of Mirandola, Carpi, and Correggio, lent him some men, and the Siennese assisted him with a sum of money. He likewise received some aids from other Italian princes; so that at last he raised a considerable army of Swiss, Burgundians, and Italians, and leaving his brother, the cardinal, to besiege the castle of Milan, he himself laid siege to Novara; the French under Trivulzi having shut themselves up in Mortara, which began to be distressed for want of provisions. In the mean time Ivo d'Allegri, who commanded the French troops in the Romagna, returned to Alessandria; but the French king had taken so little care of his conquests and troops, that the Swiss under Allegri, daily deserted to Sforza for want of pay. This acquisition enabled him to take the town of Novara, though the citadel still held out; and it is thought that if Sforza had pursued his good fortune, the French must have been obliged to repass the Po.

A.D. 1500. Lewis, the French king, irritated by so many repeated disgraces, dispatched Tremouille with reinforcements into Italy, where, by the spring of the year, he had an army consisting of fifteen hundred lances, ten thousand Swiss, and six thousand French infantry. The Swiss in Sforza's army now departed from that honest open character for which they had ever been famous. Some of their officers in the French service pretended to desert to Sforza, and actually formed a conspiracy with their countrymen, who were in his pay, to abandon his cause. They pretended to mutiny for want of pay; and Sforza, in order to appease them, had recourse to the most abject submissions. He even made them a present of all his plate, till money could be brought from Milan. The Swiss officers, however, who were in in the secret of the conspiracy, prevailed with the French to present themselves before Novara, and took measures for cutting off all communication between Sforza and Milan. He had great reason to think he was betrayed, and drew his army out to fight the French; but the Swiss flatly refused to engage, pretending they could not fight against their own countrymen. In short, they declared their resolution of returning to their own country; and all he could obtain was a chance for his escaping out of the hands of the French in the disguise of a common Swiss soldier. This was the miserable expedient left to the most refined politician

He is betrayed and given up by his Swiss soldiers.

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cian of his age for safety, and it even failed him. While the Swiss were passing through the French army, Sforza was known and immediately put under arrest, as were all his friends and relations, who attended him in the same disguise. His brother Ascanio hearing of his fate abandoned Milan; but, in endeavouring to make his escape, was betrayed in the Placentine, and sent prisoner to Venice. The French king demanded him of the Venetians, who were mean enough to deliver him up, together with all the Milanese noblemen of Sforza's party, who had put themselves under their protection, on a promise of not being delivered up. As to Sforza, he was conducted to Lyons, and from thence sent prisoner to Loches, in Berri, where, he lived ten years, during the last five of which he was allowed to walk abroad, within five miles of the castle. His brother, the cardinal, was confined at Bourges[c]. The Florentines were but indirectly concerned in those great events. The emperor and the empire of Germany, conceived umbrage at the vast successes of the French king; for which reason he laid aside all thoughts of carrying his arms into Naples, and inclined to give the Florentines assistance towards recovering Pisa and Pietra Santa. The Genoese, Siennese, and Lucquese, out of hatred to the Florentines, tempted Lewis with great offers to lay aside his design; and being seconded by Trivulzi, and some of his generals, he was for some time in suspence. At length, however, he sent them a reinforcement of six hundred lances and five thousand Swiss, with some companies of Gascons, artillery, and ammunition, and these were followed by a farther reinforcement of two thousand Swiss. They loitered their time away in Lombardy, and gave the Pisans leisure to prepare for their defence. Beaumont, a man of no experience in military affairs, being made general of the French auxiliaries, instead of proceeding to the siege of Pisa, made war upon the marquis of Mantua, Bentivoglio of Bologna, and other petty lords and potentates who had favoured Sforza.

Misconduct of the French.

The Pisans had made Vitellozzo, brother to Paul Vitelli, their general, and he put their city in a respectable posture of defence. Such was the hatred of the inhabitants to the Florentines, that the women, as well as the men, laboured upon the fortifications. The inhabitants even passed a public decree, putting themselves under the French protection, and declaring themselves French subjects. This circumstance being intimated to Beaumont, he demanded posses-

The French pity the Pisans.

[c] Chron. de Venezia, tom. xxi. Rer. Italic.

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ſion of their city, which they would have granted him, had he been empowered to promiſe, that they ſhould not again come under ſubjection to the Florentines. Beaumont having no inſtructions on that head, laid ſiege to Piſa; but it was ſo well prepared for defence, and the Piſans expreſſed ſo much reſolution, that the aſſailants deſpaired of ſucceſs. The ſiege ſoon languiſhed; and by an intercourſe, not uncommon in thoſe days, the French became acquainted with the Piſans, and pitied them, as a people ſuffering in the nobleſt of cauſes, that of defending their liberty. This compaſſion went even to an extravagant length, for not only the French ſoldiers, but ſome of their officers of the higheſt rank, far from diſtreſſing the Piſans, ſuffered their auxiliaries to enter their city; and at laſt, under pretence of not receiving their pay, they mutinied againſt their officers, and broke up the ſiege, leaving the few Florentines who had joined them to continue it as they ſhould think proper.

The French takes Librafatta.

When the French retired from the ſiege of Piſa, the Piſans undertook the ſiege of Librafatta; which they ſoon reduced, as they did Ventura, and ſeveral other places, all of them ſerving to open a communication between them and Lucca. The French generals, in the mean time, carefully concealed from Lewis their own ſcandalous behaviour, and that of their troops, but laid all the blame upon the Florentines, who, they ſaid, had made an improper choice of a general, and had not ſupplied the French with proviſions. Lewis, however, endeavoured to encourage the Florentines to reſume the ſiege of Piſa; but they were become ſo diffident of the French, that they refuſed to have any connections with them, while the Genoeſe, the Sienneſe, and the Lucqueſe, openly aſſiſted the Piſans both with men and money.

The Florentines reduced low.

At this period, the Florentines were, through their connections with the French, very low in the eſteem of all the other Italian ſtates. Lewis, though himſelf well-intentioned, was, by his favourites and courtiers, prevailed on to abandon them to their fate, and to apply his chief efforts in favour of the pope, and his ſon, Cæſar Borgia, who now made vaſt progreſs in the Romagna. To complete the misfortunes of the Florentines, they had engaged to pay to Lewis the money they had borrowed from Sforza. But the ſucceſſes of Borgia encouraged him to turn his eyes towards the Florentines, who having now every thing to dread from his and his father's ambition, not only failed in paying Sforza's debt to Lewis, but in diſcharging the arrears due to the Swiſs who had been employed in the ſiege of Piſa, which

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which Lewis, rather than disoblige the Swiss, had advanced out of his own coffers. This conduct gave Lewis a very indifferent opinion of the Florentines; so that he was, with some difficulty, prevailed upon to put off the term of payment for some time.

Factions amongst themselves.

The Florentines, instead of deliberating on the means of retrieving their affairs, involved themselves in all the measures of faction: and the more desperate their situation became, their divisions grew to the greater height. The popular form of government, which had taken place ever since the expulsion of Peter de Medici, was now become odious and burthensome [d]; part of them were for restoring the Medici family; others inclined to a moderate aristocracy; the wiser part declined all concern in the state; and none were found who had interest enough either to reform or to settle the government. Lewis, at length insisted upon the payment of the money due to him, and the assistance they had stipulated to afford him in his Neopolitan expedition, and being disappointed in both, he gave his patronage to the family of Medici, and adopted measures for restoring them to their influence in Florence. In this design he was seconded by Cæsar Borgia, who, equally ungreatful as ambitious, had, during his progress in the Romagna, been greatly assisted by the Florentines; but Borgia being now prosperous in all his undertakings, had even thoughts of making himself master of Florence. The French king began to dislike his conduct, and had frustrated an attempt which he had formed against Bologna. Borgia knew that Lewis was immeasurably exasperated against the Florentines; and being secure of receiving no check from him on their account, actually invaded their dominions with five or six thousand men, under pretence of demanding a passage through their territory. But without waiting for any answer to this demand, he proceeded in his march as far as Barbarino, a market-town, where, in the style of a sovereign prince, he demanded of the Florentines that they would enter into a treaty with him, and not only give him a subsidy according to his rank and dignity, but alter the form of their government to his liking. To give the greater weight to this demand, he had ordered Peter de Medici, Vitellozzo, the Orisini, and other declared enemies of the Florentines, to hover on the borders of Tuscany.

Insulted by Cæsar Borgia.

Borgia had no serious intention of serving the Medici family; but he indulged a private pique he had to the Florentines, and advanced within six miles of their city with

[d] Guicciardini, lib. v.

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his army. Being doubtful of the French, he there halted and renewed his demands upon the Florentines, who were in no condition to dispute them. A convention was accordingly entered into between them and Borgia, by which he promised to give no assistance to the Pisans; and they agreed not to oppose his designs upon Piombino, or the other states he intended to subdue. The Florentines were likewise obliged to pay him a subsidy of thirty-six thousand ducats yearly, on condition of his keeping three hundred men at arms always in readiness for their service. The more compliant the Florentines were, Borgia grew the more insolent: he treated their territory as an enemy's country, and rose exorbitantly in his demands.

Cæsar checked by Lewis.

Though Lewis both hated and despised the Florentines, yet he was so far from approving of Borgia's insolence, that he sent orders to d'Aubigny, his general in Lombardy, to drive him out of Tuscany, if he did not retire of his own accord. Borgia was intimidated by this threat, and ordered the Pisans to abandon the siege of Ripomaranci, a place belonging to the Florentines, which he had encouraged them to undertake. But the system of power in Italy was at this time entirely overturned. Ferdinand the Catholic, king of Spain, the most politic prince of his age, had formed a treaty of partition of the kingdom of Naples, unknown to Federigo, which last depended upon the assistance of Gonsalvo, the Spanish general, who in history is known by the name of the Great Captain. The French troops entered Naples, and then the French and Spanish ambassadors, by command of their masters, published at the court of Rome the treaty of partition which had been concluded, and obliged his holiness to give them investitures according to its articles, under pretence that, when the partition took place, they should be enabled to act with greater effect against the infidels.

A D. 1501. It is well known, that the French and Spaniards succeeded in their designs against Naples. The Florentines, in a fit of despair, applied to the cardinal of Rouen, to solicit the friendship of the French king: but Lewis, instead of taking them into favour, gave up to the Lucquese, for a sum of money, Pietra Santa and Mutrone. He likewise entered into a treaty with the Siennese, the Lucquese, and the Pisans, for restoring the family of Medici to their power in Florence. But money being his only object, the negociation came to nothing as soon as he perceived those states were unable to gratify his expectation. The Florentines thus repulsed, had recourse to Maximilian; and Lewis was so apprehensive of the consequences, that he began to talk

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talk to them in a very moderate ſtrain: at laſt he actually concluded a treaty with Florence, importing, that the king ſhould be bound, for three years, to defend them with an armed force, at his own coſt, againſt any power that ſhould, either directly or indirectly, attack them in the dominions of which they were then in poſſeſſion: that the Florentines ſhould be obliged, in the ſaid ſpace of three years, to pay each year the third part of one hundred and twenty thouſand ducats: that all other capitulations made between them, together with the obligations depending on them, ſhould be null and void: that the Florentines ſhould be at liberty to proceed by force of arms againſt the Piſans, and all other invaders of their ſtate.

Treaty between Lewis and the Florentines.

This treaty gave freſh ſpirits to the Florentines, and they reſumed their war againſt the Piſans. Experience, by this time, had taught them the inutility of endeavouring to reduce Piſa by force of arms; they therefore made diſpoſitions for taking Vico Piſano, and blockading Piſa itſelf, in ſuch a manner as to compel it to ſurrender by famine. Maximilian, out of hatred and jealouſy to the French king, now took the part of the Piſans; and the faction of the Medici was ſo ſtrong, that every day produced tumults in their favour. Guglielmo de Pazzi was then the Florentine governor in Arezzo, where Vitellozzo, the implacable enemy of the Florentines, had a ſtrong party. The governor had an intimation of a conſpiracy againſt him; but neglected it ſo much, that the Arezzians, who now hated the Florentines, broke out into open rebellion, impriſoned the governor, took poſſeſſion of the city, and forced the Florentines to betake themſelves to the citadel. The Florentine army, at this time, were beſieging Vico Piſano; and the wiſeſt citizens gave it as their opinion, that it ought to march to Arezzo, preferably to all other ſervices; but the introduction of low-bred mechanics into the principal poſts of the government had rendered their counſels contemptible, and their conduct abſurd. Mean while, Vietellozzo, marching with a freſh reinforcement to Arezzo, blocked up the citadel in ſuch a manner, that the garriſon could receive no proviſions, ſo that it was obliged to ſurrender by capitulation.

A.D. 1502.

The Piſan war renewed.

Arezzo loſt by the Florentines.

The Florentines were under the greater conſternation at the loſs of Arezzo, as they imagined that it had been effected by the contrivance of the pope and his ſon Cæſar Borgia. Being deſtitute both of men and money, they had no reſource but in the French king, to whom they repre-

[e] Guicciardini, lib. v.

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sented the danger of the increase of the papal power in Italy, and the necessity he was under, both for his interest and honour, to take Florence into his protection. Lewis, who had long disliked the proceedings of the pope and his son, and who had now broken with the king of Spain about the partition of Naples, ordered his general Chaumont to march with a strong detachment to the assistance of the Florentines; and sent orders to Vitellozzo, the Orsini, Borgia, and other enemies of the Florentines, to desist from all hostilities against them. These orders were complied with; but Borgia, after a train of treacherous and inhumane measures, took possession of the duchy of Urbino; and then deliberated upon attacking the Florentines, in defiance of the French king. Prudential considerations, however, restrained him from that attempt. He contented himself with amusing the Florentines by a negotiation, and suffering their enemy Vitellozzo to take the citadel of Arezzo, and many other places belonging to the Florentines in the neighbourhood. Even Cortona fell into his hands; for the Florentines were now so weak, that they were unable to bring an army into the field; and the presence of Peter de Medici in Borgia's army, made the subjects of Florence, without its gates, consider all who opposed him as so many rebels.

Vitellozzo reduced Anghiari and Borgo S. Sepolchro; from whence he marched into the Casantine; but by this time two hundred French lances, under Imbault, had arrived in the Florentine territory; the dread of whom obliged Vitellozzo to abandon his design upon the Casantine. A second reinforcement of two hundred French lances arriving, the Florentines assembled an army of three thousand foot, and forced Vitellozzo to retire under the walls of Arezzo. The face of affairs was now greatly altered in favour of the Florentines. Most of Vitellozzo's confederates drew off, to secure their own countries against Borgia, and the French king was now arrived at Asti; from whence he detached his general, Louis de la Tremouille, with a large body of troops, to assist the Florentines in recovering Arezzo, and in opposing the progress of the papal power; a service which he declared to be as meritorious as that of fighting against the infidels.

Views of the pope.

The pope and his son, knowing that they were no match for the French king, disclaimed having any hand in the revolt of Arezzo, and threatened Vitellozzo with their displeasure, if he did not abandon it. He chose a middle course; and, to the great disappointment of the Florentines, gave Arezzo, and the other places he had taken from them,

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them, into the hands of Imbault, the French general, who, by order of the French king, immediately restored them to the Florentines. Though this agreeable event cost the Florentines money, yet it gave them such a sense of their own importance, that they resolved to new-model the form of their government, that they might, if possible, revive a public spirit in their commonwealth. But the disadvantages they had experienced from their popular method of government, and their prepossessions in its favour were so equally balanced, that they could agree only upon one alteration, which was, that of making the gonfalonier an officer during life. Peter Soderini, an unexceptionable person, was unanimously chosen to fill that high office. When the French king arrived at Asti, his minister, the cardinal of Rouen, seconded the arts of the pope so effectually, that they were reconciled together, to prevent the junction of his holiness with Maximilian. This negociation was kept so secret, that all Italy was amazed at seeing Borgia received by the French king with open arms at Milan, and at his majesty's recalling his troops from Tuscany, in order to employ them in Naples, where he was every where victorious, and obliged the Spanish general, Gonsalvo, to shut himself up in Barletta. Lewis was even so weak, that, by the advice of the cardinal of Rouen, who aspired to the popedom, he entered into closer connections than ever with the pope and Borgia, who persisted in disclaiming all the proceedings of Vitellozzo against the Florentines. This conduct gave great umbrage to the Florentines, and all the other states of Italy; and they endeavoured to take the marquis of Mantua into their pay; but in this attempt they were opposed by the French king, as well as by the pope and Borgia. The two latter became now so insolent on the favour of Lewis, that they made no secret of their enmity to the Florentines, and even repented the disclaiming their having had any hand in the revolt of Arezzo. Their influence over Lewis was such, that he permitted them to make an attempt upon Bologna. The Florentines were at this time so inconsiderable as to despair of doing any service by their remonstrances; but the Venetians insisted, with great firmness, upon the mistaken policy of Lewis in aggrandizing the pope and his family.

The French again invade Italy.

Those representations encouraged the lesser Italian princes. Pagolo Orsini, Vitellozzo, Gian Pagolo Baglione, Liverotto da Fermo, Giovanni Bentivoglio, and others, seeing their estates, which they had so long possessed as fiefs, ready to fall a sacrifice to the ambition of the

Confederacy amongst the Italian powers against the pope and Borgia.

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the pope and his son, withdrew themselves from their service, and entered into a confederacy for their mutual defence against Borgia; but they avoided, as much as possible, to give any umbrage to the French king. To bring the Florentines into their alliance, they offered, by means of Pandolfo Petrucci, to restore them to the possession of Pisa; but the Florentines declined the proposal, for fear of disobliging the French king, who still continued to be attached to the pope. This connection disconcerted all the measures of the confederates, and, one after another, they made their peace with his holiness and Borgia: but that monster, in defiance of the most solemn engagements, having decoyed four of the principal confederates, Pagolo Orsini, the duke of Gravina, Vitellozzo, and Liverotto da Fermo, into his power, he put Vitellozzo and Liverotto da Fermo to death, and made the others prisoners [f].

The pope and his execrable son, in like manner, decoyed into their power cardinal Orsino and almost all his family, whom they either put to death or imprisoned; and in all their proceedings they continued to behave with such insolence and cruelty, that the French king could no longer countenance them; and a league of mutual offence and defence was formed amongst the Florentines, the Siennese, and the Bolognese, against the pope and his family. By this league, of which the French king was guarantee, Monte Pulciano was to be restored to the Florentines; and Pandolfo Petrucci was reinstated in Sienna, from whence he had been expelled by Borgia.

The Florentines join the French.

The Florentines, all this while, were intent upon the recovery of Pisa, and had taken into their service the bailiff of Caen, a French officer of reputation, who took Vico Pisano, and soon after Verrucola, a pass of great importance towards the conquest of Pisa itself. The loss of these two places was extremely mortifying to the Pisans, who were now abandoned by all their allies, and had nothing to support them but their irreconcileable aversion to the Florentines. Jealousy, however, operated in their favour. The Genoese and Lucquese, conscious that they had no favour to expect from the Florentines, gave them assistance, and Borgia himself, encouraged by the ruin of the French in Naples, privately assisted them, in hopes of becoming their sovereign. Pandolfo Petrucci likewise entered into intrigues against the Florentines, who insisted upon the restitution of Monte Pulciano, previous to all other considera-

[f] Guicciardin. Sardi. Murator. Annal. ad ann. 1502.

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tions. Lewis made a freſh irruption into Italy, in which he was aſſiſted by the Florentines and the other ſtates of Tuſcany; and, by intercepted letters, it was diſcovered that Borgia, and Gonſalvo, the Spaniſh general in Naples, had entered into engagements for making the former ſovereign of Piſa, and for defeating all the hopes of the French in Italy. The preparations of Lewis were ſo formidable, that they durſt not carry thoſe engagements immediately into execution. After various negociations, the pope agreed to remain neutral as to all diſputes in Tuſcany; and at the ſame time Borgia conſented to aſſiſt the French with a body of troops. But thoſe engagements were all deceitful on the part of his holineſs and his ſon, whoſe real intention was to carry into execution their views upon Tuſcany, as ſoon as the French army ſhould be engaged in Naples. Their treachery was diſappointed by the death of the pope, which, according to the authorities of the beſt hiſtorians, was occaſioned by his caſually drinking part of a poiſoned bottle of wine he had prepared to be adminiſtered to ſome cardinals whom he had invited to ſupper [a]. The confuſion that happened in Rome upon the death of pope Alexander VI. is inexpreſſible; at laſt the cardinals fixed upon Franciſco Piccolomini, cardinal of Sienna, to be pope. This pontiff lived but twenty-ſix days after his election, and was ſucceeded by the cardinal of S. Pietro in Vincola, the moſt turbulent ſpirit of his age, who aſſumed the name of Julius II. The ambition of the Venetians at this time led them to attack Faenza; and the inhabitants had recourſe firſt to the pope, who refuſed to defend them, and then to the Florentines, who, at firſt ſent them ſome aſſiſtance, but ſoon after withdrew it, dreading the Venetian power, which was ſo great at this time, that they made ſlight both of the pope and the French king, which laſt had charged them to deſiſt from attacking Faenza, which belonged to Cæſar Borgia. Notwithſtanding this injunction, they not only took the place, but ſtripped him of moſt of his poſſeſſions in the Romagna. He was an eminent inſtance of the vanity of human politics. He uſed to boaſt, that he had omitted no precaution to ſecure himſelf in the poſſeſſion of the eſtates he had acquired; only he had not foreſeen that he might be taken ill at the time of his father's death, which actually was the caſe. As he was univerſally deteſted, the pope finiſhed his ruin, which the Venetians had begun. All his eſtates reverted either to them or to the church; and the remains of his

A.D. 1503.

Death of pope Alexander.

[a] See Hiſtory of the Popes.

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miserable army at last took refuge in the Florentine territory, where they were disarmed.

The French defeated in Naples.

The French army, at this time, were totally defeated in Naples by Gonsalvo, who secured all that kingdom to the king of Spain. Peter de Medici, who had followed the fortunes of France, was drowned in endeavouring to pass the Garigliano in a boat; and Cæsar Borgia was arrested by Gonsalvo, and sent prisoner to Spain. In the course of the next year, Gonsalvo having slackened the prosecution of his victories over the French, the Florentines obtained some little respite, but were soon after threatened with an invasion by the friends of the Medici family, who were still numerous and powerful. It appeared, however, that the Spaniards, who were every where victorious, intended to give them no disturbance; a circumstance which encouraged them in the summer of that year to take into their pay Gian Pagolo Baglione, with some other Italian soldiers of fortune, and to renew the war with the Pisans. They accordingly entered that territory with a great army, and laid it waste. It was expected that, as they were still in friendship with the French king, Gonsalvo would have given them some trouble; but both parties proved tractable on that head, and entered into a kind of compromise, by which the Florentines engaged not to assist the French king if he should again attack Naples, while Gonsalvo promised not to molest them in the country of Pisa, unless they undertook the siege of that city while they continued in friendship with France. The Florentines pursued their advantages, and took Librafatta after a short resistance, together with a great number of places in the neighbourhood of Pisa itself. Notwithstanding their compromise with Gonsalvo, they would have even reduced the city, had it not been succoured by the Genoese and the Lucquese. Giacomini, the Florentine general, upon this provocation, invaded the territory of Lucca, which he laid waste; and the Lucquese complained of him to the French king, who gave them no satisfaction, so that Pisa was still in imminent danger from the Florentines. Gonsalvo perceiving this, sent one of his officers, Rimeri della Sassetta, with two hundred horse, to Pisa, into which the Genoese, at the same time, threw one thousand foot. One Bardella, of Porto Venere, a famous corsair, entered likewise into the Pisan service, on assurance of being paid by the Genoese and their confederates; and supplied them with provisions, at a time when they were threatened with famine, by keeping a galloon and some brigantines for that purpose. The Florentines, whose great hopes of reducing Pisa depended

A.D. 1504.

Pisa defended against the Florentines.

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on its want of provisions, hired three light gallies of Federigo, and these sailing to Leghorn, obliged Bardella to keep to sea. Nevertheless, he still found means to supply the Pisans with provisions. The Florentines, on the other hand, omitted no expence for obtaining their darling end of retaking Pisa, and destroyed the harvest all round that city with the most unrelenting fury. They, at the same time, engaged in a most expensive undertaking, that of diverting the course of the Arno five miles from Pisa, and carrying it by a new channel into the morasses between that city and Leghorn; but this project, after vast sums of money had been expended upon it, proved impracticable, because the bed of the lake, into which the waters were to be discharged, was higher than the channel of the Arno [s].

The Florentines being disappointed in all their attempts to recover Pisa by force, resolved to try what they could do by acts of humanity. A law passed in Florence, that every Pisan who should, in a certain time, live in his own house, and upon his own estate in that territory, should be forgiven all offences against the state. This expedient turned out to the disadvantage of the Florentines, because it relieved Pisa from a great many useless mouths, which had chiefly occasioned the scarcity of provisions in that city.

Luca Savello was then the Florentine as Tarlatino was the Pisan general. Savello, who had his head-quarters at Cascina, thought himself superior to the Pisans in strength; and, in order to bring his enemies to an engagement, crossed the Serchio, and carried off some cattle belonging to the Pisans from the Lucquese. Tarlatino left Pisa with a small party, and, ordering the rest to follow him, attacked the advanced guard of the Florentines at St. Jacopo; but they retired to the bridge of Cappelleso on the Osole, where all their army was assembled within a few miles of Pisa. Tarlatino, advancing inadvertently, found he could not retreat without being cut off with his whole party. The ground, however, was so narrow, that the Florentines could not avail themselves of their superior numbers, which, on account of the booty they had with them, very much incommoded them. Tarlatino, expecting every moment the arrival of the army from Pisa, attacked the bridge where the flower of the Florentine army was posted, with so much intrepidity, that, after being three times repulsed, he carried it. The advanced parties from Pisa fording the

A.D. 1505

The Florentines defeated.

[s] Murator. Annal. ad an. 1504.

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river at the ſame time, the Florentines were pent up in a narrow ſpot of ground, where they fell into confuſion, and behaved in ſo cowardly a manner, that they were entirely defeated, many of them being killed, but more of them made priſoners, diſarmed, and plundered by the peaſants in the country. This defeat was attended with the worſt of conſequences to the Florentines: the Piſans, without oppoſition, ravaged their country; and the Florentine general, Gian Pagolo Baglione, at Petrucci's inſtigation, refuſed to continue in their ſervice, on pretence that his enemies in Perugia, to which city he had been reſtored by the intereſt of the Florentines, were becoming too powerful. To avoid, however, as much as he could, the charge of ingratitude, he promiſed never to carry arms againſt the Florentines, and left his ſon Malateſta, a ſtripling, with fifteen men at arms, in their ſervice. His profeſſions, however, were inſincere, for he, together with Bartolomeo Alviano, and Petrucci, were at that time negociating with the cardinal de Medici, about reſtoring his family to its power in Florence. The Florentines were ſo greatly diſpirited and weakened by their late defeat, that it was thought, if a revolution could be effected in favour of the Medici family, they would have reinſtated that of Sforza in the government of Milan, where the French had now but a very ſmall force. But cardinal Aſcanio Sforza, who was the life of that project, dying in the mean time, it came to nothing. The other parties, however, who were in the intereſt of the Medici family, met at Piegai, a caſtle between the borders of Perugia and Sienna, where it was reſolved, amongſt themſelves, that Alviano, who had in diſguſt left the Spaniſh ſervice, ſhould enter Piſa, and from thence harraſs the Florentines as he ſhould ſee occaſion.

The Florentines, not knowing how to oppoſe a general of ſuch power and experience, once more applied for the aſſiſtance of the French king. But Lewis, who was now grown old and covetous, abſolutely refuſed to grant them any, unleſs they paid him thirty thouſand ducats in ready money, which they pleaded they were unable to do, on account of the vaſt expences they had incurred by the Piſan war. Gonſalvo the Spaniſh general had his reaſons for patronizing the Florentines on this occaſion. He forbade Alviano, who had great eſtates in Naples, from aſſiſting the enemies of Florence, and charged him to reſume his command in the Spaniſh army. At the ſame time he ſignified to the Piſans, and to the lord of Piombino, that they could not conſiſtently with their connections with Spain, which

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which had them lately under her protection, receive Alviano into their pay. He even went so far, as to offer to the Florentines the service of his infantry, which was at Piombino, under their general Marco Antonio Colonna: he likewise admonished all the other petty Italian tyrants, not to give the least assistance to Alviano against the Florentines. Notwithstanding all these injunctions, Alviano, with about one thousand men, attempted to make his way to Pisa; but when he arrived at Scarlino, a town under the jurisdiction of Piombino, he was overtaken by a messenger from Gonsalvo, who commanded him not to proceed. His answer implied, that he was a free man, and not to be controuled in his conduct. He then marched to Campiglia, where some hostilities passed between him and the Florentines, whose head-quarters were at Bibienna. From thence he advanced to Corma; but he found his difficulties increase every day. The lord of Piombino, the Vitelli, and the other potentates he had confided in, relaxed in their endeavours to support him. Even Petrucci grew cold in his interest; nor was he quite sure whether the Pisans would incur Gonsalvo's resentment, by receiving him as their general. Under this uncertainty he retired to Vignole, in the territory of Piambino, under pretext of negociating with Gonsalvo.

Alviano defeated.

But so determined was the hatred of the Pisans towards the Florentines, that they now consented to receive him into their city; and on the 15th of August he made dispositions for fighting the Florentine army, which retired under the walls of Campiglia, and prepared to intercept and fight Alviano in his march to Pisa, under their general Ercole Bentivoglio. This last, accordingly came up with his rear at St. Vicenza, where, notwithstanding all his efforts, Ercole obtained the victory by means of his artillery, the other with difficulty escaped into the Siennese.

In consequence of this success, Soderini called an unusual meeting of the citizens in Florence, and they were unanimous in their opinion, that the siege of Pisa should be instantly undertaken, whatever opposition it might meet with from Gonsalvo, or the Italian powers.

Pisa besieged.

On the 6th of September, the Florentines formed the siege with six hundred men at arms, seven thousand foot, and sixteen pieces of battering cannon, which were planted to great advantage, and played most furiously upon the city; but the Pisans repaired the breaches as fast as their enemy's artillery could open them. Ercole, the Florentine general, wanted to storm the place; but his men, being raw and new-raised, through mere cowardice refused the ser-

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vice. In short, regardless of all discipline, they broke up the siege on hearing that Gonsalvo had reinforced the garrison with six hundred Spanish foot from Piombino. Next day the Florentines ingloriously retired to Cascina; and a few days after fifteen hundred more Spanish foot entered Pisa; but a peace being now concluded between France and Spain, they went from thence to Spain by sea.

A.D. 1506. Petrucci had formed a confederacy with the Genoese and the Lucquese, for the defence of Pisa, which totally discouraged the Florentines, even from any attempts upon the A.D. 1507. Pisan territory. Soon after the Genoese shook off the yoke of the French, and the Pisans found themselves in so good a condition, that they were able to send their general Tarlatino to their assistance with some troops; but they were soon reduced to their former subjection. This forwardness of the Pisans to assist the Genoese, disobliged the French king so greatly, that he promised to assist the Florentines to reduce their city. Ferdinand of Spain, however, altered this resolution of Lewis, by promising to dispose the Pisans to return under the government of the Florentines, who offered him one hundred and twenty thousand ducats in case he succeeded. But Ferdinand undertook more than he could perform; for though the Pisans offered to submit to him, he could not prevail on them to undergo the Florentine yoke. To secure, however, the money that was stipulated, he plainly told the Florentines that if they offered, by the assistance of the French king, or by any other means, to render themselves masters of Pisa, he would oppose them by force. Yet, he found reason to alter his conduct, and made a compromise with the French king at Savona, by which both of them were to contribute their endeavours for recovering Pisa to the Florentines, and to share the money.

Obstinacy of the Pisans.

A.D. 1509. The Pisan war languished till the beginning of the year 1509. when the Florentines thought the opportunity favourable for their recovering Pisa. They had renewed their ravages in that territory, and taken into their pay the son of Bardella, of Porto Venere, with some vessels, which blocked up the Pisans by sea. This precaution reduced them to such distress, that the Genoese and Lucquese, compassionating their misery, equipped a small squadron, and loaded it with provisions for their relief. The Florentines, on the other hand, reinforced their fleet with an English ship which they hired in the port of Leghorn; and at the same time lined all the banks of the Arno leading to Pisa, on both sides, with land forces and cannon. In order to oblige the Lucquese to remain neuter, they

Operations against Pisa.

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they sent a party from Cascina to plunder the port of Viareggio. The dread of this detachment brought on a negociation on the part of the Lucquese, who agreed upon a defensive league for three years, in which the Lucquese were expressly excluded from the liberty of giving any manner of assistance to the Pisans [a].

A neutrality concluded.

But the necessities of the kings of France and Spain proved the best friends of the Florentines on this occasion. These monarchs wanted money, and the Florentines wisely declined to advance them any, or to enter into the league of Cambray, unless the two kings should withdraw all their assistance from the Pisans. It must be acknowleged that both potentates acted in a shameful manner, the one towards the Pisans, and the other towards the Florentines. His Catholic majesty had taken the Pisans under his protection; but offered to abandon them for a sum of money: the French king, on the other hand, had repeatedly promised to assist the Florentines in the recovery of Pisa; but was so far from performing his engagements, that he sent a body of troops to defend the Pisans, lest they should be obliged to surrender without his receiving the money. After various difficulties, a treaty was at last concluded, importing, that neither of the monarchs, or their confederates, were directly or indirectly to assist the Pisans: that the Florentines [b], in case they should recover Pisa within the year, should pay to each of the two kings fifty thousand ducats; and, in that case, a league was declared to subsist between the parties for three years, by which the Florentines should be obliged to furnish three hundred men at arms, for the defence of the states of the two kings in Italy; and, on the other hand, each of those monarchs, engaged to supply them with at least three hundred men at arms, for their own defence.

Distress of the Venetians.

Besides these stipulations, the avarice of Lewis obliged the Florentines to agree to a secret article for paying him fifty thousand ducats more; and the cardinal of Rouen was likewise to have the disposal of twenty-five thousand for negociating the agreement. These points being adjusted, the parties in the league of Cambray prepared to attack the Venetians, who finding all their endeavours in vain to prevent the storm from falling on them, made dispositions for defending themselves. The history of that war which stripped the Venetians of almost all their acquisitions in Europe, is foreign to this work. It is sufficient to say, that

[a] Guicciardini, lib. viii. [b] Id. ibid.

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the league of Cambray was of the greatest service to the Florentines, by diverting the attention of all the Italian states from Pisa, where they still found great difficulties to surmount.

Nevertheless, the supplies sent to the Pisans were in no degree proportioned to their necessities; and the garrison shewed such reluctance towards continuing the defence of the city, that the inhabitants were obliged to propose an accommodation, under the mediation of the lord of Piombino. The Florentines accepted of this proposal, and the famous Nicolas Machiavel, was appointed their plenipotentiary at Piombino. This negociation, however, was far from relaxing the operations of the Florentines against Pisa. They divided their army into three parts, by which they blocked up that city more effectually than ever, and the inhabitants were reduced to extremity. Multitudes perished in the streets for want of food. The misery of such spectacles seemed to increase the abhorrence of the Pisan magistrates to the Florentines. They endeavoured to send out of their city all useless mouths, but they were put to death, or driven back by the Florentines. At length the common people ran to arms, and obliged their magistrates to capitulate. Alamanno Salviati, one of the Florentine commissaries, negociated this treaty, which was at last concluded, not a little to the advantage of the Pisans. They not only received a full remission of all their offences against the Florentines, but obtained many concessions and privileges, which they had not before, and the Florentines gave up all their claims to the restitution of their effects, which the Pisans had seized in the beginning of the war.

A negociation is set on foot.

Pisa restored to the Florentines.

The emperor Maximilian was now with his army in the bowels of Italy, and pretending to all the rights of the Roman emperors, renewed his claim upon Florence, as a fief of the empire, and objected to its dominion over the Pisans. The French king, apprehensive of losing the residue of the money stipulated to be paid him by the Florentines, earnestly pressed them to an accommodation with Maximilian; and they accordingly sent deputies to him, while he was at Verona. As that prince was continually in want of money, a treaty was soon concluded, by which they [d] obtained of him, in ample form the confirmation of their liberties with a release from all debts due in times past, on condition, however, that the Florentine deputies should engage, in the name of their republic, to pay him forty thousand ducats.

[d] Guicciardini, lib. viii.

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By this time, the contracting parties in the league of Cambray had disagreed amongst themselves; and pope Julius II. took advantage of their disunion to pursue his first scheme, that of driving the French out of Italy. This brought on various negociations foreign to our subject. The Florentines had the courage to continue in the French interest, and even lent the king two hundred men at arms, to protect his duchy of Milan; but he made this demand not so much because he really wanted such assistance, as that he might widen the breach between the pope and the Florentines. At this period, however, they began to lose their importance amidst the tempests which were excited by the ambition and turbulence of the pope, who first called on the French to assist him in crushing the Venetians; and now bent all his endeavours to drive those Tramontanes out of Italy. *Scheme of the pope.*

Maximilian, who lett his titles as well as troops out for hire, on his part, gave Lewis the sanction of his name, for convening a general council that was to humble the pope's spiritual authority. We have seen in the History of the Popes, in what manner this restless pontiff bribed Ferdinand of Arragon to abandon the league of Cambray; and prevailed upon Henry VIII. of England to declare against Florence; while a general council was actually convoked at Lyons against the pope; and the French and imperial interest was so strong at Rome, that the cardinals of St. Croce, Cosenza, Bayeux, St. Malo, and San Severino, abruptly left that city, and put themselves under the protection of the Florentines.

The latter by this time began to stagger in their alliance with the French, when they saw them disunited amongst themselves. However, they received the discontented cardinals with great civility, and granted them the protection of the senate, but without limiting it to any time, that they might be at liberty to withdraw it at their discretion. The pope insisted that the cardinals, three of whom he treatened with excommunication, should repair to him at Bologna; and the Florentines rather than exasperate him farther, gave them warning to leave their territory; upon which they retired to Milan.

While Julius was fighting with one power, negociating with another, and endeavouring to embroil all Europe, for his own selfish purposes, Maximilian and Lewis resolved immediately to assemble the general council.

The Florentines were at this juncture neither feared, trusted, nor hated, by any power; but, by means of their neutrality, they had repaired their finances. They had no *The council of Pisa proposed.*

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reaſon to be pleaſed with the pope, and great difficulties occurred about the place where the council was to be held. The French king named Piſa, becauſe it was ſubject to the Florentines; a people whom, he ſaid, he could truſt. This was a tender point for the Florentines. They durſt not, on the one hand, diſoblige his moſt Chriſtian majeſty; and, on the other, they were under ſome difficulties as to the legality of any council that was held in defiance of the pope. The queſtion was propoſed in a council of one hundred and fifty citizens, where the matter was debated, and the French king's requeſt agreed to; but with ſo much caution and ſecrecy, that neither the pope nor the cardinals knew of their reſolution.

On the 1ſt of September, the council was opened at Piſa, where the mutinous cardinals performed ſeveral conſiſtorial acts, while the pope laid the Florentines under an interdict, as favourers of the ſchiſmatical conventicle at Piſa; and, in order to mortify them the more, he made the cardinal de Medici, legate of Perugia and Bologna.

The citizens now began to be equally afraid of the pope's reſentment, and diſguſted with their own adminiſtration. Soderini the gonfalonier, and his brother the cardinal of Volterra, acted as arbitrarily in the government as the Medici had ever done. The public council of the people conſtituted, indeed, the ſupreme authority; but it was under his direction or influence: and the Florentines were too quick-ſighted a people not to perceive, that, though the forms of a popular conſtitution were preſerved, the ſpirit of it might be extinguiſhed. The gonfalonier and his brother continued to be avowed friends to the French king; and many of the Florentines, though otherwiſe averſe to the Medici family, began, on that account, to talk leſs diſreſpectfully of it than they had done before. The cardinal de Medici was young, active, polite, generous, and politic, beyond moſt men of his age: he had exact intelligence of all that paſſed in Florence, and was well acquainted with the diſpoſitions of the public. Inſtead of confining his good offices to the old approved friends of his family, he extended his benevolence, purſe, and patronage, to all the Florentines, and equally careſſed the enemies as the friends of his family. His credit at the court of Rome gave him many opportunities of ſerving them; and in a ſhort time the minds of the Florentines became wonderfully diſpoſed in his favour. His party was increaſed by the neceſſities of many noblemen, who, after having ruined themſelves by extravagance, had recourſe to his liberality; and the papal interdict, under which the city lay,

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lay, disposed all who were religiously, or rather superstitiously, inclined, to favour him, that the interdict might be taken off through his interest. Those who retained any aversion to him, were over-awed by his power as legate of Bologna; so that, upon the whole, the partizans of the Medici family now appeared in Florence as open as ever.

Appeal of the Florentines, upon being interdicted.

Nevertheless, the republic still acted with spirit in opposition to the pope. They appealed from his interdict to an oecumenical council; and in consequence of this appeal obliged the priests to perform divine service in the churches. It soon appeared, however, that the disposition of the Florentines did not by any means lead them to provoke his holiness. The schismatical cardinals, who had only sent their proxies to the council of Pisa; hearing of their being degraded and excommunicated by the pope, stopt at S. Domino, from whence the two Spanish cardinals repaired to Lucca; but the three French cardinals, together with the bishops of that nation, proceeded to Pisa under the guard of three hundred French lances, commanded by Foix, who were to reside at Pisa during the session of the council. The Florentines had not been informed of the destination of those troops till they were upon their march; and, partly from resentment, partly through prudential considerations, they resolved to prohibit their admission into Pisa. They respectfully gave their reasons for this prohibition to the French king, as well as to his cardinals; but the cardinal of St. Malo, who was at their head, presuming on the great power of Lewis, secretly ordered the troops to proceed. Lewis, on the other hand, had promised to the Florentines that they should not proceed: upon which the republic sent Francesco Vettori to certify to the cardinal of St. Malo, that they would oppose them with force of arms. At the same time they ordered the chief Pisans, who were suspected of favouring the French to be sent to Florence, and quartered a body of troops in the neighbourhood of Pisa. This alienation of the Florentines from the French interest, and the cardinal's being obliged to countermand the march of the troops, was so agreeable to the pope, that he for some time suspended the interdict that he had laid upon Pisa and Florence. But the Florentines gave him still more substantial proofs how much they disliked the council of Pisa, by laying the members of it, who repaired to that city, under every possible mortification. They were not even treated in the streets with common decency; and the higher and more disinterested their pretexts of meeting were, the more they were ridiculed and blamed for prostituting the names of religion and

The pope reconciled to the Florentines.

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virtue to the purpoſes of intereſt and ambition. Even the clergy of the church of Piſa locked up the doors of their cathedral, and refuſed to give the members entrance into it, or to lend their aſſiſtance towards the ceremonies required for opening the ſeſſion. The members complained to the Florentine magiſtracy, who ordered that they ſhould be admitted into the church, and have the uſe of its furniture; but refuſed to oblige the clergy to aſſiſt in any religious worſhip. Thoſe reſolutions, as Guicciardini [c] rightly obſerves, were inconſiſtent with each other; but were owing to the diviſions in the city, where each party prevailed in its turn. An accident freed the Piſans from the council; for a quarrel happening between a few French ſoldiers and the townſmen, in which ſome were wounded on both ſides, the members of the council adjourned it to Milan.

A great body of the Swiſs having engaged in the ſervice of the pope and the Venetians, made an irruption into the Milaneſe; ſo that Lewis found himſelf in great danger of loſing that country. In this emergency he had recourſe to the Florentines. He inſiſted upon their employing the whole of their force in his favour, without ſtipulating any certain number, and for their ſecuring all the avenues in their country by which the enemy could penetrate into the Romagna. The Florentines were divided on this occaſion. A great party amongſt them exclaimed againſt any farther engagements with ſo faithleſs and ungrateful a people, as the French had always proved to Florence. They repreſented, that they had fulfilled all their ſtipulations with France; and that the only way to make themſelves reſpectable in Italy was to maintain a neutrality, which would acquire to them the good-will of the Venetians, the pope, and the catholic king, beſides ſaving great ſums of money.

Soderini, the gonfalonier for life, whoſe power in the ſtate fell little ſhort of that of a perpetual dictator, had no other dependence, for defending himſelf againſt his enemies, but the friendſhip of Lewis, for whom he always was a ſtrenuous advocate. On this occaſion, he repreſented that, if the pope, the Venetians, and the catholic king ſhould prevail, they would turn their arms againſt the republic, and ſubvert its independency. He likewiſe inſiſted upon the ſervices the French had in paſt times performed for the Florentines. All his arguments, however, were ineffectual, becauſe of his notorious attachment to France,

[c] Guicciardini, lib. ix.

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for bringing his countrymen to any deciſive reſolution; and Guicciardin, the hiſtoriani, who was then doctor of laws, was ſent ambaſſador to the king of Arragon; but, by his own account, with no very healing overtures.

We have in the Hiſtory of the Popes, and other parts of this work, given a detail of the war in Italy, comprehending the ſieges of Mirandola and Bologna, and the battle of Ravenna, in which the Spaniſh and eccleſiaſtical forces were defeated by the French under the conduct of de Foix, which laſt, however, loſt his life on that occaſion.

The cardinal de Medici a priſoner at Milan.

The cardinal de Medici, who had been taken in the battle, was conveyed to Milan, where he was treated with the higheſt honours and reſpect, as if he had been a conqueror inſtead of a captive; but the pope, to ſhew how little he valued the French king, publiſhed a monitory, requiring him, under eccleſiaſtical penalties, to releaſe the cardinal. He proceeded farther: he ſent de Medici a power to abſolve from cenſures, all ſoldiers who would promiſe no longer to bear arms againſt the church, and to grant Chriſtian burial to all the dead. The effect which thoſe indulgencies had was incredible, and the French troops flocked in ſuch numbers to the cardinal for abſolutions, that clerks were wanting for expediting the patents of abſolution. This daring inſult on a crowned head left the members of the council of Piſa nothing to expect but contempt and danger to their own perſons. They were every where treated as members of a ſchiſmatical conventicle, and the French ſubjects and ſoldiers expreſſed the higheſt veneration for cardinal de Medici, as being the true apoſtolical legate. Lewis was obliged to put up with all thoſe affronts, being forced to recall part of his troops from Italy to defend himſelf againſt the Engliſh. At the time the battle of Ravenna was fought, the term of his league with the Florentines was almoſt expired; but the reputation his arms had acquired by that battle, prevailed with them to renew it for five years, he obliging himſelf to employ ſix hundred lances in their defence, if attacked; while they engaged to defend his Italian dominions, in the like caſe, with four hundred men at arms. The Florentines, however, were ſo cautious as to except out of this treaty the town of Cotignola, upon which the Holy See had ſome claims.

Irruption of the Swiſs into Italy.

But the peace of Italy was now more than ever in danger. The Swiſs had conceived ſuch a hatred towards the French king, that they enliſted under the pope's banners, for a Rheniſh

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Rhenish florin a man [a], in such numbers, that his treasury was insufficient to supply the enlisting money. About twenty thousand of them assembled at Coria, and the emperor granted them a free passage through his dominions. The French, under Palisse, were in no condition to resist them. Being furnished with a good train of artillery by the Venetians, whose army they joined, they fell directly into the Milanese, Palisse retiring every where before them, and losing post after post. The French had now no hopes but that they should be able to defend some of their capital towns and cities, and that the Swiss would disband themselves for want of pay. The Florentines, on the requisition of Lewis, had sent three hundred men at arms to Lombardy, of whom one hundred were put in garrison at Brescia, and another hundred at Bergamo, and the rest in the different towns in the Milanese; in which the French, amounting not to above ten thousand men, their German mercenaries included, shut themselves up; but on a sudden Maximilian ordered his subjects, who most of them were Tirolese, to leave the French service, which they did. Palisse then despaired of being able any longer to defend the Milanese. Cremona and Bergamo revolted from the French, and were received in the name of Maximilian Sforza, the son of Lewis the Moor. Palisse was not able, for want of money, to pay his troops, even to guard the passage of the Adda; so that in a few days all the open country of the duchy of Milan was evacuated by the French, who now shut themselves up in the castles and fortified places.

Escape of cardinal de Medici.

During the tumult of this retreat, the cardinal de Medici was put under a guard, in order to his being conducted into France; but, happily for him, he was rescued on the road by a Venetian nobleman. The fame of the conquest of Milan reaching Switzerland, the Swiss poured into Lombardy in greater numbers than ever, to fight in the cause of of the holy league, as the pope's confederacy was called. The cities of Parma and Piacenza voluntarily submitted to the pope. The Swiss took possession of Locarno; the Grisons laid hold of the Valteline and Chiavenna, as the Venetians did of such places as lay most convenient for them. Fregoso, one of the exiled Genoese, but then in the Venetian service, with a body of horse and foot, expelled all the French out of Genoa, of which he was chosen

[a] About two Shillings.

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doge. All the Romagna declared for the holy league, and the duke of Urbino, at the head of the pope's troops, expelled Bentivoglio and his party out of Bologna, while his holineſs proſecuted them with eccleſiaſtical cenſures, and threatened to lay under an interdict any place that ſhould receive them. As to the citizens, who had always expreſſed an implacable hatred to the papal government, he fleeced and treated them with the utmoſt ſeverity; and it was thought that, had not death prevented him, he would have demoliſhed their city. Thus the papal power, by the obſtinacy, the policy, the courage, the diſſimulation, and the abilities of one old man, was raiſed from a low ſtate to the higheſt pitch of power it had ever known.

The pope recovers Bologna.

The pope had now only Alfonſo d'Eſte, duke of Ferrara, to reduce, and towards him he behaved with his uſual mixture of obſtinacy and diſſimulation. The duke was beloved for his many noble qualities; he was a near relation to the catholic king, who began with ſome jealouſy to behold the aggrandizement of the church; and he was highly befriended by the Colonnas. His holineſs durſt not refuſe ſuch powerful ſuitors in the duke's favour. He granted him a ſafeguard to and from Rome, and behaved to him with civility; but, after various conferences, he preſſed the duke to exchange Ferrara for Aſti. The duke obſtinately rejecting this propoſal, his holineſs would have put him under arreſt, had he not been favoured by the Colonna family, who lay under the higheſt obligations to him, and who forced his way through the pope's guards, by which means he reached his own dominions by ſea.

He deceives the Florentines.

But the Florentines were the greateſt eye-ſores to his holineſs. He could not bear the haughty independency they maintained; and the aſſiſtance they had lately given to France, marked them out as objects of his vengeance. His miniſter, the cardinal of Sion and the Venetian general Baglioni, had ſolemnly engaged for the ſafe return of one hundred and twenty Florentine men at arms, and ſixty light horſe, who ſerved in the French army. Theſe were commanded by Luca Savello, while the remainder, under Franceſco Torello, were in garriſon at Breſcia; but, in defiance of all faith and honour, while thoſe few Florentines were lying near Cremona, they were ſurrounded by two thouſand of the pope's and the Venetian infantry, who plundered and diſarmed them; and though Nicolo Capponi, the Florentine ambaſſador, had obtained a paſs from the ſame cardinal, and had retired to Caſal Cervagio, yet he inſiſted upon the marquis of Montferrat delivering him up

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up as a priſoner. The French, however, were ſtill in poſſeſſion of Breſcia, Crema, Lignago, the caſtles of Milan, Genoa, and Cremona, and ſome other fortreſſes in the Milaneſe, all which they were enabled to keep, not ſo much by their own ſtrength, as through the jealouſies which began to prevail amongſt the parties of the holy league, aſſiſted by the inſolence and avarice of the Swiſs, who were favoured by the pope.

The Florentines, at this time, were in a diſagreeable ſituation. Their neutrality had left them no friends, and the bad management of the French expoſed them to the reſentment of the pope. They had, therefore, nothing to truſt to, but the moderation with which they had acted during the late war. They had withdrawn their countenance from the council of Piſa, harboured the Spaniards and Neapolitans after the battle of Ravenna, and performed other good offices to his catholic majeſty, who had, in perſon, thanked their ambaſſador, and offered them his friendſhip, provided they would withdraw their aſſiſtance from Bentivoglio, and formally diſavow the Piſan conventicle. The diſſenſions that prevailed in Florence prevented the government from coming to any reſolution; and thus, in fact, they gratuitouſly obſerved a neutrality, for which they might have been paid by his catholic majeſty.

Congreſs at Mantua. Soderini, the gonfalonier, ſtill maintained his power in Florence; and it was the intereſt of the pope to diveſt him of it, and to ſubſtitute the Medici family in his room. A congreſs was appointed at Mantua, by the members of the holy league, at which the biſhop of Gurck was to aſſiſt on the part of the emperor. The pope ſent his datary, Lorenzo Pucca, a Florentine, to Florence, on pretence of inviting that ſtate to join in the league, and in the expences of the war againſt France; but his real deſign was to form intrigues in favour of the Medici family. The Florentines would have furniſhed money to the league, but declined to enter into a war againſt the French king; and when they called upon Maximilian to fulfil his engagements with them, he offered, if they would advance him forty thouſand ducats, to take their part even againſt the pope. The Florentines would have advanced the money, had there been the leaſt appearance of their being benefited by it; and their diviſions made them neglect to take any means for their ſafety, either by diſciplining their own troops, or by hiring others. In the mean time, the Spaniſh army in the Bologneſe mutinying for want of pay, part of them fell into Tuſcany, a circumſtance which gave a freſh alarm to the Florentines.

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The conferences at the congreſs of Mantua turned upon reinſtating Maximilian Sforza in the duchy of Milan, and forming a confederacy of all the Italian ſtates to drive the foreigners out of Italy. Theſe objects naturally brought under the deliberation of the congreſs the ſtate of Florence, which was governed by an avowed friend and partizan of the French. Julian de Medici, as agent for his own family, and Bernardo de Bibienna, on the part of the pope, remonſtrated upon the practicability of reſtoring the Medici to Florence, whoſe beſt ſoldiers were either diſperſed in Lombardy or ſhut up in Breſcia. This deſign was communicated to Vittorio Soderini, brother to the gonfalonier, whom the Florentines had ſent to take care of their intereſt at the congreſs, and who informed his principals of their danger. The biſhop of Gurck at the ſame time acquainted Soderini, that the viceroy of Naples was to march at the head of his troops to oblige the Florentines to readmit the Medici; but that they might ſtill avert the danger, by gratifying the emperor, and making a handſome preſent to the viceroy. Soderini had no commiſſion to treat on thoſe matters; and no application of any kind being made to the viceroy, the congreſs broke up, after having reſolved that the expedition againſt Florence ſhould take place.

The return of the Medici family to Florence reſolved on.

For this purpoſe, cardinal de Medici was declared legate of all Tuſcany, with full power to order all the ſoldiers of the eccleſiaſtical ſtate to attend and aſſiſt him, while the viceroy, who had appeaſed the mutiny of his army, returned to the Bologneſe, and put it in motion againſt Florence. This expedition was by no means agreeable to ſome of the neighbouring powers, and particularly the duke of Urbino, who, in defiance of the pope's orders, and the moſt earneſt repreſentations of the Medici, refuſed to ſuffer the troops under his command to march, or to lend the Spaniards any aſſiſtance. The viceroy, however, proceeded; but after he had entered the Florentine territories, he was met by ambaſſadors from that ſtate, who reminded him of the moderate and friendly behaviour of the Florentines towards the catholic king during the late war, and deſired to know the nature of his demands.

The ſtate of Florence invaded.

The viceroy anſwered, that the confederated ſtates of Italy could not be eaſy, while they ſaw at the head of the Florentine government a man entirely in the intereſt of the French, who had not yet given over thoughts of ſubduing all Italy; and that his maſter, and his allies, expected they would reſtore the cardinal de Medici, who by his brother's death,

Imprudence of the Florentines.

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death was now become the head of that family, to his birthright in Florence. The viceroy mean while continued his march, without waiting for a reply from Florence, where every thing was in confusion. The magistrates had neither generals nor troops on whom they could depend. All they could do was to order their ambassadors to throw themselves at the feet of the pope, and to endeavour to amuse the viceroy by making him magnificent offers. The pope proved inexorable as usual, and the viceroy advanced within fifteen miles of Florence. He then sent a message to the state, demanding that the gonfalonier should be dismissed from his office; and that the Medici[a] should enjoy their country, not as heads of the government, but as private citizens, living in subjection to the laws and to the magistracy. In all other respects, the government was to revert to its former order.

Irresolution of the Spaniards.

This seeming moderation of the viceroy with regard to the Medici and the gonfalonier, divided the Florentines. Some were for submitting to the terms; while others suggested, that the real design of the viceroy was to gain admittance into Florence, at the head of his army, to abolish the constitution, and to re-establish the tyranny of the Medici. They observed at the same time, that a little firmness would disconcert him so much, that he would be obliged, for want of money, to withdraw his troops from Tuscany. The latter counsel therefore took place; and it was resolved to send a strong garrison, under Luca Vitelli, to Prato, to stop the viceroy's progress. This shew of resolution startled him. He was at the head of that body of Spanish foot, which had retired unbroken from the battle of Ravenna; but he was destitute both of money and provisions for their subsistence, and had only two pieces of ordnance. Upon the whole, therefore, he stopped short, and desired the Florentines to consider better of his proposals.

A treaty entered upon and defeated.

The gonfalonier convoked the great council, and offered immediately to resign his office; but at the same time represented, in the most earnest terms, the improbability of their preserving their liberties, if the Medici, upon any pretext whatsoever, should be suffered to return to Florence. Notwithstanding his remonstrances, the council came to a resolution to re-admit the Medici into their city as private subjects, but to suffer the last extremity rather than remove the gonfalonier from his office. This resolu-

[a] Guicciardini, lib. ii.

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tion laid the viceroy under great difficulties. At last, he proposed to leave Tuscany without insisting on the deposition of the gonfalonier, if the Florentines would re-admit the Medici as private citizens, pay him thirty thousand ducats, and suffer him to draw provisions for his army from Prato. The Florentine magistrates in general were for accepting those terms, and ambassadors were named for signing the treaty; but the gonfalonier, who privately opposed all accommodation, with-held their dispatches so long, that the viceroy's army was, in the mean time, reduced to the alternative either of starving or taking Prato. They brought the two pieces of ordnance before its walls; but one of them burst on the first discharge. The Spaniards, however, ran to the assault with such intrepidity, that, mounting the walls, the garrison, which had been levied in haste, and was equally cowardly as undisciplined, betook themselves to flight. Their behaviour gave the Spaniards a right to treat the place as taken by storm; and most horrible scenes of lust, cruelty, and sacrilege ensued. Some writers say the number of defenceless people that perished on this occasion amounted to five thousand. Those who survived the sword were made prisoners; but the cardinal de Medici saved from violation the women, who took refuge in the great church, by placing a guard over them. After Prato was taken, the Pistoians made their peace with the viceroy, and engaged to supply his army with provisions.

Prato stormed.

The loss of Prato occasioned prodigious commotions in Florence. The gonfalonier, who was known to be the cause of this disaster, lost all his credit, and with that all his courage. Two young noblemen, Paul Vettori and Antonfrancesco Albizi, friends to the Medici, held a consultation with Julian de Medici, and others of that party, at a country seat, where they were joined by another young nobleman, Bartolomeo Valori, and resolved to enter the palace of the gonfalonier with an armed band, and force him to resign his post. This design they easily executed; meeting with no resistance, they seized the gonfalonier in his apartment, threatened to kill him if he did not leave the palace, which he immediately quitted on their promising that his life should be safe. Then the magistrates were assembled, and required to deprive the gonfalonier of his office; to which demand they submitted with great reluctance. Leaving Florence, the gonfalonier intended to go to Rome; but receiving intelligence from his brother, the cardinal of Volterra, that the pope, hearing he was loaded with

A.D. 1512.

The Medici restored to Florence.

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with treasure, intended to seize him, he escaped by sea to Ragusa.

The government new modelled.

The settlement of the state of Florence became now the great object of consideration. But the people were no longer masters of their own affairs; though the cardinal de Medici for some time acted with so much seeming moderation, that the less considerate amongst them still thought themselves free. The first step the magistracy made, was to send ambassadors to the viceroy, who were introduced to him by the interest of the cardinal de Medici. They agreed to enter as parties into the holy league, and to pay to Maximilian the forty thousand ducats that had been demanded from them by the bishop of Gurck, which the Medici family had promised should be paid upon their being restored to their country. The viceroy was to receive for his own use twenty thousand ducats, and for his army eighty thousand, of which one moiety was to be paid immediately, and the other in two months, he engaging, on the first payment, to evacuate the dominions of Florence, and to restore all the places he had taken from that republic. Matters were next compromised with the catholic king upon easy terms. A mutual agreement was entered into between them, for the defence of each others dominions in Italy. The Florentines agreed to take into their pay two hundred of his men at arms, to be commanded by the marquis della Palude, to whom the cardinal de Medici had privately promised the command of the Florentine forces. As to the affairs of the Medici family, the cardinal continued to affect great moderation. He declared himself satisfied with seeing his family and friends restored as private citizens, reserving to themselves a power of redeeming their estates that had been confiscated, by repaying the money which had been expended in their purchase or improvement [b].

[b] Guicciardini, ubi supra. Nardi. Buonacorsi. Murator. Annal. ad ann. 1512.

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SECT. X.

Containing the Hiſtory of Florence, after the Reſtoration of the Houſe of Medici.

THE Florentines obtained theſe terms through the policy of the Catholic king, who diſapproved of the inordinate ambition and violence of the pope. His viceroy had orders to preſerve their liberties; but the cardinal de Medici, and his family, had far different views: they knew that they could not, as private citizens, be ſafe in their own country, after having introduced into it an army of Spaniards, which had ſhed ſo much of their blood, and done them ſo much damage. They ſaw that a ſpirit of independency ſtill prevailed in Florence, where a majority was for continuing a popular government. *Views of the Spaniards.*

The citizens had even gone ſo far as to enact by a new law, that the perpetuity of the office of gonfalonier ſhould be aboliſhed, and that that office ſhould be held only for a year: that all thoſe citizens who had paſſed through the great offices of ſtate, either at home or abroad, ſhould be added to the council of eighteen, by whom the moſt weighty affairs of the republic were determined. Thus, all who had borne the office of gonfalonier, who had been of the balia, or employed in embaſſies, or as commiſſioners of the war, were added to that council, which conſequently now conſiſted of men of the greateſt experience and abilities in the ſtate. Thoſe points being ſettled, Baptiſta Ridolfi, a citizen of an unexceptionable character, was choſen gonfalonier for the enſuing year. *The office of gonfalonier made annual.*

Theſe proceedings by no means ſuited the views of the Medici family. The cardinal attached himſelf to the young, turbulent, and indigent nobility, who were at that time very numerous in Florence. Not only the diviſions, but the neceſſities of the ſtate, were ſo great, that money could not be raiſed for the firſt payment of the viceroy, who, in daily expectation of it, ſtill continued with his army in Prato. The cardinal, who had brought over to his intereſt ſome of the Spaniſh general officers, repreſented to the viceroy, that the delay of the firſt payment was owing to the French intereſt, which was ſtill powerful in the republic, and that there was a deſign to recall, and re-inſtate in his office, the late gonfalonier. His arguments had ſuch weight, that he prevailed with the vice- *The Medici uſurp the government of Florence.*

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roy to remain neuter, while he attempted to execute a scheme for overthrowing the newly modelled form of the Florentine government. All of a sudden he entered Florence at the head of a large body of Italian officers and soldiers, and repaired directly to the houses of his friends, the magistrates being over-awed by the neighbourhood of the Spanish army from making any resistance. Next day his party, with Julian de Medici at its head, forced their way into the town-house, and the palace of the magistrates, where they seized upon all the public plate, without regard to the gonfalonier or the magistrates, who were obliged to submit. The people were then summoned by the sound of the great bell to the square of the palace, where, being assembled, they were surrounded by an armed force, under the direction of the Medici and their friends.

New alterations of government take place.

Guicciardini, the historian who was at this very period one of the chief magistrates, says, that the supreme power was lodged in fifty citizens, to be nominated or recommended by the cardinal or his friends; whereas, Paul Jovius affirms, that fifteen persons were created with a power to elect sixty other citizens, the most distinguished for their attachment to the Medici family, who, with their electors, were to form a standing council for the government of the state. Upon the whole, it is plain that the Florentines owed the loss of their liberties to their own divisions. By a decree of their supreme assembly, their government was reduced to the form it had when the Medici were expelled: but that family now assumed more power than ever; a military guard was placed at their palace, and they laid aside all the modest appearances of their forefathers.

A.D. 1512.

The Spanish viceroy withdraws.

The viceroy, having received his first payment, marched to Brescia, which was then besieged by the Venetians; but d'Aubigny, the French governor, chose to surrender it to the Spanish general. The negociations, heart-burnings, and differences, that afterwards broke out amongst the members of the holy league are foreign to this part of our history, which concerns Tuscany alone. The pope's great projects seemed to grow with his years. He resumed his designs against Ferrara; he gave Maximilian thirty thousand ducats for his interest in Sienna, which he bestowed upon his nephew, the duke of Urbino; he demanded Carfagnana, which, during his contests with the duke of Ferrara, had been seized by the Lucquese; and took measures for becoming master of Modena and Perugia. In short, he acted up to the character he affected, that of being the deliverer of Italy from all foreigners; and towards the latter part of his life, he disposed the Swiss to

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to assist him in driving the Spaniards out of Naples. He was, however, greatly chagrined at seeing the independent power which the cardinal de Medici had assumed in Florence; and he certainly intended to humble his ambition, when death defeated this, and all the other great designs of that ferocious pontiff. A.D. 1513.

Death of pope Julius; who is succeeded by the cardinal de Medici, Leo X.

The cardinal de Medici, being chosen his successor, assumed the name of Leo X. and entered upon his pontificate with great advantages, in the thirty-seventh year of his age (B). He had borne his misfortunes with wonderful moderation, and had surmounted them with equal address: he equalled, if not surpassed, the greatest of his forefathers in munificence, in the love of the fine arts, and in liberality towards men of genius in all professions; and his mildness and good-nature were as conspicuous as his other great qualities. Nevertheless, he was entirely void of all religion and honour, and privately addicted to the practice of almost every vice that disgraces human nature.

His character, and policy.

Leo was inclined to his predecessor's plan of driving all foreigners out of Italy; and far from being a favourer of the French king, who was making new dispositions for invading Milan. Leo, after his accession to the pontificate, continued to govern Florence as a temporal prince, and kept up a close correspondence with the famous Machiavel, the Florentine secretary, for the better management and regulation of that state. Under so powerful a patronage, it was no wonder if the Florentines renewed their claims upon Pietra Santa and Mutrone, which were still detained from them by the Lucquese. The latter, at first, threw themselves for protection upon the catholic king; but they soon found themselves obliged to submit to the arbitration of the pope, who ordered them to restore the places in question to the Florentines; and decreed, that the two states should enter into a perpetual peace and confederacy with each other. By the various revolutions of affairs in Italy, Leo was obliged to change his party as suited his interest; but he never lost sight of the aggrandizement of his own family. He raised Lorenzo, his elder brother's son, who was but a very young man, to the government of Florence, which the French king offered to guarantee to the house of Medici, provided his holiness would forego his engagements with the emperor and the king of Spain. The designs that Leo had in view for his brother Julian, were equally great. He paid the emperor forty thousand

(B) He was the son of Lorenzo de Medici, and brother of Peter, who perished in the Garigliana.

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ducats for the mortgage of Modena, which, together with Reggio, Parma, Piacenza, and the Ferrarese, he designed to erect into a principality for Julian. At the same time, his holiness procured a marriage between Julian and Philiberta, sister to the duke of Savoy, and to the French king by the mother's side, and enabled the bridegroom to settle upon his bride, as a dowry, one hundred thousand ducats. The king of France was in hopes, that the conclusion of this match would be favourable to his designs upon the Milanese; but while Leo flattered him in that opinion, he was concerting measures for defeating his purpose, by entering into secret engagements with the emperor, the king
A.D.1515. of Spain, and other states. Francis I. was now upon the throne of France, and preparing to march into Italy; a design which, notwithstanding all the opposition of the Swiss, he effected, to the amazement of all Europe. The pope, by this time, had ordered his nephew Lorenzo, at the head of the Florentine army, to take the field, and march into Lombardy, for the defence of Milan, his brother Julian then lying ill of a fever at Florence; but he did not believe that the French would be able to pass the Alps so easily. La Palisse, who commanded their van, had been so rapid in his motions, as to surprise and take prisoner Prospero Colonna, the ablest and most experienced general in Italy, and the person on whom Leo depended the most for opposing the French. His misfortune threw
The pope under despondency. Leo into a kind of despondency; and he sent orders to Lorenzo, who was advanced with his army as far as Modena, to slacken his march. Lorenzo took that opportunity of reducing the castle of Rubiera, and loitered for some time in the territories of Modena and Reggio; while the pope sent a trusty agent to make his peace with the French king, whom he endeavoured to amuse at the same time, by entering into a treaty with him, under the mediation of the duke of Savoy. Giulian de Medici who had been raised to the purple by Leo, though his birth was illegitimate, persuaded Leo to declare against the French king, though he had now advanced as far as Vercelli, and had taken Alessandria, the key of the duchy of Milan. The Swiss were all this time in Italy, and offered themselves to the best bidders; but indiscriminately plundered friends and foes, when money could be had. They were in the pay of the holy league; but without waiting to receive it regularly, they generally broke open the coffers of their paymasters; and this disorderly behaviour encouraged the French king to endeavour to bring them over from the interest

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tereſt of the pope and the king of Spain. Some difficulties intervening in this negociation, Francis proceeded to the conqueſt of Milan, which he eaſily effected; and thereby brought the Swiſs into his terms. But this treaty, by the arrival of a freſh body of their countrymen, was broken almoſt as ſoon as made; and Lorenzo de Medici, whoſe army conſiſted of ſeven hundred men at arms, eight hundred light horſe, and four thouſand foot, all of them Florentines, to keep the Swiſs in humour with the pope, had aſſiſted them in getting proviſions.

State of Lombardy.

The ſtate of Lombardy was at this time very precarious and unſettled. The French king was with a powerful army at the gates of Milan; the viceroy of Naples lay near Piacenza with another army; Lorenzo de Medici was within Piacenza, at the head of the eccleſiaſtical and Florentine troops; Alviano, the Venetian general, and his army, were in the Cremoneſe to aſſiſt the French king; and an army of thirty-five thouſand Swiſs were encamped near Milan, undetermined what part to take, but filled with rage for pay and plunder. Upon the whole, however, the French were in the faireſt road of ſucceſs; and the politic pope began to renew his correſpondence for an accommodation with that king. His nephew, Lorenzo de Medici, if poſſible, even out-did his holineſs in diſſimulation. He applied ſecretly, by agents, to Francis, and apologized for being obliged, in compliance with his uncle the pope, to appear in the field againſt him at the head of the Florentine army. All theſe ſecret correſpondences were diſcovered by the viceroy of Naples, who preſſed Lorenzo to paſs the Po, and join him; but each being now diſtruſtful of the other, both armies returned to their former quarters.

The Swiſs being defeated at the battle of Marignano, returned to their own country, and all the Milaneſe, by degrees, again fell under the power of the French.

Diſtreſs of the pope.

The pope and the Florentines were conſcious to themſelves how ill they had deſerved, by their temporiſing, of all parties, but of the French eſpecially. Leo had now very little dependence on any thing but the French king's reverence for his character, and his own arts of negociation. Seeing that Francis was making diſpoſitions for recovering Parma and Piacenza, and for attacking the ſtate of Florence, he employed the duke of Savoy, and his nuncio, the biſhop of Tricarico, to negociate with that monarch; and a peace was concluded, by the articles of which, his holineſs was obliged to part with Parma and Placentia.

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In order to indemnify himself for this loss, Leo resolved to make himself master of the duchy of Urbino by force of arms. The name of the duke was Francesco Maria della Rovere, nephew to the late pope Julius, but personally obnoxious to Leo. He had, in a fit of passion, murdered the cardinal of Pavai, whom he accused of the loss of Bologna to the Holy See; and he was charged with having always favoured the French. But Giulian de Medici, the pope's brother, who had been kindly protected and entertained at the court of Urbino, had hitherto prevented Leo from stripping the duke of his dominions. The death of Giulian happening about this time at Florence, Leo, by the instigation of Lorenzo, and his mother Alfonsina, drew up a charge of murder, rebellion, and other crimes, against the duke; and Lorenzo, at the head of an army, composed of Florentines, and the subjects of the Holy See, took possession of Urbino, and afterwards of Pesaro; and, in four days time, of the whole duchy of Urbino, a few castles excepted, which were likewise soon after taken, the duke retiring to Mantua. Lorenzo, after these exploits, returned to Florence; and the pope, by a bull, conferred upon him the duchy of Urbino.

Urbino attacked by the pope.

Meanwhile, duke Francesco Maria was not idle at Mantua. As Italy was then full of soldiers of fortune, without employment, he soon found himself at the head of five thousand Spanish foot, the chief of whom was Maldonato, an officer of reputation He likewise raised eight hundred light horse, commanded by officers of experience; but he was without money, artillery, or ammunition. He depended, however, greatly on the affections of his subjects, and set out on his march for Urbino. The pope was alarmed at the prospect of encountering a desperate army that had nothing to lose; and, having treated the French king in a most infamous manner by deceiving him in all the agreements he had made with him, he concluded that Francis supported the duke. In this opinion he was confirmed, by the duke's army being raised in the neighbourhood of that of France, under Lautrec; and he had reason, likewise, to believe, that the duke was favoured by the Venetians, jealous of the greatness of a pope, who was, in effect, the sovereign of Florence. He, however, filled the Romagna with troops, under his nephew Lorenzo, part of them Florentines, and part belonging to the church, commanded by Renzo da Ceri and Vitello, who had orders to dispute the passage of the Po with the duke. Without specifying the particulars of

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of this event, which is foreign to our purpoſe; we ſhall only obſerve, that the duke made incredible efforts to recover his dominions, until he was deſerted by the French and Spaniards, and found himſelf deſtitute of all means to proſecute hoſtilities; then he was obliged to acquieſce in a very diſadvantageous peace, importing, that the pope ſhould pay the Spaniſh infantry forty-five thouſand ducats, due, as they ſaid, for four months arrears; and to the Gaſcons, and the Germans united with them, ſixty thouſand ducats: that they ſhould evacuate the ſtate of the church, of the Florentines, and of Urbino, within eight days: that the duke ſhould, within the ſaid term, abandon all that he poſſeſſed, and be permitted to paſs in ſafety to Mantua with all his artillery and effects. *He is forced to make peace.*

This unfortunate prince's retreat put an end to the war of Urbino, which had coſt the pope, during the eight months it laſted, eight hundred thouſand ducats, the greateſt part of which he had levied from the Florentines, over whom his power was, in a manner, deſpotic.

The finiſhing the war of Urbino reſtored peace to Italy. It is certain, that no bad man ever had ſo many amiable qualities to recommend him as Leo had. No ſooner had he the ſmalleſt reſpite from toil and danger, than he returned to the encouragement of literature and the fine arts. Florence now vied with Rome in all that was great, magnificent, and elegant. This ſpirit of luxury and munificence ſeems to have diverted the Florentines from all thoughts of re-aſſerting their liberties. Machiavel, their ſecretary, however, adviſed Leo ſtill to keep up the forms of the conſtitution, ſo as that the people might be the leſs ſenſible that they had loſt their freedom, and the government in general was mild and equitable. *Leo deſcribed.*

The king of France, meanwhile, omitted nothing that could flatter either the pope's pride or his ambition. A match was propoſed between Magdalena of the houſe of Bouillon, conſequently of the blood-royal of France, and Lorenzo de Medici; the lady's fortune was ten thouſand crowns a year, and all preliminaries being adjuſted, Lorenzo repaired to Paris, where Francis received him with open arms, and gave him his kinſwoman in marriage. *Marriage of Lorenzo.*

Lorenzo overflowed in his expreſſions of gratitude for this ſignal honour, and devoted himſelf for ever to the king's ſervice. But ſomething more than words paſſed between them on this occaſion. Lorenzo preſented Francis with a bull from his holineſs, empowering him to apply to his own uſe the money that had been raiſed for the cruſades; out of which Lorenzo himſelf received a preſent *Friendſhip between Leo and Francis.*

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of fifty thousand crowns. The king, farther to testify his acknowlegement to the pope, put into Lorenzo's hands the brief of promise his holiness had made for the restitution of Modena and Reggio to the duke of Ferrara, within seven months, which were now expired. This interview was followed by negociations for peace all over Europe, for which the pontiff was extremely solicitous; nor did any thing extraordinary happen in Florence during the two ensuing years

A.D. 1519. The tranquillity of Europe, in the beginning of the next year, was broke by the death of the emperor Maximilian, which produced a contest for the imperial crown, between his grandson Charles, and Francis, king of France. Leo was averse to both, well knowing that either was powerful enough to make good all the imperial claims upon Rome, and the estates of the church. He was, however, obliged to temporize; but he could not long maintain his neutrality. By an excessive refinement in politics, he declared for Francis, whom he knew to be the weakest candidate; in hopes of finding an opportunity, before the election came on, to make him sensible of its being impossible he should succeed, and of persuading him to throw his interest into the scale of a third candidate, who might be less formidable in Italy. In short, Leo sent Francis Orsino as his legate into Germany, to intrigue for Francis; but with secret orders to sound the dispositions, and examine the interests of the electors. Leo pursued this scheme of conduct with infinite address; but being afraid of an attack from Charles, who was equipping a fleet at Naples, Francis ordered his gallies, with four thousand land-troops on board, to be in readiness to defend the sea-coasts belonging to the church and to the Florentines.

Conduct of the pope in the contest for the empire.

Death of Lorenzo.

While the election of an emperor was depending, Lorenzo de Medici died, leaving an only daughter, Catherine, who was afterwards married to Henry II. of France, and mother to three succeeding kings of that country. Upon the death of Lorenzo, some of Leo's counsellors were generous enough to suggest to his holiness, that he would give a noble proof of patriotism, now that all the male lawful descendants of the great Cosmo were dead, but himself, if he would restore the Florentines to their liberties. His holiness rejected this advice, swayed partly by partiality to his own family, though an illegitimate line, and partly by his hatred to a republic, from which he had been banished. He therefore committed the government of Florence to the cardinal de Medici; but re-united to the Holy See the duchy of Urbino, and the cities of Pesaro

Conduct of the pope.

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Pesaro and Senigaglia, which had been granted to Lorenzo, though Lorenzo's daughter was in the investiture.

Charles being elected emperor, Italy enjoyed peace for three years, and the balance of power in that country, between the emperor and the French king, was in the hand of the pope; so that being courted by all parties, his dominions, Florence especially, enjoyed happiness and wealth in the highest degree, while he indulged himself in every gratification, both of sensual and intellectual pleasure; to both which he was exquisitely formed by nature. He became at last satiated with those enjoyments, and once more turned his attention towards war. He could not bear the thoughts of having lost Parma and Piacenza to the church, and of his having been so often disappointed in his attempts upon Ferrara. He was likewise afraid, that the emperor and the French king might accommodate matters between themselves, so as to depress his power, and that of the church, in Italy: he therefore resolved to make a league with one of those princes, and render him subservient in driving the other out of Italy. Accordingly, he set on foot a secret treaty with the French king; by which the kingdom of Naples was to be attacked by their joint forces. The scheme, however, was disapproved by the French council; and Francis refused to ratify the articles. This refusal irritated the pontiff the more, as Lautrec, the French governor of the Milanese, refused to admit any of his bulls or monitories into that duchy. The pope, therefore, offered his alliance to Charles, who readily accepted of it, as the friendship of his holiness was then of the utmost consequence to his affairs. A league was concluded between them for their mutual defence; and in it was comprehended the house of Medici, and the state of Florence [b]. In the same league there was an article, importing, that the Milanese should be attacked, and Parma and Piacenza restored to the church; but, that the Milanese should return to Francisco Sforza; to whom it was to be guarantied by both contracting parties. Charles was, likewise, to assist his holiness in the conquest of Ferrara; to pay an additional tribute for the kingdom of Naples, and to give the cardinal de Medici a pension of ten thousand ducats. Alexander de Medici, a natural son of the deceased Lorenzo, was likewise to receive an estate of ten thousand ducats a-year in the kingdom of Naples. As to the Milanese, it was to be deemed a fief of the empire.

A.D. 1521.

He is in great prosperity.

His league with the emperor.

[b] Guiccardini, lib. xiv.

Before

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The Milaneſe invaded.

Before the main purpoſes of this league was to be carried into execution, the contracting parties determined to make an attempt on Milan and Genoa, both of them now belonging to France, by the exiles of thoſe two ſtates. Thoſe attempts, however, failed through cauſes that are foreign to this hiſtory. At length, reſolving to throw off the maſk, he appointed Frederic, marquis of Mantua, general of the eccleſiaſtical and Florentine armies, who were to march directly into Lombardy, and to attack the Milaneſe. The army under the marquis, was to be joined by all the men at arms which Charles had in Naples; by ſix thouſand Italian foot, two thouſand Spaniſh infantry, two thouſand others, under the marquis of Peſcara; four thouſand German foot, and two thouſand Griſons, were likewiſe to be taken into the pay of the confederates, and two thouſand Swiſs were retained in the ſervice of this holy league. Upon the whole, the preparations for the invaſion of the Milaneſe were very formidable, and it was reſolved to attack that duchy on the ſide of Como, where the French government was very unpopular.

Lautrec was, at this time, at the French court, and was with difficulty prevailed on, through the force of great promiſes, to return to Milan. The Venetians offered to join the French with ſix hundred men at arms, and ſix thouſand foot; and the Swiſs cantons, notwithſtanding all their engagements with the pope, conſented that the French king ſhould take ten thouſand of their ſubjects into his pay. All this while, Francis omitted nothing that could mollify the pope, and break his confederacy with Charles. Lautrec being thus enabled to provide for the defence of the Milaneſe, the campaign opened greatly to the diſadvantage of the holy league. What between the diſſenſions that prevailed among the generals, miſconduct, and a total want of diſcipline, all their attempts miſcarried. The ſiege of Parma was undertaken, and ſhamefully abandoned.

The French, who, under Lautrec, were in very bad order, and could not bring the Swiſs to act, were amazed when they heard that the ſiege of Parma was raiſed. That event not only gave them ſpirits and courage, but animated the Swiſs to their duty; and they now joined Lautrec in great numbers. The news of this junction determined the generals of the league to remove from San Lazaro towards Reggio; and this retreat was performed with great precipitation.

Lautrec's ſtrength was better known at Rome than in the camp of the holy league; and the pope at length obtained

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tained the emperor's conſent, that they ſhould march, with their whole force, againſt Milan itſelf; without regarding Parma, or any other object. With this view the pope had taken into his pay a freſh body of twelve thouſand Swiſs. But the cantons hired them out on the expreſs condition of their being employed only in defence of the church's patrimony, and their not ſerving againſt the French. The cardinal of Sion, however, and the other agents for the holy league, accepted of them, even on that condition; knowing it would not be difficult to prevail upon them, after their entrance into Italy, to ſerve againſt Milan. After various conſultations, the generals of the league deſpairing to take Parma, too weak to face Lautrec's camp, and unable, for want of ſubſiſtence, to continue where they were, reſolved to paſs the Po; and this paſſage being effected in the beginning of October, they encamped at Caſa Maggiore. From thence they proceeded through the Cremoneſe, towards the Oglio, and took poſt at a place called Rebecca: but receiving intelligence that Lautrec was within five miles of them, at the head of a powerful army, they marched with great expedition to Gabbioneta, near the borders of the Mantuan, where they choſe their camp in a ſtrong ſituation. The generals of the league, however, perceiving they could not continue at Gabbioneta, becauſe of its damp, unwholeſome ſituation, and being apprehenſive of the ſtrength of the French, paſſed the Oglia, and incamped at Oſtiano, where it was reſolved to remain till they were joined by the Swiſs, whoſe march was unaccountably retarded.

Lombardy attacked with all the force of the league.

The Swiſs, in the pope's pay, by this time, had entered the territory of Beramo; but, notwithſtanding the moſt earneſt inſtances of the cardinal of Sion to the contrary, they diſcovered an invincible reluctance to fight againſt the French king. They offered, however, to march againſt Parma and Piacenza; becauſe, as they ſaid, thoſe places of right belonged to the church. Their ſcruples, however, were at laſt ſurmounted, and proceeding on their march, they defeated ſeveral parties of the French and Venetians, and incamped near the army of the league. But their ſcruples again returned, and four thouſand of the troops raiſed in the canton of Zurich, refuſed to join the army of the league. All the arts and promiſes of the cardinals de Medici and Sion, and the archbiſhop of Capua, could not conquer their obſtinacy, and they ſeparated from their countrymen. Nevertheleſs, the two cardinals reſolved to proceed with the ſix thouſand that remained, and they put themſelves in the centre of the army, preceded by

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by ſilver croſſes, and other pompous badges of eccleſiaſtical authority.

The Swiſs ſeparate from the French.

When they arrived at Orci Vecchi, orders came from the Swiſs cantons, commanding all their ſubjects to ſeparate from both armies. The politic cardinals found means to conceal theſe orders from their Swiſs; but thoſe in the French pay receiving theirs, they inſtantly ſeparated from Lautrec, who had not been in a condition to pay them for ſome months; becauſe his remittances had been intercepted by the French king's mother, and her creatures, and converted to their own uſe.

The army of the league having left Orci Vecchi, arrived at Rivolta; while Lautrec, after the departure of the Swiſs, was obliged to act on the defenſive, and made diſpoſitions for diſputing the paſſage of the Adda at Caſſano, which lies oppoſite to Rivolta. Thus the fortune of war on a ſudden changed; and the towns of the Ghiradadda being abandoned by the French, ſupplied the army of the league with plenty of proviſions. The differences between the generals Colonna, and the marquis of Peſcara, ſtill continued; and the former, without communicating his deſigns to the latter, ſent over ſome companies of Florentine foot, in two barks, to ſurpriſe the town of Vauri, which lies on the Adda, ſeven miles from Caſſano This place contained a rude fortification, which it was eaſy to render defenſible; and Peppoli, an officer in the French pay, lay there with a ſmall detachment. Proſpero's deſign ſucceeded, and the firſt embarkation landed. Peppoli diſpatched a meſſenger to Lautrec for a reinforcement of cavalry; and, in the mean time, made all the reſiſtance he could againſt the Italians who had landed. When the meſſenger arrived at Caſſano, Lautrec was aſleep; and his ſervants not daring to diſturb him, he did not receive the meſſage till it was too late, and then he ordered his brother l'Eſcut, to ſet out with a detachment of horſe to ſupport Peppoli. By this time, the cardinal de Medici, who had joined the army ſome time before, and Colonna had left Rivolta, and were arrived at the place of embarkation, where they uſed their utmoſt endeavours to forward the paſſage; while Giovanni de Medici, on a Turkiſh horſe, to the amazement and terror of all who ſaw him, plunging into the river, ſwam to the oppoſite ſhore.

The army of the league paſſes the Adda.

L'Eſcut arriving at Vauri, with four hundred men at arms, and a body of foot, vigorouſly attacked the place where the Italians, who had paſſed the river, had intrenched themſelves; but his artillery not coming up in time, he was obliged to retire to Caſſano; and Lautrec, deſpairing

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deſpairing now to defend the river, retired from thence with his whole army towards Milan. This paſſage of the Adda, in the face of ſo celebrated a general as Lautrec, retrieved the reputation of Colonna, and, in thoſe days, was looked upon as a maſter-piece of military conduct. He, perhaps, ſhewed a greater proof of his military genius, when, inſtead of marching directly to Milan, he encamped at Marignano, which lies about half-way between Milan and Pavia; from which laſt place Lautrec had drawn the garriſon, to ſtrengthen his own army. From Marignano, where he waited three days in expectation of his artillery his Swiſs advanced to Chiaravalle; while Lautrec made the neceſſary diſpoſitions for defending the caſtle, city, and ſuburbs of Milan. By this ſituation, Colonna, and the generals of the league had it in their power, if repulſed at Milan, to fall back to Pavia, where part of their light troops had already taken poſt. Every thing ſucceeded to their wiſh. The Spaniſh foot led the van of their army, and met with no oppoſition from the Venetians and the Swiſs in their pay, who were poſted in the ſuburbs of Milan, of which the Spaniards immediately took poſſeſſion The marquis of Peſcara then led his infantry to the Roman gate of Milan, which, without reſiſtance, was opened to him; and the cardinal de Medici, Colonna, and the marquis of Mantua, entered it, wondering at the eaſineſs of ſo important a conqueſt.

And reduces Milan and other places.

Thus the city of Milan was loſt by the French, though through the inexcuſable negligence of Lautrec, who was ſtill more inexcuſable in not aſſembling his troops on the plain before the caſtle of Milan, which ſtill held out with a numerous, well-provided garriſon; in which caſe he might have fallen upon the troops of the league, who were in great diſorder; but the darkneſs of the night was pleaded as his excuſe. He drew off his troops towards Como, where he left a garriſon; and from thence marched into the territory of Bergamo.

Lodi, Pavia, and Piacenza, followed the example of the city of Milan, by admitting the troops of the league; and Cremona would have taken the ſame ſtep, had not Lautrec thrown himſelf into it, and defeated the inhabitants, who had declared for the league. His ſucceſs was owing to the biſhop of Piſtoia's diſobeying the orders of cardinal de Medici, in not ſending a body of Swiſs to ſupport the inſurrection of the Cremoneſe againſt the French. Lautrec, deſpairing of being able to recover Cremona, had ſent orders to Federigo da Bozzoli, who commanded in Parma, to abandon that city, which he did; but upon Lautrec's ſucceſs at Cremona, a counter order was ſent him, which came too

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too late; for Vitelli was then in poſſeſſion of the place. The ſiege of Como was next undertaken by the marquis of Peſcara. He took the place upon capitulation, which was baſely violated; and, on that account, the French commandant challenged him to ſingle combat.

A.D.1521. Mean while, pope Leo, being overwhelmed by the conſtant ſeries of good news, which overcame his ſpirits, was, in the midſt of ſucceſs and pleaſure, ſeized with a ſlow fever, on the 1ſt of December, at Magliano, one of his voluptuous retirements near Rome, to which city he was removed. His phyſicians, at firſt, ſlighted his diſorder; but in a very few days it carried him to his grave. His cup-bearer, Barnabo Maleſpina, was ſuſpected of having poiſoned him, and was therefore thrown into priſon; from which he was delivered by the cardinal de Medici, upon his arrival at Rome, and no farther enquiry was made into the affair[c].

Pope Leo dies in the midſt of his triumph.

Leo's death occaſioned a total alteration in the affairs of Italy. It weakened the power of Charles in Lombardy, and ſtrengthened the connexions between the Venetians and France, which the former were ready to have abandoned. The affairs of Charles on this ſide the Alps were embarraſſed, ſo that he could not improve the advantages which the army of the league had gained in Italy, where the French were ſtill in poſſeſſion of Cremona, Genoa, Aleſſandria, the caſtle of Milan, with many fortreſſes. But, their greateſt advantage lay in the diſunion of their enemies. The cardinals of Sion and Medici abandoned all other conſiderations to attend the papal election. Charles diſmiſſed all the Swiſs in his pay, excepting fifteen hundred; and likewiſe diſbanded his German infantry. The Florentine troops marched back to their own country, while thoſe of the church were partly quartered in Modena, and partly in the Milaneſe. Mean while, the duke of Ferrara drew his troops into the field, and, with little or no loſs, recovered Bondiño, Finale, the citadel of Modena, the Carfagnano, Lugo, Bagnacavello, and the other towns in the Romagna, and threatened to lay ſiege to Cento. Parma was at this time in a dangerous ſituation: its breaches had not been repaired ſince the late ſiege; the inhabitants were unarmed and diſpirited, and its garriſon mutinous. Encouraged by theſe appearances, Lautrec formed a deſign to take it by ſurprize: but it was defended by Guicciardini, the hiſtorian, and the French were repulſed.

Guicciardini defends Parma.

The duke of Urbino, taking advantage of the vacancy of the pontificate, accompanied by Malateſta and Oratio

[c] Murator. Annal. ad ann. 1521.

Baglione,

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Baglione, had drawn together a conſiderable body of diſbanded ſoldiers, entered his dukedom; all which he recovered without fighting, except thoſe places which had been given up by the late pope to the Florentines. Perugia being threatened by the duke of Urbino, the cardinal de Medici ſtretched all his credit with the Florentines, and at laſt prevailed upon them to undertake its defence. The truth is, the ſacred college was ſo divided amongſt themſelves, and the profuſion of the late pope had ſo exhauſted the revenues of the holy ſee, that cardinal de Medici was the only perſon of great authority in Italy, who ſeemed, at this time, to have its intereſt at heart.

Perugia loſt by the Florentines.

The duke of Urbino and his confederates, having encamped at a ſhort diſtance from Perugia, made excurſions all over that neighbourhood. The garriſon conſiſted of two thouſand foot, and one hundred light horſe, under Guido Vaina, in the pay of the Florentines; five hundred foot in the pay of Gentile, who was lord of the place under the pope; and one hundred and twenty men at arms, and one hundred light horſe, commanded by Vitello. On the 4th day of January, the duke of Urbino got poſſeſſion of San Piero, one of the ſuburbs. He then attempted to take the place by ſtorm; but was repulſed with conſiderable loſs. The Florentines flattered themſelves that they ſhould eaſily be able to defend the place againſt all the power of the aſſailants; when Vitello, from private motives of his own, gave them notice that he was determined to leave it with all his troops, and did ſo, notwithſtanding all the remonſtrances of the Florentine general. As Vitello was general of the eccleſiaſtical troops, the Florentine commander had no pretext to oppoſe the return of the two brothers Baglioni, whoſe father had been put to death by the late pope. Gentile and the Florentines followed the example of Vitello, and while they withdrew through one gate, the Baglioni went in at the other.

A.D. 1522.

Adrian choſen pope.

The cardinals in the conclave were all this time diſputing about the choice of a new pope. At firſt the cardinal de Medici had great reaſon to hope the election would go in his favour; but the revolt of Perugia, and the progreſs of the duke of Urbino, damped his hopes, and his great friend, cardinal Petrucci, who was afraid that Sienna would follow the fate of Perugia, perſuaded him, by all means, to accelerate the election. He accordingly agreed to the choice of Adrian, cardinal of Tortoſa, a Hollander by birth, lieutenant-governor of Spain, under Charles, whoſe tutor he had been.

The

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War in the Siennese.

The apprehensions of danger to the Siennese were not ill founded; for the duke of Urbino having likewise reduced Todi, marched directly against Sienna. The Siennese had no dependence but upon the Florentines for their defence, and the cardinal de Medici ordered the regency he had left in Florence to send Vaina, with one hundred light horse, and some money, to the assistance of the Siennese. By the help of this money they were enabled to take into their pay one thousand Swiss, that were under the bishop of Pistoia, and four hundred German foot. Giovanni de Medici was likewise called out of Lombardy with the troops he commanded. A great party amongst the Siennese opposed the admission of the Florentines into that city; and cardinal Petrucci being absent, a deputation was sent out to treat with the duke of Urbino concerning a surrender. While this treaty was in dependence, the Florentine troops entered Sienna, and the Swiss auxiliaries approached it; so that the duke being in no condition to undertake a regular siege, abandoned the enterprize, and returned to his own duchy. Upon his retreat, the college of cardinals solicited the Florentines, and the Swiss who had been hired by Florentine money, to attempt the recovery of Perugia, an enterprize which they undertook accordingly, and the cardinal of Cortona, who was legate of Perugia, marched with them in person. But the maxims of the papal court were now changed; and the cardinals who had the management at Rome exclaimed against the cardinal de Medici and the Florentines, for disturbing the peace of the ecclesiastical state; because some disorders had been committed by the Florentine troops during their marches and counter-marches. When the Florentines arrived before Sienna, they found it strongly garrisoned by the Baglioni; and, therefore, under pretence of complying with the will of the cardinals, they turned towards Montefeltro. Here they had no farther object for their arms. The regency of cardinals at Rome had agreed that the duke of Urbino should keep possession of his duchy till the new pope should arrive in Italy; so that there was a tacit cessation of arms on both sides.

Sforza received as duke of Milan.

During those transactions in Tuscany, Francesco Sforza the true duke of Milan, was received into that capital where Colonna commanded; and Lautrec formed the siege of Pavia, which Colonna obliged him to abandon. The French general was afterwards defeated at Bicocca, and obliged to evacuate all the Milanese, except the citadels of Milan, Novara, and Cremona. After these great acquisitions, the army of the league marched, and took and plundered

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plundered Genoa by the assistance of the Florentine artillery; so that the French were now in a manner expelled out of Italy.

Cardinal de Medici was all this time extremely uneasy, suspecting that the new pope, who was not yet arrived in Italy, would strip him of his greatness in Florence. The French king was sensible how much he had been hurt by the influence which pope Leo had preserved over the Florentines during the late war; he, therefore, formed a scheme for setting up the cardinal of Volterra, and the Soderini family, in opposition to that of Medici, and committed the execution of it to Renzo. The cardinal de Medici, understanding that Renzo was raising men with the money he had received from the cardinal of Volterra, came to an accommodation with the duke of Urbino, and brought the Florentines to agree, that he should command their forces from September following for one year certain, and for another eventually. The Florentines, at the same time, took into their pay Oratio Baglione. Renzo, by this time, was at the head of five hundred horse and seven thousand foot, and made a sudden irruption into the Siennese, in hopes of advancing to the gates of Florence. In this emergency the Florentines appointed Guido Rangone to the command of their army, which they ordered to march directly to the Siennese against Renzo. This general's first attempt was upon Chiusi, where he miscarried for want of artillery; as he did in an attack upon the castle of Torrita, which was provided by Rangone, with a good garrison. He then directed his march to Sienna, where Pitigliano was the Florentine governor; but Rangone, who had excellent intelligence, leaving his main army to follow him, threw himself into the town with two hundred light horse; so that Renzo durst not venture to assault it. He had lost a great deal of his reputation with the most sanguine of his own party; and being now in want of both money and provisions, he drew off from Sienna to Aquapendente, a town in the pope's dominions, where he thought himself secure from the pursuit of the Florentines. His supplies of money from the cardinal of Volterra, and that party, now failing him, he plundered the sea-coast of the Siennese territory, and assaulted Orbitello; but having left the artillery he had behind him, in his retreat from Sienna, he was repulsed. The Florentine army was now advanced to the bridge of Contina, which divides the Siennese from the ecclesiastical territory, and sent a message to the college of cardinals, informing them, that unless Renzo was obliged to lay down his arms, they would enter the dominions of the church. The college, upon this declaration,

The cardinal de Medici retires to Florence.

War in the Siennese continues.

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interposed, to the great satisfaction of both parties, who gave security that neither should molest the other, and agreed to refer all differences to the pope, upon his arrival in Italy.

The imperial interest was now every where prevalent in Italy. Henry VIII. king of England, espoused his cause; and not only lent him money, but threatened to declare war against Francis, if he did not agree to a truce with Charles for three years, in which the dominions of the church, Sforza duke of Milan, and the Florentines, should be comprehended. Francis, looking upon this proposal as a renunciation of his right to the duchy of Milan, rejected it, and made preparations for a fresh descent into Italy.

System of the pope.

The system adopted by the new pope was to unite all the states of Italy, especially the Florentines, in one common cause against the French; and the emperor had the same views. The Florentines complained that Charles had not, according to his promise to pope Leo, confirmed to them their privileges and possessions. But Giovanni Manuel, ambassador from Charles at Rome, to make them easy on that head, promised that his master should punctually adhere to his engagements; which he accordingly performed.

A.D. 1523.

Rimini recovered by the pope.

In the beginning of this year, Malatesta, through the interposition of the duke of Urbino, restored Rimini to the Holy See; and his holiness, in consideration of his former services to pope Julius, not only absolved him from all ecclesiastical censures, but confirmed him in his possession of the duchy of Urbino, but with a saving clause to the claim which the Florentines had upon Monte Feltro; for which, they said, they had lent pope Leo three hundred and fifty thousand ducats, besides sixty thousand they had expended since his death, in defence of the church's patrimony. To leave no power in Italy disaffected, his holiness, in like manner, re-invested the duke of Ferrara, not only in all the estates he held before his variance with Leo, but in the castles of San Felice and Finale, and even gave him hopes of restoring to him Modena and Reggio. The duke, on his part, promised an entire submission to the Holy See, and to assist it on all occasions with a certain number of troops.

Milan surrenders to the imperialists.

About this time the castle of Milan surrendered to the imperialists; and Charles, who valued himself greatly upon his good faith, gave the investiture of it to Sforza. It was no surprize to the world, that pope Adrian, notwithstanding his professions of peace and disinterestedness, assisted a pupil who had placed him on the pontifical throne. He laboured with indefatigable pains to detach the Venetians from the interests of France, and to bring

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bring them to act offenſively in favour of Charles. In this attempt, however, he found great difficulty, as Francis gave the Venetians the ſtrongeſt aſſurances that he was making preparations again to march with a powerful army into Italy, while the imperial party pretended that he had no ſuch intention.

Cardinal Medici recovers his credit at Rome, to which he repairs.

The fate of Italy, at this time, depended, in a great meaſure, on the part that the Florentines were to act. The politic cardinal de Medici's principal enemy, Soderini, cardinal of Volterra, was the greateſt favourite the pope had, and de Medici knew himſelf obnoxious to all parties. He, therefore, ſeemed to abandon all thoughts of public buſineſs, and retired to Florence, where his power and influence were unlimited. His gentle manners, his forgiving diſpoſition, his liberality, and above all, the many good offices which his ſituation had enabled him to do for the Florentines, had won their affections; and, in the dearth of money, under which both the French and imperialiſts in Italy laboured, the friendſhip of Florence was of the utmoſt conſequence; becauſe they were then incomparably the richeſt people in Italy. The propoſed treaty between Charles and the Venetians produced great debates in the Venetian ſenate: but as the cardinal de Medici and the Florentines declared for the pope, the imperial party prevailed; and the Venetians obliged themſelves, by treaty, to ſend ſix hundred men at arms, ſix hundred light horſe, and ſix thouſand foot, to the defence of Milan, if attacked, and as many to that of Naples; Charles, on his part, engaging to guaranty, with a like force, all the Venetian poſſeſſions in Italy. Upon the concluſion of this treaty, the Venetians made the duke of Urbino their general.

As the reputation of cardinal de Medici and the Florentines had contributed greatly to this new treaty, the cardinal ventured to repair to Rome, where he was received with the greateſt marks of reſpect. He ſoon got the better of the cardinal of Volterra; for he diſcovered to the pope a correſpondence which the other maintained with the French court; in which the cardinal preſſed Francis to invade Sicily, as the ſureſt means of ſucceeding in the Milaneſe. The pope, amazed at this conſpiracy, ſent Volterra priſoner to the caſtle of Ss. Angelo, and ordered him to be proſecuted for high treaſon. This diſcovery rivetted the cardinal de Medici in the pope's affections; and he now reſolved openly to declare himſelf againſt Francis. On the 3d of Auguſt, a league was ſigned between the pope, the emperor, the king of England, the archduke of Auſtria, the duke of Milan, the cardinal de Medici, the

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Florentine state, and the Genoese; importing, that an army should be raised for the defence of any of the confederates who should be attacked in Italy.

We have, in the History of France, specified in what manner the French again invaded Italy; first, under Bonivette, who was unsuccessful, and afterwards under their king in person, who was defeated and taken at the battle of Pavia. But, before this last incident, pope Adrian was dead, and succeeded in the pontificate by the cardinal de Medici, who assumed the name of Clement VII. This new pontiff, the moment he ascended the papal throne, A.D.1524. changed the whole system of his conduct. He saw that if Charles was victorious in Lombardy, he would give law to Italy; and therefore his scheme was to balance parties, so as to counterpoize one another. He then, on a sudden, began to recommend peace and moderation to both; and affected the utmost impartiality. Charles was disgusted at so strange an alteration of behaviour. He ordered his ministers at Rome to remind the pope of all the obligations he had conferred on him, and particularly in the affair of his election; but above all, that it was by his counsel, which directed Leo in every thing, that he had entered into war with the French. Clement did not deny the charge; but frankly owned, that a pope, the common father of Christendom, was not to be directed by the conduct of a cardinal; and that pope Clement was a different person from Julio de Medici.

The pope changes his system.

It appeared by letters and papers found in the French king's cabinet, taken at the battle of Pavia, that the pope had been the principal instrument of detaching the Venetians from the imperial interest; and that, in short, he was the secret spring of all the hardships they had laboured under before the battle of Pavia. Weighed down by reflections on those discoveries, and on his own conduct, he set about drawing up a kind of an apology for himself, the matter of which was to be digested in the form of briefs, and sent to the imperial and other courts.

Proposal of the Venetians.

The Venetian senate, instead of desponding, like the pope, represented to him, that if he was disposed to act with spirit and courage, and to join with them, they might yet save Italy from the imperial yoke. Nothing was more practicable than for his holiness to persuade the Swiss cantons to lend him a body of ten thousand men, for which the Venetians were willing to bear their proportion of the expence; and the Florentines were rich enough to raise another body of Italian foot; and there was little doubt to be made, that the duke of Ferrara, who had a great deal of money, with a strongly fortified and well provided capital, would join

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join in their confederacy. The ſubſtance of this propoſal had, before the battle of Pavia, been laid before his holineſs by the Venetians, as a proper meaſure, which ever ſide might get the victory. But it was then neglected; he adopted it, however, in the preſent deſperate ſtate of his affairs; and was on the point of ſigning a convention on that head, when the archbiſhop of Capua arrived at his court.

The pope amuſed by the viceroy.

This prelate had been long employed in Clement's affair, and he no ſooner heard of the battle of Pavia than he paid a viſit to the viceroy of Naples. The victory was ſo far from removing the difficulties the imperial generals were under, that it increaſed them. The ſoldiers became licentious, through the booty they had acquired, and were as clamourous as ever for their pay. Lanoy, the viceroy of Naples, therefore, in hopes of drawing money from the pope, appeared well diſpoſed to enter upon an accommodation with him, and gave the archbiſhop of Capua a commiſſion for that purpoſe. To enforce the negociation, however, he drew down troops to the frontiers of the eccleſiaſtical ſtate. Before the arrival of the archbiſhop of Capua, the pope had ſent a miniſter to diſpoſe the king of England to join in depreſſing the power of Charles. But Clement, who was naturally indolent, and averſe to violent meaſures, no ſooner heard the report of the archbiſhop of Capua, than he choſe the way of negociation, which was immediately brought upon the carpet. At laſt, a convention was concluded between the pope and the Florentines on one ſide, and Gatinara, as plenipotentiary for Charles, or rather for the viceroy of Naples, on the other, the Venetians being excluded. By this agreement, the contracting parties guarantied, with a certain number of troops, the poſſeſſion of the duchy of Milan to Franceſco Sforza. The emperor took under his protection the eccleſiaſtical dominions, and the ſtate of Florence, including the houſe of Medici, and its power, in that city. Charles was to be paid, in ready money, a hundred thouſand ducats, by way of arrears, to recall his troops from the eccleſiaſtical ſtate, and to ſuffer no others to be quartered there without the conſent of his holineſs. Twenty days were left for the Venetians to accede to the treaty; and the hundred thouſand ducats were to be repaid, if Charles did not ratify the treaty, in five months. By one of the ſeparate articles it was provided, that the duke of Ferrara ſhould reſtore to the church Reggio and Rubiera, and all the places he had taken from it during the late vacancy of the Holy See; in conſideration of which, the pope was to pay another hundred thouſand ducats to Charles. The laſt article was clogged with a condition,

A convention concluded.

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that examination should be made, whether those places were fiefs of the empire, in which case the pope was to hold them as such. Other states followed the example of Sienna, and all Italy seemed now to act according to the will of the conqueror. The marquis of Montferrat made a present to Charles of fifteen thousand ducats; and the duke of Ferrara advanced the viceroy fifty thousand, in part of payment of a greater sum. The states of Milan, the Genoese, and Lucquese, stood engaged for certain sums, and Charles sent his generals in Italy fresh remittances. Historians are, to this day, at a loss to account for the farther inactivity of Charles at this juncture. It was expected that the viceroy, instead of treating with the pope, would have marched to the gates of Rome, and completed those conquests, which the most powerful of his master's ancestors had in vain aspired after; but, instead of such spirited measures, Charles would admit of no congratulations or rejoicings for his victory; and spent his time in processions and prayers, that it might turn out to the good of Christendom. The French king, having obtained his liberty in consequence of his signing a treaty which he was resolved to renounce, expressed an earnest desire of entering into a confederacy with the Italian states against Charles.

The imperialists gain Sienna.

The castle of Milan besieged.

The castle of Milan, which held out against the imperialists for Francis Sforza, was now reduced to great distress; and de Leva, who commanded the Spanish troops, laid the whole duchy under the most oppressive contributions, which at last drove the people to despair; and they endeavoured to expel the imperialists out of Milan; but their efforts were ineffectual, and served only to increase their miseries. The pope's fears, at this time, drove him to act with rashness and precipitation. Instead of waiting the result of the difference between Francis and Charles, he hurried the Venetians and the other Italian powers into an immediate war, before the Swiss, on whom his great dependence lay, were in readiness to march, and before the king of England had formally acceded to the confederacy. Orders were sent to conclude, at all events, the treaty with Francis; and even before that could be done, both he and the Venetians put troops in motion for relieving the castle of Milan; but with orders not to act till advice came of the treaty being signed by Francis. The duke of Urbino, now general of the Venetians, advanced towards the Adda with their men at arms, and six thousand foot; and Guido Rangone, the pope's general, had orders to be in readiness to march to Piacenza with six thousand foot, most of them Florentines. The duke of Urbino gave it as his opinion, that the confederacy would require twelve

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twelve thousand Swiss, to enable it to act with effect against Charles, and the levies were trusted to Gianjacopo de Medici, a Milanese, and the bishop of Veruli. These proceedings, however, were interrupted by the irresolution of Francis, who had delivered his two sons to Charles, as pledges for the performance of the treaty of Madrid, and, on their account, was very backward in proceeding to hostilities. He offered Charles a sum of money in lieu of Burgundy; but he assured the pope and the Venetians, that he would make no peace with Charles, unless the duchy of Milan should be evacuated, and the peace of Italy secured. Charles rejected the alternative of money, and rather than agree to the proposals of Francis, thought of re-establishing Sforza in the duchy of Milan. In the mean time, the pope and the Florentines took into their pay the famous Genoese admiral, Andrew Doria, and eight of his gallies, under pretence of freeing those seas of the Moors and infidels; but, in reality, to oblige the imperialists to raise the siege of Milan, and to bring about a revolution in Genoa. Charles, alarmed at the novelty of the pope and the Florentines becoming maritime powers, hastened the duke of Bourbon into Italy, and ordered all the naval force he had there to join the rest of his ships of war at Barcelona to oppose Doria. Without losing sight of the duke of Milan, he ordered Don Hugo de Moncada to repair to Milan, and to offer to adjust all matters in difference between them, and even to make proposals to the pope. Moncada's journey served only to accelerate the negociation of a confederacy against Charles, which at length, on the 17th of May, was concluded between the plenipotentiaries of the French king on one part, and those of the pope and the Venetians on the other. The chief articles of this negociation related to the preservation of the Milanese to Sforza, and to the procuring the liberty of the French king's children. It was stipulated, that at present, for the relief of Francesco Sforza, besieged in the castle of Milan, and for the recovery of that state, the campaign should be opened with eight hundred men at arms, seven hundred light horse, and eight thousand foot for the pontiff; with eight hundred men at arms, one thousand light horse, and four thousand foot, on the part of the Venetians; and with four hundred men at arms, three hundred light horse, and four thousand foot, to be provided by the duke of Milan; that the king should immediately send into Italy five hundred lances, and, during the war, pay every month to the pontiff and Venetians, forty thousand crowns, with which Swiss infantry should be raised; that Francis should immediately take the field against Charles, on the other side

Preparations for its relief.

The Florentines take Doria into pay.

A.D.1526.

A treaty, and its terms.

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of the mountains, on what quarter should appear most convenient, with an army of at least two thousand lances, and ten thousand foot, with a sufficient train of artillery; that he should fit out twelve light gallies, and the Venetians thirteen, at their own charge; that the pontiff should join with those the gallies which he had hired from Andrew Doria; that the charges of the ships necessary for the said fleet should be in common; and that the fleet should sail against Genoa.

It was likewise agreed amongst the contracting parties, that after the imperialists were expelled from Lombardy, the confederate forces should attack the kingdom of Naples, and that the pope might give the investiture of it, with the consent of the allies, to any person he pleased; but that it should be restored to Charles, if within four months after the time of its being conquered, he should set at liberty the French king's children, and accede to the present treaty; that Francis should not only defend and assist the duke of Milan, but endeavour to effect a new confederacy between him and the Swiss, Sforza paying him a subsidy of not less than fifty thousand crowns a year; and that Sforza should likewise marry some noble French lady of that king's chusing; that Asti should be restored to Francis, and that in Genoa, when reduced, he should have the same superiority as heretofore; that the confederates should omit no means, either by representation or force, to effect the liberty of the young French princes; that after the Italian wars were finished, the confederates should be obliged to assist the king beyond the mountains against Charles, with one thousand men at arms, fifteen hundred light horse, and eleven thousand foot, or with money instead of troops, at the king's choice; that no member of the confederacy should have the liberty, without the consent of the others, to make an agreement with Charles, who should be permitted to make a progress to Rome (in case he entered into the confederacy) for the imperial crown, with a number of troops not formidable, but such as should be specified by the pontiff and the Venetians; that in case of the death of any member of the alliance, the league should remain firm; and that the king of England should be protector and conservator of the same, with liberty to enter into it; and if he entered, a state should be assigned him in the kingdom of Naples, of the yearly revenue of fifty-three thousand ducats, and one of ten thousand, either in the same kingdom, or in another part of Italy, to mollify the cardinal of York.

We have been the more explicit in giving the contents of this new holy league, as it is called by some historians, because,

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cauſe, though the Florentines were not mentioned in it as principals, yet all Europe very juſtly looked upon them as the chief contracting parties. The eccleſiaſtical dominions, and the pope's coffers, were drained of men and money, and could furniſh little or nothing towards carrying on the war; ſo that he was obliged to depend on the Florentines for both. It is remarkable, that they were exempted from being named as principals, leſt their commerce with the towns and other places belonging to Charles ſhould be interrupted: it being only ſaid, that they ſhould enjoy all the exemptions, privileges, and benefits of the confederacy, as much as if they were expreſly comprehended in it, the pope engaging they ſhould in no manner oppoſe the league [d]. Notwithſtanding thoſe plauſible pretexts, we cannot help thinking that the omiſſion was owing, in a great meaſure, to the jealouſy of Clement, who thought that the naming the Florentines as principals, gave them too much the air of independence upon his family. *Importance of the Florentines.*

It was neceſſary there ſhould be a captain-general appointed for the army of this league; but the time preſſed ſo much, that the parties had not leiſure to deliberate on an affair of ſo great moment. Francis delayed the ratification of all the articles, being ſtill reluctant to break off all conferences with the viceroy; but put his army in motion, and remitted his firſt payment. The pope appointed Rangone to command his eccleſiaſtical forces, which were paid by Florentine money, and lay now at Piacenza, where he ordered the Florentine men at arms under Vitelli, who commanded them in chief, to attend him; and he appointed the brave Giovanni de Medici to be captain-general of the Italian infantry; as he did the hiſtorian Guicciardini, then preſident of the Romagna, to be lieutenant-general in the army and in all the ſtate of the church. The Venetian army was commanded by the duke of Urbino, as captain-general, and Piero de Peſaro, as proveditor, in the Breſcian; and both armies had orders to begin hoſtilities immediately in the Milaneſe.

Moncada was then in the caſtle of Milan, and endeavoured, but in vain, to bring the duke over to his maſter's intereſt. From Milan he proceeded to Rome, where, with the duke of Seſſa and the imperial generals, he preſented himſelf before the pope, and haughtily offered him either peace or war. Clement's anſwer was, that he could determine upon neither, without conſulting his ally, the king of France. This ſeems to have been the firſt certain in- *Negociation between the imperialiſts and the pope.*

[d] Guicciardin. lib. xvii.

formation

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formation which Moncada had of the lately-concluded holy league; in consequence of which he left Rome in disgust. The duke of Urbino now acted as captain-general of the holy league; but he had so bad an opinion of the Italian infantry, that he refused to pass the Adda, unless he was reinforced by five thousand Swiss. He would not even pass the Oglio, until he should be joined by the ecclesiastical and Florentine army, which lay near Piacenza; and then he proposed to intrench himself upon the banks of the Adda till the Swiss should arrive. This backwardness retarded the relief of the castle of Milan; but he and Giovanni de Medici surprised Lodi and its garrison, one of the strongest and most important fortifications in all Lombardy.

Lodi surprised.

Guicciardini, and the Florentine generals, and even the Venetian proveditor himself, were very free in blaming the duke for not advancing to the relief of the castle of Milan. At last, about fifteen hundred of the Swiss arriving, he was prevailed on, though against his inclination, to advance within three miles of Milan; and in a council of war, it was determined, by his sole authority, to take possession of the suburbs.

The duke of Bourbon arrives in Italy.

The night before this plan was to have been put in execution, the duke of Bourbon, who had arrived at Genoa with six gallies, and bills of exchange for one hundred thousand ducats, threw himself into the place at the head of eight hundred chosen Spanish foot [e]. His arrival gave great spirit to the imperialists in that city, and equal disquiet to the pope. In the mean time, Bourbon's arrival being unknown to the confederates, the duke of Urbino advanced with great confidence against the suburbs, where he expected no opposition; but he found them well guarded, and obstinately defended. This disappointment made him relapse into all his apprehensions from the valour and discipline of the enemy. All of a sudden, in the night of the 7th of July, he ordered the artillery and ammunition to to be drawn off, and all the Venetian troops to prepare for a march; and he sent notice to the Florentine and the other generals, that he expected they would follow his example.

Representations of Guicciardini to the duke of Urbino, on retiring from Milan.

Guicciardini represented to him the danger, as well as disgrace, of so sudden a decampment, which would discourage the pope, the Florentines, and the Venetians so much, that it would ruin all the purposes of the league;

[e] Sigonius de Rebus gestis Andreæ Doria, p. 229. Guicciardin. lib. xvii.

and

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and proposed to incamp in another manner. The duke of Urbino would hear no reasoning upon this head, and his troops began their march in a most irregular, tumultuous manner.

The imperialists in Milan could scarce believe their eyes, when they saw the disorderly retreat of the confederates. It was thought, with some appearance of reason, that the duke was secretly disgusted at the Florentines, who continued to keep possession of San Leo and Monte Feltro, and with the house of Medici, because the daughter of Lorenzo de Medici bore the title of duchess of Urbino; and likewise, that he resented the hardships that had been put upon him by pope Leo, and by Clement himself, while he was a cardinal. Some imagined, that he had secret instructions from the senate of Venice for what he did; but that is improbable, because it was against the Venetian interest as well as glory. Guicciardini is of opinion, that he really distrusted the Italian foot; and was afraid of being defeated by the imperialists. Whatever may be in those conjectures, it is certain that this retreat was fatal to the league. The pope had depended on the reduction of Milan, and had no resources either of courage, constancy, or money. A body of Spanish foot, garrisoned at Carpi, laid waste all the ecclesiastical dominions, and cut off the communication between Florence and the army, which was thereby distressed for want of money. As to the Florentines, they still continued to supply him; but the necessities of his holiness were now increased. *His motives.*

The family of Colonna, and the imperial party about Rome, had fomented insurrections in that city, and were actually in arms in its neighbourhood. This rebellion laid the pope under prodigious inconveniences, as the war was now carried on at the gates of his own capital. He began to contrive how to alter the government of Sienna; and was, by a pretended traitor, deluded into an attempt upon that city, which, in case of a war continuing, he thought would be of the utmost consequence both to Rome and Florence, if it was reduced to his power. The plot being discovered, the Sienneſe treated the conspirators, soldiers, and party, with so much indignity, that he employed a body of Florentines, in conjunction with his own troops, to reduce them by force. The soldiers employed upon this occasion amounted to twelve hundred horse, and eight thousand foot, but all of them new-raised raw troops, and they approached the walls of Sienna with nine pieces of cannon. This army had in it a great number of exiles, whose interest within the city was very considerable; and they *The pope distressed at Rome.*

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they had given the Florentines the ſtrongeſt aſſurances, that the army would no ſooner appear before the city, than an inſurrection of the people would happen. At the ſame time Doria, with the pope's fleet, was employed in battering the ports of the Sienneſe by ſea; but the hatred which the Sienneſe, of all ranks, entertained of the pope and the Florentines, defeated all the hopes of the latter. No inſurrection took place, and the Florentines were obliged to lay a regular ſiege to the city.

He agrees to an armiſtice.

His holineſs being thus, as uſual, diſappointed in his ſanguine expectations, began to give ear to Moncada, who had now returned to Rome, under pretence of mediating between him and the Colonna party and the Sienneſe. This happened at the time when both he and the Florentines were thinking of withdrawing their army from Sienna. But an accommodation being now propoſed, they defended it, as thinking that the continuance of the army before Sienna would give weight to the negociation. At laſt, being diſappointed in that expectation likewiſe, orders were actually ſent, both from Rome and Florence, for raiſing the ſiege. The day before thoſe orders were to have been executed, four hundred foot of the beſieged ſallied out of the city and attacked the artillery, which was guarded by a regiment under Jacopo Corſo, which immediately gave way. A total flight enſued, and the beſiegers left in the hands of their enemies ten pieces of cannon belonging to the Florentines, together with ſeven belonging to the Perugians or the pope; all which were carried, with great triumph, into Sienna.

The Florentines uneaſy.

The Florentines, about this time, began very ſenſibly to feel the expences of the war, eſpecially in Lombardy, which was carried on almoſt entirely at their charge; and ſhewed ſo much reluctance to advance more money, that his holineſs was obliged to compromiſe matters with his enemies of the family of Colonna, who, breaking their agreement, ſurpriſed the gates of Rome, plundered not only his palace, but the church of St. Peter, and obliged him firſt to take refuge in the caſtle of St. Angelo, and afterwards to make a truce with the imperialiſts for four months. The Florentines were included in this truce, which was very diſadvantageous to his holineſs. By it he was obliged to withdraw all his troops from Lombardy; to order Andrew Doria to deſiſt from all hoſtile enterprizes by ſea; to pardon the Colonna family, and to give hoſtages for the performance of theſe articles. He found means, however, ſo far to evade the truce, that he ordered four thouſand of the Florentine troops to remain with thoſe

The pope takes refuge in the caſtle of St. Angelo.

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those in the league under Giovanni de Medici, on pretence of their having been taken for a certain time into the French pay. The war still went on in Lombady, because the pope's allies were not affected by the truce he had made at Rome; but nothing decisive happened on either part. The duke of Urbino still continued to differ in opinion from all the other generals of the league, and was, therefore, unfortunate in all his designs and operations. A fresh army of about fourteen thousand Germans, under Fronsberg, having entered Lombardy, were opposed by the army under the duke of Urbino; but in a skirmish at Borgoforte, in the Mantuan, Giovanni de Medici lost his life, to the irreparable damage of the confederates. While the imperial army, and that of the league, were fighting in the field, their ministers were treating in the cabinet, both with equal effect; for the war was carried on with pusillanimity, and the negociations were managed with insincerity. The pope grew every day more contemptible, and was deserted by the French king in an expedition he had formed against Naples, which, at first, had very promising appearances of success. The duke of Bourbon was now advancing against Rome itself, by the way of Tuscany; being followed at the distance of about thirty miles by the duke of Urbino, whose caution was as much applauded by the Venetians, as it was blamed by the pope.

A new army of imperialists enter Lombardy.

The duke of Ferrara, though he did not serve personally in the imperial army, directed all its motions; and, by his advice, the duke of Bourbon, without amusing himself with taking or garrisoning smaller places, pointed his march towards Florence and Rome. The Spanish foot at first mutinied, and were, with some difficulty, reduced to order by the duke; but the Germans served chearfully under the command of Fronsberg, whom they entirely loved, and who promised them the plunder of Rome, and the rich Italian provinces.

A.D. 1527.

The duke of Bourbon advances against Tuscany and Rome.

Pope Clement had now nothing to trust to but the wants of the imperialists, for preserving himself on the pontifical throne. All the pompous promises that had been made him by the French king, were now vanished into air; and though the king of England still continued his professions of friendship to the league, yet he was at too great a distance to afford his holiness any immediate relief. The Venetians were slow in their motions, and backward in their payments; so that the troops under the marquis of Saluzzo, quartered in the Bolognese, could not be brought to move; but, above all, he dreaded the spirit of the Florentines, who were now exasperated beyond measure, on account

Distress of the pope increases.

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account of the immenſe ſums that had been extorted from them, without their having the leaſt proſpect of being reimburſed. All thoſe conſiderations determined the pontiff to enter into a negociation with the imperial agents at Rome, for a ſuſpenſion of arms during eight months; which was at laſt concluded, upon his holineſs paying to the imperial army ſixty thouſand ducats, and re-inſtating the Colonnas in their lands and privileges. It was likewiſe agreed, that all the places which had been taken by either party in the eccleſiaſtical ſtate, or the kingdom of Naples, ſhould be reſtored. A certain time was to be allotted for the king of France and the Venetians to accede to this armiſtice; and the Germans were to evacuate the eccleſiaſtical ſtate, and that of Florence, upon the pope's paying them the farther ſum of forty thouſand ducats.

Imprudence of the pope.

This agreement made the pope perfectly ſecure, and he imprudently diſmiſſed all his army, excepting one hundred light horſe and two thouſand foot; then he ſent Fieramoſca, one of the imperial agents, who had concluded the armiſtice, into the Bologneſe, to procure the acceſſion of the duke of Bourbon to the accommodation. That duke was actually no longer maſter of his army, which would have killed a meſſenger from the viceroy of Naples, ſent to deſire him to accept of the truce, had he not fled. The pope thought that money alone was wanting to ſtop his progreſs, and he threw the charge of providing it upon the Florentines. Even the viceroy offered Bourbon twenty thouſand ducats to appeaſe his troops. But all was ineffectual.

Bourbon marches towards Tuſcany.

The duke of Bourbon ſtill continued his march towards Tuſcany. The viceroy remained ſtill at Florence, and had come to an agreement with the Florentines, that, upon the payment of ſixty thouſand ducats, the duke of Bourbon's army ſhould return to Lombardy within five days, and he was actually ſet out to have a perſonal interview with Bourbon for that purpoſe. This commander entered the valley of Galeata, which belonged to the Florentines; where he received from Guicciardini freſh advices of the accommodation with the viceroy, who was on his journey to meet him. But his remonſtrance was ineffectual: Bourbon advanced to Santa Maria, in Bagno, though all the while he pretended to be extremely deſirous of a treaty.

Artful management of Guicciardini.

Guicciardini, however, managed ſo artfully, that he procured the marquis of Saluzzo's promiſe to march with the troops in the French pay, and part of the Venetians, to protect his countrymen the Florentines, who, on their part,

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part, agreed to give thoſe troops pay from the time they entered Tuſcany, and to come to no accommodation with the imperialiſts, even though the pope ſhould. The Florentines farther agreed to reſtore to the duke of Urbino, the fortreſſes of San Leo and Majuolo. That duke, therefore, about the 22d of April, entered Tuſcany. The cardinal of Cortona at this time acted as a kind of deputy for the pope in Florence, and both armies being now in Tuſcany, he left that city, that he might pay his compliments to the duke of Urbino, who was at hand, and intended to enter Florence. The cardinal was no ſooner gone than the Florentines, the youthful part of them particularly, tumultuouſly demanded arms of the magiſtrates out of the arſenal, to defend themſelves againſt all foreigners. This demand not being readily complied with, the inſurgents ſeized upon the town-houſe, in the principal ſquare of the city, and obliged the magiſtrates to proclaim Hippolito and Aleſſandro de Medici rebels.

Diſturbances of Florence appeaſed.

The truth is, the Florentines, by this time, both deſpiſed and hated the pope, and wanted to return to their popular government. While they were deliberating on the means of effecting this deſign, the duke of Urbino, and the marquis of Saluzzo, whoſe infantry was incamped in the plain near Florence, with the cardinal Cortona, Hippolito de Medici, and a great number of officers, entered the city, where, putting fifteen hundred men in arms, they marched in a body to the great ſquare, which they immediately took poſſeſſion of, but were repulſed in an attack they made upon the town-houſe. Then the duke of Urbino ordered ſome Venetian ſoldiers to enter Florence; and diſpoſitions were made for ſtorming the town-houſe. Bozzolo, preſuming on his authority with the young nobility there, had repaired to them, and propoſed terms of accommodation; but he hardly eſcaped with his life, and was going to adviſe the duke of Urbino to proceed to extremities, when the duke reſolved to try fair methods, and to promiſe a pardon to all the inſurgents. This being offered, the tumult was accordingly compoſed; but Guicciardini was, by the cardinal of Cortona, blamed for his advice, becauſe, had the place been ſtormed, all the enemies to the family of the Medici muſt have been put to death; while he was, on the other hand, accuſed by the populace of having favoured that family.

The ſtate of Florence, however, was probably ſaved by the neighbourhood of the confederate army; for the duke of Bourbon conſidering his own weakneſs and neceſſities, and that the ſucceſs of any attempt againſt Florence was precarious,

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Bourbon proceeds to Rome.

precarious, marched directly for Rome, which was now defenceless, the pope having disbanded all his troops. The Florentines had advice of his march from Vitello, but it was too late; yet they sent five thousand troops to Rome, in hopes that they would come time enough to succour the pope, and ordered their whole army, and that of the ecclesiastical state, to follow. Renzo de Ceri was intrusted by the pope for the defence of Rome; and he was so confident of making an effectual resistance, that he assured his holiness he had nothing to fear, and even hindered the merchants from carrying their effects to places of security. We have, in the History of the Popes, given an account of the sack of Rome, after Bourbon had been killed in the assault.

The confederate army, under the duke d'Urbino, retired to Monteruosi, shamefully abandoning the pope in his danger. The prince of Orange, the founder of the Dutch republic, had succeeded to the duke of Bourbon's command. The viceroy of Naples had been employed by the pope for an accommodation; and he readily undertook it, both because he was disposed to serve his holiness, and because he was in hopes to have supplanted the prince of Orange in his command; but when he came to Rome, far from having any authority with the Bourbonites, he found his life in danger, by his offering to take upon him to treat; and therefore the pope was obliged, on the 6th of June, to come to a most disgraceful accommodation with his enemies.

The pope redeems himself from captivity.

Revolution in Florence in favour of the popular government.

The Florentines, on this occasion, experienced a new revolution. The cardinal of Cortona continued to govern that state in the pontiff's name; but he no sooner heard of Clement's being made a prisoner, than, despairing of raising money from the citizens, he summoned a general meeting; when he resigned into the hands of the citizens his power and authority, which they gladly accepted of, and thereby resumed their popular form of government. All he bargained for was, that the pope's nephews might have liberty to remain at Florence in a private capacity; and that a general amnesty should be published; which concessions being obtained, he retired to Lucca. He was scarce arrived in that city when he repented of his pusillanimous, precipitate conduct, and sent messengers to prevail on the governors of the citadels of Pisa and Leghorn, who were friends to the Medici family, to keep possession of those forts. The Florentines, having foreseen what would happen, had been before-hand with him, and partly by persuasion, partly by money, had got the places into their

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their own hands. The Florentine people, having thus recovered their liberty and constitution, chose Nicolo Capponi gonfalonier of justice for one year, with a liberty of being confirmed for three. He was a person highly respected by his blood, but more by his wisdom and virtue. He was zealous for the freedom of his country; but endeavoured to persuade his fellow-citizens to avoid that democratical spirit which had so often endangered or overturned their constitution.

The Medici hated there.

The Florentines were too much exasperated when they reflected on the immense sums they had expended in the quarrels of the Medici family, to hearken to the voice of reason. The enemies of that house calculated, that it had cost them five hundred thousand ducats to defend the duchy of Urbino for the Holy See; that pope Leo's wars with the French king had cost them as much; that they had paid three hundred thousand ducats to the viceroy of Naples and the imperial generals, about the time of Clement's creation; and that they had expended six hundred thousand in the war against Charles; so that, upon the whole, they calculated that the pope's quarrels, which were entirely foreign to their own, had cost them about two millions of ducats in a few years (a sum that no crowned head in Europe could have advanced in so short a time), without receiving from it the smallest benefit either of power or revenue. The recollection of these circumstances rendered the Florentines quite outrageous against the partizans of the Medici, whom they bitterly persecuted on every occasion. They went so far as to demolish all the arms and marks of distinction belonging to that house throughout their city, and even proceeded to appropriate their private estates for re-imbursing themselves.

The inactivity of the Bourbon army, and the death of its general, prevailed with the French king to renew his negociations for a general league against Charles in Italy, into which the king of England readily entered; but failing in the performance of his engagements, they were converted into a subsidy in money, and Francis attached himself to the Venetians and the duke of Milan. It was agreed to take into the pay of their confederacy ten thousand Swiss, and ten thousand Italian foot, besides ten thousand French, that were to be commanded by Pietro Navarra, five hundred lances, and eighteen pieces of artilery, the whole to be commanded by Lautrec, at the desire of the king of England.

A new confederacy.

The partizans of the Medici family continued still powerful in Florence; and though the emperor offered to take

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the new modelled ſtate under his protection, at their own requeſt made by the duke of Ferrara, they entered into the new confederacy, and obliged themſelves to keep in pay five thouſand foot, an engagement which highly exaſperated Charles. The peſtilence at laſt communicating itſelf to the army of the league, it retired firſt to Orvieto, and afterwards to Caſtello della Pieve; and being apprehenſive they might be attacked by the imperialiſts, it was with difficulty they were prevented from taking ſhelter in the ſtate of Florence. The pope now deſpaired of relief; and all the favour he could obtain, was leave to remain in the caſtle of St. Angelo, and to apply to Charles for favour by the cardinal of Farneſe, who declined the legation. Lautrec at laſt, in the beginning of July, proceeded to Italy, the king of England having advanced large ſums for ſupport of the league. The armaments on the part of the confederates were expected to be more powerful than any that had been yet made; and Lautrec had the title of captain-general of the league. His motions encouraged the Venetians and the Milaneſe to beſtir themſelves in Lombardy; but they were repulſed by Antonio de Leyva, who likewiſe defeated the Swiſs governor of Mus, as he was advancing to join the French army.

Diſſimulation of the emperor.

The relief of the pope from his confinement in the caſtle of St. Angelo became now a ſerious matter with all the powers of Europe. The emperor ridiculouſly put himſelf into mourning for his captivity, even while he himſelf detained him in priſon. At length, intimidated by the confederacy that had been formed; and, in compliment to Henry of England, who had ſent an embaſſy to demand his enlargement, he ordered his holineſs to be reſtored to his liberty; but the troops of Bourbon refuſed to obey it. This ſtep was far from giving peace to Chriſtendom. The kings of France and England, though their views in making war were very different, preſcribed to Charles the preliminaries for a treaty; the chief articles of which were, his accepting of two millions of ducats in lieu of all his demands; his ſending home the French king's children, and ſuffering the affairs of Italy to remain as they were. Charles rejected theſe terms, and made preparations for an Italian war with more vigour than ever. The imperial army in Rome continued ſtill indolent and inactive, and was daily waſting away by the plague, which drove the prince of Orange to Sienna, where he was obliged to employ his authority, and ſome force, to preſerve the imperial intereſt.

His

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His army moving from Rome, as it were, for the change of air, plundered Terni and Narni, and prepared to make an irruption into the Florentine dominions. This was the more practicable, on account of the weakness of the confederate army, the greatest part of which was assembled in the Milanese. The Florentines were sensible of their danger, and had raised for their defence eighty men at arms, one hundred and fifty light horse, and four thousand foot, all of them in excellent order, and punctually paid, which was far from being the case with the troops of their allies. Lautrec arriving in Piedmont in the beginning of August, obliged Bosco to surrender, though it was garrisoned by one thousand imperialists. About the same time Andrew Doria, who was now in the pay of Francis, compelled Genoa again to submit to the French. These successes gave great spirit to the affairs of the league under Lautrec, whose army was now assembled; and he laid siege to the important city of Alessandria, which he took; but he was obliged to put it into the hands of the duke of Milan. The city of Milan was, at this time, possessed by Antonia de Leyva, who dispatched one of his officers to defend Pavia, which Lautrec instantly invested, and took about the middle of September. *Affairs of Lombardy.*

The Florentines, at this time, considered themselves as being in the most imminent danger. The great force of the league lay in Lombardy; and their dominions were exposed to the imperial army in the Romagna and the ecclesiastical state. Lautrec had been offended by being forced to resign Alessandria to the confederates, and was, therefore, glad of an opportunity to humble them. After the taking of Pavia, the Florentines solicited him to march forward to the Romagna, while the duke of Milan and the Venetians insisted upon his besieging Milan. Lautrec complied with the Venetians, pretending that his orders were first to deliver the pope from his prison, and then to attempt the conquest of Naples. It was thought that Lautrec had private orders from Francis not to put Sforza in possession of all the Milanese, but to keep it as a bait for the emperor, during the negociation, which was still in dependence. *Danger of Florence.*

The loss of Pavia and Alessandria, far from mollifying Charles, rendered him more obstinate than ever, and he rose in his demands; one of which was, that the Florentines should pay him thirty thousand ducats for the non-observance of their engagements. At last, Lautrec, having concerted measures with Doria and the Venetians, for attacking Naples by sea, passed the Po; but received pri- *Obstinacy of the emperor.*

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vate orders from Francis to act with great coldness, so that he threw all the impediments he could in the way of the confederacy. The slowness of Lautrec's marches again endangered Florence; for though the duke of Urbino and the marquis of Saluzzo were now in Tuscany, their armies were so ill paid, that, if the imperialists had advanced, they must have retired under the walls of Florence. Lautrec remained all this time near Parma and Piacenza; but the apprehensions of his advancing to free the pope, now rendered Charles in earnest about his deliverance: though his terms continued to be so unfavourable to the pontiff, that the negociation was spun out to a great length. His holiness pressed Lautrec to hasten his march, protesting that he should be obliged, if he did not, to accept of the emperor's terms, hard as they were. But Charles, who was apprehensive of a revolution in Naples, partly freed him from that disagreeable necessity, by ordering Moncada to finish the negociation, and Clement was actually set at A.D 1528. liberty on the last day of October. Upon the pope's deliverance, Lautrec advanced to Bologna, where he spent twenty days, and strongly solicited Clement to enter into the confederacy; but he met only with evasive answers. Charles appeared willing to make up matters with the Florentines; but the negotiation proving ineffectual, war was denounced on the part of the confederacy against the emperor, who thereupon ordered the French, the Venetian, and Florentine ambassadors to be put under arrest.

The pope delivered.

March of Lautrec to Naples.

All hopes of an accommodation being now over, Lautrec left Bologna, and began his march for Naples, being joined by three thousand Florentine infantry, who distinguished themselves greatly in the expedition, which, however, proved unfortunate. He took Melfi by storm, and penetrating to Naples, formed the siege of that city: but Doria now entered into the emperor's service; and by his defection, together with the plague and the diseases that raged in the French camp, their troops were reduced to a handful, which must have been entirely cut in pieces, had it not been for the valour of the Florentine auxiliaries. At last, Lautrec dying, the marquis of Saluzzo, succeeded to his command. Unable longer to continue the siege of Naples, he drew off his troops towards Aversa; but being vigorously attacked in his retreat by the imperialists under the prince of Orange, he was obliged to yield himself a prisoner. The French under his command returned to their own country without their colours, arms, horses, or effects; and the Florentine and other Italian infantry engaged not to serve against the emperor for six months: thus all

Siege of Naples and death of Lautrec.

Ruin of the French in Naples.

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all the mighty preparations and successes of the French, in the kingdom of Naples, came to nothing.

Affairs of Lombardy and Naples.

The imperialists all this time maintained their ground in Lombardy, through the good conduct of Antonio de Leyva; but Doria got possession of Genoa, which he restored to its liberty. The Florentines, nevertheless, continued firm to their engagements with France and England, and consented to pay one third of the troops that served under Renzo da Ceri, who was still in possession of some places in the kingdom of Naples. All parties were now tired of the war, and entered upon a fresh treaty for peace; but, in the mean time, the imperialists under the prince of Orange retook Aquila and Matrice, which last place had been abandoned by Camillo Pardo, who likewise carried off with him the money advanced by the Florentines for its defence. The pope, all this while, pretended to breathe nothing but peace; and offered, if Ravenna, and Cervia were restored to him, to make up all matters in dispute with the Florentines, who still continued to supply Renzo with men and money. Their firmness induced Charles to listen to the proposals of his holiness, whose views continued to be fixed on the recovering his authority in Florence. He plainly perceived, that he could not bring the French to be subservient to his designs there, and he hoped every thing from Charles. Braccio Baglione, had claims upon Perugia, in which he was favoured by the pope, out of hatred to the Florentines; a circumstance which induced his rival Malatesta to leave the service of his holiness, and to enter into that of the French and the Florentines. He engaged, in consideration of their paying two hundred foot for the defence of Perugia, which they took into their protection, to have always one thousand of his own troops at their service, even though he should be abandoned by the French.

A.D. 1529.

The Florentines gain over Malatesta.

The pope complained bitterly on this occasion to the French king, that the Florentines had debauched from his service a subject and a state belonging to the Holy See; and Francis endeavoured to persuade Malatesta to continue in the pontiff's pay. But Malatesta obstinately adhered to his engagements with the Florentines, who now openly assisted him, in defiance of his holiness. Capponi continued to be still gonfalonier of Florence, and endeavoured, by wisdom and moderation, to preserve the liberties of his country; but without doing any thing harsh or unjust to the adherents of the house of Medici. This conduct was disliked by the enemies of that house, who continued implacable against it; and, after two years of Capponi's office were expired, they caballed against his continuing in it

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for a third. He still, however, maintained his credit with the wisest and worthiest part of the citizens, and with their privity entered into a private correspondence with the pontiff, to divert him from coming to any violent resolution against the state. The correspondence was discovered to Capponi's enemies, by his dropping a letter which he had received from Rome; and which was so maliciously represented by some of the members of the higher council, that the young men rose in arms, seized on the town-house, and, calling the magistrates and citizens together in a tumultuous manner, deprived the gonfalonier of his office: a sentence which was ratified by the upper council. He was afterwards tried before the proper judges for corresponding with the enemies of the state; but, being acquitted with great honour, he was attended to his palace by the nobility and chief citizens of Florence in a body. He was succeeded in his office of gonfalonier by Francesco Carducci, a person greatly his inferior in point of capacity and discretion.

Revolution in their government.

A peace to the prejudice of the Florentines.

The pope had behaved so artfully, that though he was despised and distrusted by all parties, yet his friendship became necessary to all of them; but the emperor outbid all the rest. A treaty was concluded between them at Barcelona, by which his holiness obliged himself to grant the imperial troops a free passage through the ecclesiastical state. Charles, on the other hand, engaged to reinstate Alessandro (C) de Medici natural son of Lorenzo de Medici, the late nominal duke of Urbino, in all his family rights and power over the Florentine state, as exercised before the expulsion of his family; his holiness promising to pay the necessary expences attending that restoration. The pope was again to be put into the possession of Cervia, Ravenna, Modena, Reggio, and Rubiera, without prejudice, however, to the rights of the empire and those of the Holy See. The pope was to grant the investiture of the kingdom of Naples to Charles, together with a considerable number of ecclesiastical immunities and privileges in that kingdom; and, in case Francesco Sforza should, upon trial, be found guilty of high treason against his imperial majesty, the duchy of Milan was to be disposed of, by the joint consent

(C) Alessandro was supposed the natural son of Lorenzo de Medici by a slave whose name was Anne; but, according to Segni, she had prostituted herself to many others, so that it was impossible to judge who was the real father of Alessandro.

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of both parties. Other articles, not ſo material to our preſent purpoſe, were likewiſe ſtipulated between them; and, to bind the whole accommodation, Charles agreed to give his natural daughter, Margaret, in marriage to Aleſſandro de Medici, with an annuity of twenty thouſand ducats, and an inveſtiture of all the ſecular greatneſs of the Medici family [f].

This peace was not the only blow the Florentines received at this time; for while Francis was giving them the ſtrongeſt aſſurances that he would adhere to his engagements, he actually entered into a negociation at Cambray for an accommodation with Charles. On the 5th of Auguſt the treaty was concluded and publiſhed: importing that the French king's children ſhould be releaſed, on payment of a large ſum to Charles, who was to be put into poſſeſſion of all that the French held either in the duchy of Milan, or the kingdom of Naples. Francis was likewiſe to aſſiſt Charles in obliging the Venetians to reſtore the towns they had taken from him in Puglia, and they and the Florentines had four months allowed them to accede to the treaty.

Francis ſeemed to be aſhamed of what he had done; and, after the peace had been concluded in his name, he came to Cambray, where the ambaſſadors of the confederates, particularly thoſe of Florence, ſtill remained. He artfully declined giving them all audience at once; but, apologized to each ſeperately for the neceſſity he was under, on account of his children, to conclude the peace. As to the Florentines, he ſeemed greatly concerned for their intereſt, becauſe they had depended on his good faith. He pretended, to their ambaſſadors, that he never would ſee them oppreſſed; he promiſed to lend them forty thouſand crowns, to aſſiſt them in defending their liberties; and gave leave for Stefano Colonna, an officer of reputation in his ſervice, to enter into their pay. But the promiſe of the money was never fulfilled.

Charles beings hoſtilities againſt the Genoa.

Every thing now tended towards the fatal cataſtrophe of the Florentine liberty. Charles had ſent before him two thouſand Spaniſh foot, to wait for his arrival at Genoa; and no ſooner had he ſigned the convention with the pope than he ordered the prince of Orange, who was then at Aquila, on the confines of Naples, to march into the Florentine territories. The prince deteſted the commiſſion, but was obliged to obey, though he threw all the rubs he could in the way to render it abortive. On the laſt of July he repaired to Rome, to concert with his holineſs the ope-

[f] Dumont, Corps Diplomat.

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rations of the campaign. Many difficulties occurred, and the prince was sometimes on the point of breaking off the conferences. He pleaded, that he had no money; and the pontiff, with great difficulty, agreed to advance thirty thousand ducats. He even engaged to pay forty thousand more, upon the prince's undertaking to drive Malatesta Baglione out of Perugia, and to reduce that city to the obedience of the church; and then to proceed against Florence, where he was to re-establish the authority of the Medici family. The prince, having now no farther pretexts for delay, assembled his army, which consisted of three thousand German, and four thousand Italian foot. He was to be followed by the Spanish infantry, under the marquis of Guasto in Naples; and the pope lent him three pieces of cannon, and the other artillery, out of the castle of St. Angelo.

The Florentines, far from being daunted at the march of the prince, unanimously resolved to defend their liberties and independency. Mean while, Charles arrived at Genoa, on the 12th of August, with a large fleet, on board of which were nine thousand foot and one thousand horse, all veteran troops; while at the same time Fœlix, one of his generals, marched into Lombardy with eight thousand Germans. The Florentines could not bring themselves to believe, that the inveterate hatred between the popes of Rome and the emperors of Germany was so far extinguished, as that Charles could easily behold Florence become again subject to the Holy See. The boasted confederacy was now reduced to the Florentines, the Venetians, and the duke of Ferrara, the duke of Milan having entered into a private negociation with his holiness. The Venetians sought only to secure what they had acquired; and the duke of Ferrara was sure of having good terms. The Florentines alone acted with good faith to themselves and their allies. That they might not be wanting in point of prudence, as soon as they heard that Charles was arrived in Italy, they deputed four of their most considerable citizens to attend him as their ambassadors, and fairly to represent the harships they were under. The Venetians were offended at this step of the Florentines, who were likewise blamed by the duke of Ferrara, because it looked like a separate negociation. That duke, however, imitated their example; and the Venetians themselves consented that the duke of Milan should make the best terms he could with the emperor.

Though the Florentines proceeded with great wisdom and decency, yet they were not fully apprized of the conexions between

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between Charles and the pope. The reader, perhaps, needs not be informed that the divorce was now in agitation between Henry VIII. and queen Catharine, aunt to Charles, who had treated the pope ſo favourably as he did, that he might prevail with him to refuſe the divorce, and to excommunicate Henry, if he ſhould marry another wife, while Catherine was alive. His holineſs was ſenſible how much this affair concerned the houſe of Auſtria, and had made the reinſtating the Medici family to their power in Florence the price of his compliance. The Florentine ambaſſadors acquitted themſelves to admiration, and with great dignity. Repairing to Genoa, where Charles was, they congratulated him on his arrival; but without making any mean ſubmiſſions. They were anſwered by his firſt miniſter, that it did not conſiſt with the imperial dignity to treat with the ambaſſadors of a ſubject ſtate, who had joined the enemies of its lawful ſovereign, and therefore had forfeited its privileges; and that Charles expected they ſhould obtain a commiſſion for a treaty with the pontiff, after which he would perhaps deign to hear what they had to propoſe. The ambaſſadors reported this anſwer to their principals at Florence, who ſent them an ample commiſſion to treat with Charles, but not with the pontiff; ordering them, at the ſame time, to admit of no propoſals from him, and not to viſit the cardinal de Medici, who was one of the ambaſſadors attending Charles on behalf of his holineſs. For thoſe reaſons, when Charles, in the beginning of September, went to Piacenza, he refuſed to ſuffer the Florentine ambaſſadors to enter that city. Even this ſevere treatment did not diſcourage the citizens from making preparation for a gallant defence. They took into their pay the warlike abbot of Farfa and two hundred horſe, and ſent him money for raiſing one thouſand foot, which was, by the pope's orders, intercepted near Bracciano: the abbot, however, ſoon made reprifals, by ſeizing the perſon of cardinal Santa Croce, one of the ambaſſadors the pope had ſent to Charles, and putting him under arreſt, a ſtep which obliged his holineſs to refund the money.

Courage and conduct of the Florentines.

His holineſs having, by theſe proceedings, entered into a ſtate of hoſtilities with the Florentines, and treated Malateſta Baglione as a rebel, Charles gave orders for Antonio de Leyva to enter Lombardy at the head of all the Spaniſh forces, and offered to land them at Spetia in the Genoeſe dominions, as being near Florence; but the pope, looking on that territory as his own, was far from encouraging ſo powerful an invaſion; and therefore it was reſolved to begin the operations on the ſide of the Romagna, under the prince

Progreſs of the war againſt them.

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prince of Orange. This general accordingly directed his march against Spelle, where the best of his officers, Giovanni de Urbino, was killed by a shot from the place. The garrison, which consisted of five hundred foot and twenty horse, was commanded by Lione Baglione, a natural brother of Malatesta, who made a cowardly surrender of the place, upon a single battery's being opened against it; the garrison capitulating to march out without any arms but their swords, and as many effects as they could carry, and not to serve against Charles for three months [g].

Dissimulation of Francis.

The bishop of Tarbe was at this time in Tuscany, as ambassador from France, and encouraging the few remains of the confederacy, particularly the Florentines, to hold out to the last, because his master was preparing to send a great force to their assistance. The intention of Francis by those declarations, was to multiply the difficulties of Charles, every day producing fresh doubts and obstacles to the execution of the treaty between them. Though he had no intention to favour the Florentines, yet he thought he might more readily recover his children by spiriting up an opposition to the emperor in Tuscany. He succeeded so far, that the war was renewed between Charles, on the one part, and the duke of Milan and the Venetians, on the other, in Lombardy. The pope, being afraid that, by this newly rekindled war, he might be disappointed in his views upon Tuscany, interposed as a mediator with all parties; and Charles, alarmed by the progress of the Turks in Hungary and Austria, became every day more pliable. The Venetians, on the other hand, always frugal of their money, had laid up their fleet, and had sent orders to their general, the duke of Urbino, to act upon the defensive in the Bresciano. In the mean time, the active Antonio de Leyva, took Pavia, almost without resistance; while the marquis of Mantua, who was now in the imperial pay, was making preparations for besieging the duke of Milan in Cremona, which was succoured by the Venetians, who dreaded the neighbourhood of the imperialists.

Progress of the prince of Orange.

After the prince of Orange had taken Spelle, he advanced against Perugia, where he entered into a secret negociation with Malatesta to persuade him to submit to the pope. He offered him very advantageous terms; and that not only his estate and effects should be preserved, but that he should be at liberty to withdraw with the garrison, to the defence of the Florentines; and that none of his enemies should be admitted into Perugia. Malatesta would have

[g] Murator, Annal. ad ann. 1529.

gladly

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gladly accepted of theſe terms; but he declared he would not, unleſs with the conſent of the Florentines. To bring the latter to agree to them, he informed them, that he could not defend Perugia without a freſh ſupply of one thouſand foot, and unleſs they would cover the neighbourhood of Perugia with the reſt of their troops, which, in fact, it was not poſſible for them to do, without leaving their own capital defenceleſs. Malateſta then repreſented to them, that, in all probability, if an accommodation was not effected, the prince of Orange would advance with his main army directly againſt Florence, and leave Perugia to the mercy of the pope, who had troops of his own ſufficient to diſtreſs, if not to reduce the place.

Difficulties about Malateſta.

Malateſta's ſuggeſtions were fully debated at Florence, where the danger their garriſon was in of being intercepted, and ſome diſtruſt they had of his fidelity, prevailed on the magiſtracy to reſolve upon granting him leave to accept of the terms propoſed by the pope and the prince of Orange. They accordingly, on the 6th of September, ſent a meſſenger, granting him leave to cloſe with the terms propoſed, but by all means to withdraw his garriſon to Florence. Before this meſſage arrived at Perugia, Malateſta had accepted the terms; and the prince of Orange, that the garriſon might receive no interruption in returning to Florence, had agreed to make a halt of two days to favour their retreat. The Florentines marched out of Perugia, with ſuch expedition, that they arrived the ſame day at Cortona; and the imperialiſts ſtill advancing, the whole war was in a manner contracted to the neighbourhood of Florence.

Perugia evacuated.

The Venetians and the duke of Ferrara, well knowing that the pope's principal object was to re-eſtabliſh his family in Florence, were all this while exciting the Florentines to perſevere in their own defence, in hopes of obtaining better terms for themſelves.

The prince of Orange mean while inveſted Cortona; and the garriſon, deſpairing of relief, ſurreudered the place, agreeing to pay him twenty thouſand ducats to exempt them from being plundered. The example of Cortona was followed by Arezzo, which the garriſon abandoned, and the inhabitants ſurrendered, on condition of being taken under the imperial protection, and not to return under the government of the Florentines, as imagining that they muſt then be ſubject to the houſe of Medici. But Charles had now declared, that he would hear of no terms, nor admit the Florentine ambaſſadors to treat, unleſs the Medici were re-eſtabliſhed in their power; and the prince of Orange

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Orange declared, that he would proceed to extremities, if that re-eſtabliſhment was not effected.

His army conſiſted of four thouſand five hundred Spaniſh and German foot, all of them excellent troops, and about ſix thouſand Italians, three hundred men at arms, and five hundred light horſe; but it was provided with cannon, ſo that he was obliged to apply to the Sienneſe. The averſion which the people had for the houſe of Medici was equal to that of the Florentines; and though they were in no condition to refuſe the prince's demands, yet they proceeded in their compliance reluctantly and ſlowly. With this melancholy proſpect before their eyes, the Florentines ſtill continued to treat. By gaining time, they had leiſure to fortify the city; and they were in hopes that the imperial army would moulder away, or be diſbanded for want of money: but above all, they were ſtill in hopes of being able to mollify Charles, and had choſen four new ambaſſadors to treat with that potentate.

Suggeſtions againſt them.

But they ſoon found all their expectations vain, and that they muſt ſtand or fall by themſelves. Nothing was ſo much talked of in Italy, both amongſt their friends and allies, as their ingratitude towards the houſe of Medici, who had raiſed them to ſo high a pitch of grandeur; who, by their private fortunes, had enriched their ſtate, adorned their city, and poliſhed their manners; who had ruled them with ſuch gentleneſs and juſtice, that their ſuperiority was not felt; who never had been accuſed but upon groundleſs ſuſpicions and unſupported clamour; and who never had an enemy but thoſe who were enemies to the peace of their country and the order of government. The Florentines, on the other hand, having but newly recovered their liberty, were paſſionately fond of it; but they perceived that they could not enjoy it, and manifeſt their averſion to the houſe of Medici at the ſame time. They, therefore, in a general meeting, or parliament, reſolved to agree to re-admit the family of Medici, and to treat with the pope, provided their liberties were not to be affected, or the popular form of their government altered. Deputies were ſent to ſignify this reſolution to the pope, and others were ſent to the prince of Orange, who had expreſſed great kindneſs for their ſtate. The pope behaved towards the ambaſſadors with his uſual politeneſs, diſſimulation, and caution. He proteſted, that he had no deſign upon the liberties of Florence; that he had no difference with their ſtate, farther than as being an ally to the emperor, who was the direct lord of it; and that the beſt method they could purſue was to leave their intereſts entirely in his hands, and to truſt

They negotiate with the pope.

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truſt to his honour, for he was determined to employ all his credit with Charles in their favour, and to do them more good offices than they had reaſon to expect at his hands. The Florentines, to put his profeſſions to a trial, requeſted that he would procure an order to ſtop the march of the imperial army; which the crafty pontiff abſolutely refuſed to do, as well knowing to what the requeſt tended. As to the prince of Orange, he pretended, that, being under the emperor's orders, he could do nothing of himſelf.

Nevertheleſs, all this while, the Florentines, continued their endeavours to fortify their city; but found it impracticable to do it effectually, before the prince of Orange ſhould be able to inveſt it. They received likewiſe intelligence, that Ramazzotto, a papal general, had advanced from the Bologneſe, and entered the vale of Mugello with three thouſand men, in order to proceed to Prato; ſo that their city was in danger of being ſhut up by its enemies on all ſides. The apprehenſion of this blockade, drove many of the inhabitants out of Florence; and the council of ten, who had the management of the war, gave it as their opinion, that they had no chance for ſafety, but in ſending a free and unconditional offer of ſubmiſſion to the will of the ſovereign pontiff. But, the ſupreme council, with the gonfalonier at their head, ſupported by the partizans of popular government, and the youth of the city, condemned this propoſal, and prepared for a vigorous defence. Their reſolution was confirmed when they received advice that Ramazzotto, whoſe troops were without money, and without diſcipline, having plundered the Mugello, was returned to the Bologneſe.

The pope, from the late applications made to him by the the Florentines, and the new deputation they had ordered to Charles, imagined that they were diſpoſed to make an abſolute ſurrender of their government into his hands, and ſent the archbiſhop of Capua to the imperial camp to prevent the country from being ravaged. The archbiſhop was obliged to paſs through Florence, where he found the citizens far otherwiſe diſpoſed than his holineſs had imagined, a diſcovery which made him haſten the interview which he propoſed to have with the emperor at Bologna.

Siege of Florence.

It was the 20th of October before the prince of Orange, reached the plain of Ripoli, two miles from Florence, with all his troops and cannon. As the ſituation of that city is very unequal, and divided by the river Arno, the ſiege of it proved a matter of more difficulty than the prince had foreſeen. On the 24th he took poſſeſſion of the hills near the fortifications, all along from the gate of San Miniato

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Miniato to that of San Giorgia, on one side, and, on the other, from the same gate to the road from the gate of San Nicolò. The Florentines had in their city eight thousand troops, on whom they could depend. They had placed sufficient garrisons in Prato, Pistoia, Empoli, Pisa, and Leghorn; and intrusted the defence of places of less importance to their own inhabitants [g].

Charles, receiving undoubted intelligence that the Turks had been repulsed before Vienna, and had retreated towards Hungary, resolved now to proceed more earnestly than ever in settling the affairs of Italy. He had been prevailed upon by the pope, who met him at Bologna, to admit the new Florentine deputies to an audience; and the answer he gave them was dictated by his holiness, who more than ever insisted upon the reduction of their state. Charles, who had been impressed with a notion that the Florentines had always inclined to the French interest, had no objection to this scheme; but complained of the want of money, and said, that it was necessary to come to an accommodation with the Venetians and the duke of Milan, who otherwise might assist the Florentines. The pope, on the other hand, offered to pay to the army of the prince of Orange, who had quitted the siege, and was come to Bologna to assist at the conferences, sixty thousand ducats every month, provided his imperial majesty, after coming to an agreement with the Venetians and the duke of Milan, would employ all his troops in Lombardy in the siege of Florence. The affair of the restitution of Modena and Reggio, to the duke of Ferrara, came next to be considered. Charles had promised to that duke, that they should be restored to him; but the pope remained inflexible against the restitution, because of their importance to Parma and Piacenza.

Progress of the reformation.

While the conferences were thus depending at Bologna, accounts came of the great progress the Lutherans were making in Germany, where every thing was in confusion. These tidings determined Charles to come to some agreement with the duke of Milan and the Venetians. Before his arrival in Italy, he had been greatly exasperated at that duke; but reflecting on the great sums he had to no purpose lavished in Italy, his only study was how to bring about an accommodation, without derogating from the imperial authority. Had he listened to Anthony de Leyva, he would have transferred the Milanese to the house of Medici; but the pope was averse to that proposal, because of the dan-

[g] Guicciardin. Nardi. Segni.

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ger and difficulty with which it would be attended, and became a ſtrong advocate for Sforza, who continued to be ſtrenuouſly ſupported by the Venetians. Charles, therefore, reſolving to cut ſhort all difficulties, ſent Sforza a ſafe-conduct, that he might come and juſtify his conduct before him at Bologna. Sforza accepted of the ſafe-conduct, and arrived at Bologna, where appearing before the emperor, he thanked him for being admitted to his preſence; but added, that he required no other ſafe-conduct than his own innocence and his majeſty's juſtice, and laid the paper that contained his defence before Charles, who was highly pleaſed with the duke's magnanimity. It was now the end of November; and though the pope was indefatigable in his endeavours to bring about a peace between Charles and the Venetians, as well as Sforza, the negociations took up almoſt a month. At laſt on the 23d of December, both accommodations were concluded.

Sforza ſubmits to Charles.

By that with Sforza, the latter was to pay to Charles, within one year, one hundred thouſand ducats, and fifty thouſand ducats annually for ten years after; in conſideration of which, Charles agreed to confirm to Sforza the inveſtiture of the Milaneſe; but he was to keep in his hands Como, and the caſtle of Milan, till the firſt payment ſhould be made. By the treaty with the Venetians, the latter promiſed to reſtore Ravenna and Cervia, with all their dependencies, to the pope; to reſtore to the emperor all that they poſſeſſed in the kingdom of Naples; and to pay him, by way of arrears, fifty thouſand ducats, upon his reſtoring to them their places that were in his poſſeſſion; and they were afterwards to pay one hundred thouſand ducats more [h].

A peace concluded.

All the wars of Italy were now contracted to the ſiege of Florence, which continued to make ſo gallant a defence, that the prince of Orange was obliged to bring a body of pioneers, and ſome field-pieces, from Lucca. He then erected a battery againſt the baſtion of San Miniato, which he endeavoured to ſtorm, but with very little ſucceſs; ſo that all he could do was to take poſſeſſion of the towns of Colle and San Geminiano, for ſecuring his convoys from Sienna, from whence he drew his proviſions. All his aſſaults proving ineffectual, the operations of the ſiege were ſlackened, and the prince, drawing off his troops, turned it into a kind of blockade; during which the beſieged made ſeveral ſallies with conſiderable ſucceſs. In this languiſhing ſtate of the ſiege, Charles, having completed his ac-

The ſiege of Florence continued.

[h] Dumont. Corps Diplomat.

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commodation, sent from Lombardy four thousand German, and two thousand five hundred Spanish foot, eight hundred Italians, and above three hundred light horse, with twenty-five pieces of artillery, to assist at the siege of Florence; but the valour of the besieged, and the strength of the city, was such, that the besiegers durst not hazard an assault. The Florentines, however, knowing they were no match for their enemies in the open field, discontinued their sallies; so that, for some time, a total inactivity ensued between the two parties. The prince, however, found means to send fifteen hundred foot, four hundred horse, and four pieces of cannon against Lastra, which, according to Paul Jovius, made a noble defence; but not being relieved in time, it was taken, and about two hundred of the garrison were put to the sword. This loss was recompensed by a successful sally, which Stefano Colonna, at the head of sixteen thousand Florentines, disguised like Spaniards, made upon a quarter of the besiegers, where he put a great number to the sword, and returned to the city, without losing a man. It was about this time that Pirro di Piero, in marching to attack Montopoli, a town in the Pisan territory, was intercepted by the Florentine garrison of Empoli, which defeated him, and made many of his men prisoners. Napoleone Orsino likewise checked Alessandro Vitelli, who committed great ravages in the territory of Borgo San Sepolcro. On the other hand, the Florentine garrisons of Pistoia and Prato, intimidated by the reinforcement that had arrived from Lombardy to the besiegers, abandoned those places, which immediately submitted to the pontiff; as did Pietra Santa.

A.D. 1530. In the beginning of the year, the besiegers had been so far from making any progress against Florence, that the pope was persuaded, by Malatesta Baglione, to send the bishop of Faenza to treat with them of an accommodation. The Florentines, who were far from being averse to peace, suffered this negociation to go on. But the whole appeared afterwards to be an artifice of Malatesta, whose time in the Florentine service was now almost expired; for the Florentines, for fear of his going over to the pope, who had offered him advantageous terms, had renewed their contract with him, and appointed him to be their captain-general. The bishop of Faenza's negociation, however, with Malatesta, encouraged the Florentines to make fresh applications, by their ambassadors, to the emperor and the pope; but without, in the least, departing from the demands they had made for securing their liberties; and this inflexibility rendered the whole

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whole negociation fruitless; for Charles refused to admit them to his presence, and they returned to Florence.

The marquis del Guasto commanded the imperial troops, that had come from Lombardy to assist at the siege of Florence; and he encamped at Peretola, without venturing to advance farther, leaving the operations of the siege to the prince of Orange, who thought his character was now at stake, and resolved to proceed with the utmost vigour. In January, he erected new works, ordered his troops to take post nearer the city, and made dispositions for battering the bastion of San Giorgio, the strongest about Florence, which was defended by Stefano Colonna. But after all the vast preparations the prince made, finding the attempt impracticable, he desisted from it; and thus a blockade, rather than a siege, was still continued. *It is reinforced.*

The Florentines were now in high spirits: by the accessions of strength the garrison had received, it amounted to about ten thousand men; but they were allowed the pay of fourteen thousand. This indulgence confirmed the soldiers in their duty, and they refused no toils or danger in discharging it. Their officers, to encourage them to perseverance in those sentiments, held an assembly in the church of San Nicolo, where, after mass had been performed, they took a solemn oath, in the presence of Malatesta, their captain-general, to defend the city to the last extremity. They were not, however, unanimous in their resolution; for Napoleone Orsino left their service, and at Bracciano entered into that of the pope and the emperor. *Resolution of the Florentine officers.*

His holiness now persuaded the emperor to repair with him to Sienna, that they might be nearer at hand for giving orders about the siege of Florence; but the emperor shewing some impatience at not having received the imperial crown in Italy, it was proposed that that ceremony should be performed at Rome. When he and the pope were on the point of setting out for that city, advices came that the disorders in Germany were encreased, and that the presence of Charles in the empire was now absolutely necessary for suppressing them, by calling a diet of the empire, a general council of the church, and for electing his brother the archduke Ferdinand, king of the Romans. Upon this intimation, the emperor and his holiness repaired to Bologna, where Charles was crowned. *The emperor crowned at Bologna.*

The prospect of taking Florence was still at a great distance. Though the prince of Orange had several times ordered the bastion of San Giorgio to be stormed, his troops were repulsed in all their assaults; his artillery was too weak to make any considerable impression upon it; and his *Progress of the siege of Florence.*

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army must have been greatly reduced in numbers, had it not received daily supplies of disbanded soldiers, invited thither by the plunder of the Florentine territories.

Francesco Feruccio was then the Florentine commandant in the town of Empoli. He had, by his boldness, activity, and fortune, risen to that station from a low command; and got together a choice body of troops. The pope had got possession of the city of Volterra, as dependent upon Florence; but the castle holding out, the imperial army battered it with five pieces of artillery which they had brought from Genoa. The Florentines had the preservation of this fortress greatly at heart, and ordered one hundred and fifty horse, and five companies of foot, to advance to Empoli, and to put themselves under the command of Feruccio, who was to attempt the relief of the castle of Volterra. This detachment set out by night for Empoli, which it reached in safety. Feruccio lost no time in marching to the relief of the castle of Volterra, which he entered on the 26th of April with two thousand foot and one hundred and fifty horse. He instantly attacked and carried the entrenchments that had been raised by the imperialists; and the very next morning the city, and all the artillery employed in the siege, fell into his hands. This fortunate expedition was followed by other vigorous measures, which Feruccio undertook. His army daily increasing, he laid a scheme for surprising Colle and San Geminiano, and thereby cutting off all communication between Sienna and the imperial army before Florence, which must thereby have been vastly distressed; and which now despairing of taking Florence by storm, had again turned the siege into a blockade. But Maramaldo, an imperial general, arriving with two thousand five hundred volunteers, in the neighbourhood of Volterra, defeated Feruccio's schemes.

Imprudence of Feruccio

His imprudence occasioned a still greater blow to Florence. When he marched to the relief of Volterra, he left too slight a garrison in Empoli, which being thus weakened, the marquis del Guasto took it by storm, and put the garrison to the sword. This loss was the more sensibly felt by the Florentines, as they greatly depended upon the convenience of its situation for distressing the imperialists, and obliging them to raise the blockade. The marquis del Guasto, after the reduction of Empoli, joined Maramaldo, who remained in the neighbourhood, or rather the suburbs of Volterra. His army then consisting of about six thousand men, he battered the city; and having made a breach, attempted to storm it, but was repulsed with the loss of four hundred men. He erected a new battery, and made a fresh assault;

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assault; but being repulsed with a still greater loss, he raised the siege.

By this time the blockade of Florence had, by degrees, reduced that city to great want of provisions. On the 9th of May, the garrison attacked the imperialists, by a sally from the Roman gate; but with very little success. They had now placed their chief dependence upon being succoured by the French king, who had actually remitted to them, though in partial ineffectual payments, twenty thousand ducats. But they were soon satisfied that they had nothing to expect from Francis, with whom they had been negociating. The time of the performance of all his mighty promises was now arrived. He had, in the beginning of June, recovered his children, by paying the money stipulated for their deliverance. But some fresh causes of discontent, on both hands, arising between the pope and the emperor, the former began now to make advances to Francis, who was by no means averse to an accommodation; so that instead of sending the Florentines assistance, as he had promised, in men and money, he sent Pierfrancesco da Pontremoli to negociate an agreement between them and the pontiff. The arrival of this minister at Florence threw a dreadful damp upon the Florentines, who now saw they were to be sacrificed to the extreme desire which Francis had to keep the pope on his side, by suffering the siege to go forward. Notwithstanding this galling disappointment, and all the miseries they suffered, the Florentines still kept up their spirits; and on the very day that the marquis del Guasto took Empoli, Malatesta and Stefano Colonna made a sally with three thousand men, in two divisions, to attack the imperialists, who were quartered in the fortified monastery of San Donato. Stefano entered the trenches, and did considerable execution upon the enemy; but not being supported by Malatesta, whom he therefore accused of cowardice and treachery, he was obliged to retreat to the city.

Distress of the Florentines.

Their losses.

The distress of the Florentines for provisions still encreasing, and all their hopes of foreign assistance being now at an end, they had no resource but in Feruccio. They sent him orders to march from Volterra to Pisa, where he should augment his forces by all the means in his power, and advance to Florence, being determined upon his arrival to throw open their gates, and to come to a decisive action with the besiegers. Necessity alone justified this expedient, as Feruccio was under the necessity of fighting his way through his enemies, every step he advanced. It was suspected with some appearance of reason, that Malatesta ap-

They lose all hopes of relief by the defeat of Feruccio.

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prized the prince of Orange of this design; and that he had given him assurances he would not attack the imperialists in his absence. Be that as it will, the prince, against all the rules of war, drew off the best part of his troops from the siege, and advanced to fight Feruccio, who, in his march from Pisa, proceeded by the way of Lucca, in hopes of being joined by some of the Lucquese. The two armies met near Cavinana: that of the imperialists was superior in every respect; and a bloody engagement ensued, in which the prince of Orange, distinguishing himself rather as a private subaltern than a general, was killed. The imperialists, however, were victorious; and Feruccio, being taken prisoner, was put to death in cold blood by Maramaldo[1].

Their courage.

Notwithstanding this fatal blow, the Florentine magistrates continued to defend themselves with astonishing intrepidity, still trusting to the care of Providence, or to some accident that might happen in their favour. Though pressed to surrender by Gonzaga, who succeeded the prince of Orange in his command, they rejected all terms of accommodation; and some amongst them were enthusiasts enough to believe that God would work a miracle for their deliverance. Great part of the citizens, however, were in their hearts disposed to listen to an accommodation; but were overawed from discovering their sentiments. The magistrates, with the gonfalonier at their head, now came to the desperate resolution of attacking their enemies in their entrenchments, and gave orders for that purpose to their general Malatesta. He at first remonstrated against the madness of the attempt, and the wickedness of bringing inevitable ruin on so noble a city; but at last, finding all his representations vain, and influenced by the hopes of being restored by the pope to the government of Perugia, he flatly refused to obey the order, and put his troops under arms. The magistrates then formally divested him of his command; and some of the most resolute of the citizens went to intimate dismission, and insisted on his leaving the city with his own troops. This indignity enraged him to such a degree, that he drew his dagger, and would have killed one of the messengers, had he not been restrained by some of his attendants. Malatesta's obstinacy, however, on this occasion saved the city and its inhabitants from destruction, by encouraging all the Medician, and the moderate party, to join him; so that all Florence was instantly in an uproar. Meanwhile the gonfalonier, and those of his party, put themselves in arms,

[1] Murator, Annal. ad ann. 1530.

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and threatened sometimes to attack Malatesta, and sometimes to sally upon the imperialists.

At last, however, the party for an accommodation growing every hour more numerous, the gonfalonier was obliged to submit, and to send out a deputation to Gonzaga, with the terms on which they were willing to conclude a convention. They agreed to pay to the army eighty thousand ducats, on condition of its raising the siege; provided the pope would submit to the arbitration of Charles the form of government under which the Florentines were to live, with a salvo, however, to the enjoyment of their liberties, and that he should pronounce sentence on that head within three months; that all the injuries done to the pope, his family, friends, and servants, should be forgiven; and that Malatesta should remain with a guard of two thousand infantry in the city, till the declaration of Charles should arrive. A.D. 1530. *They are compelled by Malatesta and misery to capitulate. The terms.*

When we consider the state of Florence at the time when this capitulation was made, it cannot be said to have been very disadvantageous to the Florentines, being, in fact, the same that they had so frequently offered before, though always rejected on account of the salvo to public liberty. But the pope was glad of a capitulation at any rate, because he knew well how to break it if his party was once admitted into Florence. The Florentine state had now exhausted all its wealth; and great difficulties were found in raising money, both for the imperialists and for paying off their own troops. His holiness took advantage of this distress: his apostolical commissary, Bartolomeo Valori, confederated with Malatesta, who was now become the creature of the pope. These convoked, according to ancient custom, an assembly of the people in parliament, none of the magistracy daring to oppose the measure; and in this parliament the popular constitution of Florence was abolished. Twelve citizens, partizans of the Medici family, were chosen to new-model the constitution, which they restored to the form it had before the last revolution, when the Medici interest was expelled. This step being taken, their army was paid off; but their officers defrauded the soldiers of the greatest part of the money, which they carried back with them to Florence, leaving the others disbanded and dispersed. The imperial troops being paid off, evacuated Florence and all its territory, and marched to Sienna, there to new-model the government, according to the will of their master. Malatesta Baglione, obtaining the pope's leave for his return to Perugia, immediately set out for that city; and, without any regard to the capitulation, left Florence to the mercy of the pope. *Not observed by the pope.*

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His holineſs had ſo far a regard for public decency, that he did not chuſe, without ſome ſlight ſhew of reaſon, to break through that article of capitulation, which ſtipulated a pardon for all his and his family's revenues. His creatures in Florence, who held the government, pretended that no pardon had been promiſed to thoſe who had been guilty of malverſations in the ſtate; and under that infamous diſtinction they cruelly perſecuted all the friends and inſtruments of the late popular government. Great numbers of them were impriſoned or baniſhed; and to ſtrike the public with the greater terror, ſix of the principal amongſt them were beheaded. By theſe inhumanities the family of the Medici, being now ſuperior to all oppoſition, became abſolute in Florence, and their power increaſed in proportion as the ſtrength and riches of that city were diminiſhed. Even the miſeries of the people contributed to their greatneſs. The territory of Florence had for ſome years either lain uncultivated, or the harveſt had been cut down by their enemies. All their cattle and flocks had been deſtroyed; ſo that the people, being without the common neceſſaries of life, were obliged to purchaſe them at exorbitant rates from other ſtates, and this neceſſity exhauſted the ſmall remains of their ſubſtance.

Charles changes their government.

Charles reſided all this time in Germany, where he found his affairs ſo perplexed, that he was obliged to indulge the pope in all his requeſts. As ſoon as the capitulation of Florence was finiſhed, it was ſent to him by his holineſs, together with the form and ſubſtance of the declaration he was to make concerning the Florentine government, and which was confirmed by Charles. Without taking the leaſt notice of the ſalvo for liberty [a], or paying any regard to the capitulation, he acted in his imperial character, and as having a right to preſcribe to the Florentines what form of government he pleaſed. He ordered that the city ſhould be governed by the ſame magiſtrates, and after the ſame manner by which it uſed to be governed in times when the Medici held it, and that Aleſſandro, who was the pontiff's nephew, and the head of his family, ſhould be the head of the government, and, in default of iſſue, ſhould be ſucceeded one after another by the children, deſcendents, and neareſt of the ſame family. By the ſame declaration Florence was reſtored to all her rights and privileges that had been granted, either by the emperor or his predeceſſors, with a proviſo that they ſhould be conſidered as forfeited,

[a] Guicciardin. lib. xx.

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if the citizens should attempt any thing against the Medici family [b].

We now take leave of Florence as a republic; and the remaining part of its history is blended with that of the other states and kingdoms of Europe which have been given in the course of this work. Alexander de Medici, after having espoused Margaret, the natural daughter of Charles V. was by him made sovereign master of Florence; and though he pretended to govern by the advice of a council of citizens, yet he was guilty of the most tyrannical proceedings. The Florentines, however, had not forgotten that they had once been free; and Lorenzo de Medici, who was descended from a younger brother of Cosimo the father of his country, laid a plot for his destruction. Alessandro being a worthless libertine, greatly addicted to venery, Lorenzo had acted for many years as his confident, spy, and even as the minister of his pleasures. This intimacy afforded him all the opportunity he could desire to assassinate the duke, a design which he had long harboured, but never revealed to a living soul. At length he decoyed Alessandro to his own house, on pretence of having enticed a beautiful young woman for his paramour, and there, with the help of one servant, he basely stabbed him as he reposed upon a couch. He forthwith fled from Florence, and took refuge in Venice, where he wrote a justification of his conduct, which he said was influenced by motives of patriotism; but as he had taken no other steps to support and second the design, it was generally supposed that he acted from a spirit of revenge, for Alessandro's having decided a law-suit to his prejudice. He was afterwards assassinated in the streets of Venice by two Florentine soldiers, allured by the hope of a reward, which the successor of Alessandro had promised to any person who should perform this service.

History of the Medici family.

A.D. 1531.

Alexander.

Alexander was succeeded by Cosimo, the son of John de Medici, who served so bravely in the Spanish and French armies, and who was so universally beloved, that he had obtained the epithet of the Popular. Cosimo was at Trebia, one of his lordships, when he heard of Alexander's death; and though he was then but seventeen years of age, he formed a scheme for succeeding him, but without discovering the least appearance of his intention. Leaving his youthful companions, he applied himself to Vitelli, whose father had been put to death at Florence by the ene-

A.D. 1537.

Cosimo made great duke of Florence.

[b] Dumont, Corps Diplomat.

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mies of the house of Medici, and who was at the head of a considerable body of troops. Vitelli readily promised him his assistance; and Cosimo repaired to Florence, where he concerted measures with cardinal Cibo and his mother, who was of the house of Salviati. The Florentines, on the death of Alexander, were divided amongst themselves about the form of government they should establish, and seemed inclinable to re-establish their ancient liberty: but Cosimo, who had been received with great civility in the senate, ordered Vitelli to enter Florence with his troops, and to surround the senate-house, while the members were debating. This vigorous step reconciled all parties, and they submitted to Cosimo in the same manner as they had done to his predecessor. It was not long before a party was formed against him, at the head of which was cardinal Salviati. But Cosimo, having obtained the approbation of the emperor, and got possession of his predecessor's money, forced all the malcontents to leave Florence, and retire to Bologna, where they raised some troops under the command of Peter Strozzi, the son of Philip. Cosimo, however, was so well served by Vitelli, and his other officers, that Strozzi, and the exiled Florentines, were every where routed. A good number, including Philip Strozzi, were taken prisoners, and sent to Florence, where they were executed; but Strozzi, fearing to be put to the torture, killed himself. Cosimo's authority being thus established, he wanted to marry his predecessor's widow; but the emperor, her father, for reasons of state, gave her to the duke of Parma, by whom she had the famous Alexander Farnese, who succeeded his father. Cosimo, therefore, married Eleanora de Toledo, daughter to the duke of Alva, viceroy of Naples, and he, ever after, persevered in his attachment to the imperialists. In consequence of this connection, his power was so firmly established at Florence, that Pius V. bestowed upon him the title of grand duke of Tuscany, and crowned him as such at Rome with his own hands; nor did the Florentines ever attempt to shake off his yoke. Some of the powers of Europe at first remonstrated against the pope's bestowing upon him the title of grand-duke; but at last all of them acquiesced. When the Siennese revolted from Charles V. on account of the severities practised by his governors, and his having built a fort to overawe that city, Henry II. of France supported the revolt with a powerful body of troops; but the imperialists were assisted by Cosimo, and a fierce war broke out on that account. Peter Strozzi, the French general,

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neral, was guilty of many exceſſes againſt Coſimo's ſubjects; but at laſt he was defeated by the count de Martignan, who commanded for the grand-duke. The French king, however, ſending freſh reinforcements to Sienna, the inhabitants continued to make a vigorous defence, while the pope, the Venetians, and the duke of Ferrara, interceded in their favour; but all their reſiſtance was ineffectual. A private treaty had been made at Leghorn between Charles and Coſimo, by which the former agreed, upon the reduction of Sienna, to give it up to the latter, by way of indemnification for the great expences which he and the houſe of Medici had been at in the ſervice of the houſe of Auſtria. This contract rendered Coſimo very active againſt the Sienneſe, who would have made a better defence had they not demoliſhed the caſtle which had been built within their city by the emperor. The imperial general was Don Garcia, ſon to the viceroy of Naples, and brother to Coſimo's wife; and the Sienneſe continued ſo obſtinate, that the viceroy himſelf was about to have taken the command, when he died in Florence. Coſimo's troops, however, blockaded Sienna ſo cloſely, that it was reduced to the utmoſt neceſſity, and at laſt obliged to ſurrender to the emperor, whom the Sienneſe received not, as formerly, in quality of their protector, but as their abſolute ſovereign. Charles did not reign long enough to make good his compact with Coſimo; but his ſon and ſucceſſor, Philip II. punctually performed it, by reſigning to him all his right and title to the Sienneſe, in conſideration of the attachment of the houſe of Medici to that of Auſtria, and in order to indemnify Coſimo for the expences of the war. This acquiſition rendered him the moſt powerful prince in Italy, and he employed all his force and intereſt in ſupporting the houſe of Auſtria. He inſtituted the order of the knights of St. Stephen, to ſerve againſt the piratical ſtates of Barbary, who, about this period, infeſted the coaſts of Italy. Philip II. of Spain having transferred all the diſtrict of Sienna to Coſimo, excepting that chain of garriſons which is now called Stato de gli Preſidii, lying upon the coaſts of Tuſcany, the knights of St. Stephen were employed to defend them, and allowed a noble palace for their reſidence at Piſa, which they ſtill poſſeſs. Coſimo eſcaped many dangerous conſpiracies, which were formed againſt his life by the Florentines, who could not forget that they were once free, and that under him they were ſlaves with gilded chains. His firſt wife, already mentioned, was highly ſerviceable to him at the court of Spain; A.D. 1554.

but

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but though he had many children, it cannot be ſaid that he was happy in his progeny.

Tragical account of Coſimo's ſons.

The names of two of his ſons were John and Garcias, or Garcia. The former, when young, was made a cardinal, through his father's intereſt; but never could conciliate the affection or friendſhip of his brother Garcia, who was known to be of a furious vindictive diſpoſition. One day the two brothers, having gone a-hunting, found themſelves alone in following the chace, far removed from all their attendants; and Garcia took that opportunity of quarrelling with his brother, whom he ſtabbed to the heart with his dagger. He then rejoined his company, without diſcovering in his countenance the ſmalleſt emotion. The cardinal's horſe, however, returning without his rider, the company, by tracing back the prints of his hoofs, diſcovered the place where John lay murdered. His body being carried to Florence, the grand-duke, his father, ordered that the circumſtance of his being murdered ſhould be concealed; and gave out, that his ſon died of an apoplectic fit, while he was hunting. He then ordered the dead body to be conveyed into an inner apartment, and ſending for Garcia, to whoſe malignant diſpoſition he was no ſtranger, taxed him with the murder. The youth denied it at firſt with great warmth; but being introduced into the room where the body lay, it is ſaid to have bled (very poſſibly by chance) at his approach. He then threw himſelf at his father's feet, and confeſſed his guilt. The father, who had reſolved on the part he was to act, ſolemnly deſired his ſon to prepare for death; adding, that he ought to think himſelf happy in loſing a life he was unworthy to enjoy, by the hands of him who gave it. He then unſheathed the dagger with which Garcia had murdered the cardinal, and which ſtill hung by his ſide, and plunging it into his boſom, he fell dead by his brother's body. The father ordered the facts to be concealed; and all, but they from whom it could not be concealed, believed that the two brothers died of a peſtilential diſtemper, which then raged in Florence [k]. To give this report authenticity, both bodies were buried with great pomp, and a funeral oration was pronounced over that of Garcia. The tragedy, however, proved fatal to the mother, who was ſo affected with the death of her two ſons, that ſhe ſurvived them but a few days. As to Coſimo himſelf, in all other reſpects but his family afflictions, he was moſt fortunate. After having lived in the greateſt glory

[k] Murator. Annal. ad Ann. 1562.

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and happiness, he died in the thirty-eighth year of his reign, and the fifty-fifth of his age. A.D. 1374.

But neither the personal glory, success, nor happiness of Cosimo, nor his fortune in war, nor his high alliances, have done his memory such honour as did the encouragement he gave to the study and practice of all the fine arts. The buildings he began and completed, his collection of statues, paintings, jewels, plate, precious stones, instruments of every kind, armour, and all sorts of curiosities, prove him to have been one of the greatest patrons of human genius that has appeared since the days of Augustus. *Character of Cosimo.*

Cosimo, the first great-duke, was succeeded by his son Francis I. who married Joanna, or Jane, daughter of the emperor Ferdinand I. by whom he had eleven children; but the males all died young, and the females were incapable of succession. His daughter, Maria de Medici, became queen of France, by marrying Henry IV. Upon the death of the great-duchess Jane, who was daughter, sister, aunt, and niece to emperors, Francis fell in love with a Venetian lady of the house of Capello, who was the widow of one Salviati. Having declared his intention to marry her, the senate, out of regard to her father's family, declared her the daughter of their republic, and made her a present of a ducal crown. Francis lived nine years with this lady, who is celebrated for her beauty; but little of importance happened to Florence, or to Tuscany, under his government. He died in 1587, not without suspicion of being poisoned by his brother Ferdinand, who succeeded him as grand-duke, after having resigned his cardinal's hat, in the fifty-second year of his age. Duke Francis was survived but a few hours by his duchess, who is said to have been dispatched by the same means that took off her husband. Ferdinand I. married the princess Christina, daughter to Charles II. duke of Lorrain; and had by her a numerous progeny: but only two of his sons survived him, of whom the elder, Cosimo, was his successor; and the younger, Charles, attained the highest preferments in the church. The most distinguished occurrence in the reign of Ferdinand was the vast magnificence with which he celebrated the nuptials between his niece Mary and the French king in 1600, who had sent him a procuration for that purpose. He died in the year 1609, and was succeeded by his son Cosimo II. who married Magdalen of Austria, sister to the emperor Ferdinand II. By her he had three daughters, and four sons; of whom the eldest, Ferdinand, succeeded him; and the two next were cardinals. Under this prince, who, like his immediate predecessors, applied himself entirely *He is succeeded by his son Francis.* *Francis succeeded by his brother Ferdinand.*

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tirely to domeſtic affairs, and governed his people with great lenity, the Florentines were happy, and ſo powerful, that Coſimo, without laying any additional tax upon his ſubjects, in the year 1667, ſent an army of twenty thouſand men to the aſſiſtance of the duke of Mantua againſt the duke of Savoy. This quarrel being made up by the interpoſition of other princes, Coſimo gave way to his natural diſpoſition, which was for peace and tranquillity; and he died in the year 1621. He imitated his predeceſſors in their love for the fine arts, and greatly promoted the building of the chapel of San Lorenzo, begun in 1604, where the great-dukes of Tuſcany are buried in a mauſoleum, which is accounted the moſt ſplendid of any in the world, and is ſaid to have coſt ſome millions ſterling. Coſimo II. was ſucceeded by Ferdinand, a prince of a more active diſpoſition than any of his three immediate predeceſſors. The diſputes about the ſucceſſion to Mantua reviving, he interpoſed with his uncle the emperor Ferdinand II. and procured the ſuſpenſion of the ban of the empire, which was about to have been pronounced againſt the duke of Nevers, who had ſtrong pretenſions upon that ſucceſſion in right of blood. He married Vittoria de la Rovere, daughter to the laſt duke of Urbino, by whom he had two ſons, Coſimo III. and Francis Maria, afterwards a cardinal, and died in the year 1670.

Coſimo III. The hiſtory of his marriage.

Coſimo III. in the year 1661, married Margaret Louiſa of Orleans, daughter to Gaſton duke of Orleans, brother to Lewis XIII. Alliances with the court of France, which was at that time in the height of its ſplendor, were courted by all the inferior Roman catholic princes in Europe, as it intitled them to the friendſhip of the houſe of Bourbon. Coſimo, however, could not have made a more unfortunate match. He was entirely under the direction of his mother, the grand-ducheſs dowager, one of the moſt ſevere and auſtere ladies in all Italy; while, on the other hand, her daughter-in-law, having been bred up in all the gaiety and licentiouſneſs of the French court, paid very little regard to the remonſtrances of her mother-in-law upon the levity of her behaviour; and even preſumed, upon the greatneſs of her birth, to give law to the duke her huſband. There ſeems, however, to have been nothing criminal in the conduct of the young grand-ducheſs, but her diſagreement with the manners of her huſband and her mother in-law, which had ſpread the gloom of devotion and formality over all the Florentine court. The great-ducheſs dowager, continuing ſtill to have the aſcendency over her ſon, perſuaded him to interpoſe his authority, to prevail with his wife to conform

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conform to the Italian manners; but neither love nor authority made any impression upon the duchess: and though she had brought the duke two sons, Ferdinand and John Gaston, and a princess, Mary Magdalen, afterwards married to John William of Neubourg, elector Palatine, daily quarrels happened between her and the great duke; till, at last, they separated, and she returned to Paris, where she was allowed a maintenance agreeable to her rank, which she enjoyed to the day of her death. Though this separation gave disgust to the pride of his most Christian majesty, yet he had at that time political reasons for not resenting it otherwise than by sending instructions to the marquis du Pre, his ambassador at Florence, to endeavour to effect a reconciliation, as also to insist upon the three following articles; that the grand-duke should, by inviting her to return to Florence, take back his wife; that he should pay her debts, which, it seems, she had contracted to a large amount; and that, upon her return, she should have the same power in the management of public affairs that the duke allowed to his mother. Cosimo answered, that, as to the first request, he was ready at any time to receive his wife, if she should please to return to him; but that her separating from him being entirely the result of her own choice, and without his participation, he would make no advances towards inviting her to return. As to the second article, he answered, that, while she lived with him, he had always maintained her according to her birth and station; and that, since their separation, he had ordered her appointments to be punctually paid, and therefore did not think himself obliged to discharge those debts which she had contracted through extravagance and want of œconomy. With regard to the last article, he said, that, as soon as his wife should give as strong proofs of her attachment to his interest as his mother had done, she should enjoy the same authority in public affairs.

His answer to the French ambassador.

The marquis endeavoured to shake Cosimo's resolution on these heads, by proposing, on the part of his master, a match between his eldest son and another princess of the blood of France, in order to renew the good correspondence between his crown and the house of Medici; but the duke, who was heartily disgusted with French princesses, civilly declined the honour of the alliance, under pretence that his son was too young to think of marrying. Notwithstanding this excuse, the young prince soon after married the princess Violante Beatrice of Bavaria, a family entirely in the imperial interest. The match of the grand-prince into the house of Bavaria, together with the league of

Augsbourg,

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Augsbourg, in which Cosimo became a party, discouraged his most Christian majesty from any farther advances towards the court of Florence; and in the year 1697, when the reputation of the French monarchy and arms began to decline, his eldest son having no issue, he married, on the 2d of July, his second son John Gaston, who succeeded him, to the princess Anna Maria Francesca of Saxe Lawenbourg, widow of Philip William count palatine of the Rhine. This lady had great pretensions to her father's dominions, and was, in her own right, actually possessed of a vast fortune. Her father, Julius Francis of Saxe Lawenbourg, had died Sptember 29, 1699; but his succession was disputed with his daughter by the houses of Saxony and Anhalt Brunswic; the first, in right of a reciprocal family-compact between the elector of Saxony and the last duke; and the latter, in right of blood and alliances; while both pretended, that a female descendant was incapable of succeeding to that duchy. John Gaston brought the affair before the imperial courts of judicature, and took a journey to Germany, where he not only carried on the process, but managed the great estates that fell to his wife in Bohemia, by the indisputed rights of heritage from her father. As to the law-process, several precedents were produced, to prove that the estates in question were inheritable by women as well as men; but the forms of the imperial courts retarding the decision, he returned, after a long stay in Germany, to Florence.

Obtains the title of royal highness.

Neither of the two sons of Cosimo III. having male issue, and there being but little probability of their having any, the great duke's brother, Francis Maria of Medici, being of a vigorous constitution, was applied to by the court of Vienna to resign the purple, to which he had been raised by pope Innocent XI. to qualify himself for marriage. It was generally thought that the imperial court would have bestowed upon him one of the archduchess's daughters, sisters to the emperor Joseph; and it is certain, that the house of Medici was so much in favour at the court of Vienna, that the great duke of Tuscany obtained from the emperor the title of royal highness.

A.D. 1700.

His attachment to the pope.

In the jubilee-year, Cosimo III. went to pay his devotions at Rome, where he was received by his holiness Innocent XII. with such compliments and caresses as astonished all the world. Every day they were seen walking together in the utmost familiarity; and they agreed, that all kind of ceremony should be dropt between them.

His devotion.

Cosimo III. was a strange composition of hypocrisy and superstition. He repaired every night to the church of the Annonciada

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Annonciada in Florence, and assisted at the litanies, which were there sung with the best music in Italy. He was at great pains to bring religious persons to his court, and to recommend them to the pope, who generally bestowed upon them some ecclesiastical preferment. By his interest, cardinal Morigia was raised to the purple; and another monk was made archbishop of Ragusa, on the merit of wearing a long beard. Those assiduities had endeared him so much to his holiness, that the latter, while he was at Rome, not only gave him the title of royal highness, but prevailed with all the cardinals and foreign ministers, whom he could influence, to do the same: some, however, of the latter stood out, and others made great difficulties; but, at last, by the pope's unwearied application, all objections were removed.

Cosimo was seized with so extravagant a fit of devotion, that he employed all his interest with his holiness that he might be allowed to touch the holy handkerchief; but was informed, that he could not be gratified, because of the anathemas and fulminations pronounced against every man who should mount the tribunal of the holy relicks, or presume to touch them, unless he was a canon of St. Peter's: he was even told by his holiness, that it was an indulgence the pontifical power itself could not grant. The pope, however, fell upon an expedient that gratified his friend in his darling passion. The grand duke being then a widower the pope ordained and declared him a canon of St. Peter's; and his royal highness, in a purple habit, and a surplice on his shoulders, having assisted at the brief which declared him a priest, was conducted to the tribunal, where he had the pleasure of touching and handling the holy handkerchief, with the other relicks; and he bestowed his benediction, at the same time, upon seventy thousand spectators then present. He had many other ridiculous adventures at Rome, in the exercise of his devotion, which we cannot pretend to particularize.

Notwithstanding these weaknesses, whether real or affected, Cosimo was far from being void of spirit or policy: he had at that time, besides devotion, many important affairs to manage at the court of Rome. The ill state of the king of Spain's health, and the treaty of partition of his dominions that had been made, laid him under great difficulties; and it was natural, upon the approaching event of his catholic majesty's death, for him to consult with his holiness upon the measures he was to pursue for securing, if possible, the succession to his dominions in his own family. With this view, he applied to obtain from his holiness his assent to his brother's resigning his cardinal's hat,

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hat, and to bestow it upon his son Gaston. He had likewise several quarrels with the Genoese and the Lucquese. The former had come to a resolution to make La Spetia a free port, which could not be done without vast prejudice to Leghorn; so that his royal highness negociated not only with his holiness, but with all the princes in Italy, to prevent the project. He was embroiled with the latter on the following occasion. Two natives of Lucca had been condemned for their crimes to the gallies; but were rescued out of the prison of Pietra Santa, belonging to the great duke, by their friends and relations; for which his royal highness demanded satisfaction from the Lucquese magistracy, who very readily agreed to give all the offenders up to justice, if they could be taken. They found means, however, to make their escape, and the Lucquese made their apologies to the court of Florence. But they were far from satisfying the great duke. He had intelligence that the malefactors escaped by connivance, and that forty of them had taken refuge in a castle belonging to Lucca. He demanded that they should be delivered up to him; and the Lucquese refusing to comply, he ordered all the natives of Lucca in his dominions to be immediately arrested, and put under confinement. Upon this the Lucquese raised troops, and sent for assistance to their allies the Genoese, which was immediately granted them. Both those differences, however, were made up; the first by the mediation of the dukes of Modena and Parma, and the second by the submission of the Lucquese.

He breaks with the Genoese and the Lucquese.

His difficulties.

Upon the death of the king of Spain, and the succession of the duke of Anjou to that crown, the grand duke of Tuscany secretly resolved to take part with France; but so as to give no umbrage, if possible, to the imperialists. He was apprehensive that the emperor, upon the extinction of the house of Medici without male issue, might seize upon the succession, as being a fief of the empire; whereas he might have a chance of treating with the court of Spain, and rendering his dukedom an independent sovereignty. He was, however, under some difficulties with regard to his brother, who was protector both of the imperial and Spanish interests at Rome, and held very rich livings in the kingdom of Naples and in Sicily. But a branch of the house of Bourbon now succeeding to the crown of Spain, and that succession being disputed by the emperor, the cardinal could no longer continue the protector of both nations, and was obliged to declare himself for one or the other. The pope affected a strict neutrality in the dispute; but as there was little room to doubt that he favoured the French interest, the great duke made no scruple of paying a visit,

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a viſit, in his own galley, to the duke of Anjou, who now aſſumed the title of king of Spain, when he came to Leghorn. This viſit amazed all Europe, becauſe, till then, his royal highneſs had been always thought attached to the imperial intereſt, and its ſtrongeſt partizan in all Italy.

Coſimo III. by dint of œconomy, and ſqueezing his ſubjects, had amaſſed ſo much money, that he was looked upon to be the richeſt prince in Chriſtendom; but his parſimony ſubjected him to many affronts from the Florentines. When young he had made a viſit to the Engliſh court, in the reign of Charles II. but though he always profeſſed a great friendſhip for the family of Stuart, yet we do not find that he was very liberal in contributing towards the efforts made for replacing king James on the throne of Great Britain, though often applied to for that purpoſe by the cardinal d'Eſte, and the other friends of that family; nay, by the pope himſelf, for whom he had ſo great a veneration. He affected, however, to be the head and patron of all the Roman catholics of Great Britain; and he exerted all his intereſt with foreign courts in their behalf. His great ſtudy was chemiſtry; and his friends could not oblige him more than by ſending for medicines prepared in his laboratory. He entertained at his court the beſt phyſicians he could find, and they were conſulted all over Europe; and being courted by all the European princes in his time, he may be ſaid to be in every reſpect happy, but in the melancholy proſpect of his family's being extinct in the perſon of his ſon, from whom he had no hopes of iſſue.

Our plan does not extend ſo far as to comprehend the reign of his ſon Gaſton, the laſt grand-duke of the Medici family; nor the ſtipulations among the other European powers, in conſequence of which, the dominions of Tuſcany devolved to the houſe of Auſtria. Suffice it to obſerve, that the princes of the houſe of Medici, notwithſtanding their boaſted munificence and liberality to the profeſſors of what are called the fine arts, were in general a ſucceſſion of infamous tyrants, hackneyed in all the ways of perfidy and oppreſſion. There was no vice ſo execrable to which they had not recourſe occaſionally, in the gratification of their luſt, ambition, and revenge. Subornation, poiſon, and aſſaſſination, they employed as common expedients in the courſe of their adminiſtration; and in their private amours, over and above the commiſſion of adultery, rape and inceſt, they are ſaid to have practiſed the moſt unnatural and beaſtly impurities.

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CHAP. XCVI.

The Hiſtory of Milan.

Containing an Account and Deſcription of Milan. Riſe and Hiſtory of the Viſconti Family.

Deſcription of the Milaneſe.

THE duchy of Milan is bounded on the weſt by Savoy, Piedmont, and Montferrat; by Swiſſerland on the north; by the territories of Venice, the duchies of Mantua, Parma, and Placentia, on the eaſt; and by the territories of Genoa on the ſouth. For all the purpoſes and conveniences of life it is the moſt deſirable country in Italy. Its ſoil is exceeding fertile; its paſtures are the richeſt in Italy; its climate is moderate and healthful, equally void of the extremes of heat and cold. The face of the country abounds with lakes and rivers, ſtocked with variety of fiſh. The chief lakes are the Lago Maggiore, Lago di Lugano, and the Lago di Como. Nothing can be more beautiful than the borders of the Maggiore, which are planted with vinyards upon riſing grounds, and every where interſperſed with fine ſummer-houſes and villas. In this lake are the two Borromean Iſlands, Iſola Bella and Iſola Madre. The Iſola Bella was, in the middle of the laſt century, a barren rock; and the buildings and improvements made upon both are owing to the counts of the Borromeo family. The Lago di Lugano is twenty Engliſh miles in length; and that of Como, from north to ſouth, extends thirty-ſix Italian miles. The chief rivers of the Milaneſe are the Po, the Teſin, the Adda, and the Seſſia; and beſides theſe four rivers, the country is interſected with canals, made and carried on, at a vaſt expence, for the benefit of water-carriage. The duchy itſelf is divided into thirteen parts. 1. The Milaneſe Proper. 2. The Paveſe. 3. The Lodeſan. 4. The Cremoneſe. 5. The Comaſco. 6. The country of Anghiara. 7. The vallies of Seſſia. 8. The Novarceſe. 9. The Vigevanaſco. 10. The Lomelline. 11. The Alexandrin. 12. The Tortoneſe. And, 13. The territory of Bobbio. No country in the world has undergone a greater variety of revolutions, or has been oftener the ſeat of war. It is fitted by nature for carrying on all kinds of manufactures; ſo that the natives can live in great plenty, without any foreign commerce; while

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while the commodities they produce, consisting of cloth, silk and linen, stockings, gloves, handkerchiefs, steel, crystal, agates, and jewels, make the ballance of trade in their favour, with their neighbours. The Milanese, upon the whole, were it under a mild and prudent government, would be one of the richest spots in the world, though in breadth it does not extend to above one hundred English miles, and in length to one hundred and twenty. Its ancient extent, however, was much greater; and the wealth, splendor, and riches of its ancient princes and inhabitants, are evinced, by the astonishing works they have left behind them, notwithstanding the perpetual ravages of the wars in which they were engaged.

Milan. The city of Milan from its extent, populousness, and magnificence of its public structures, has acquired the epithet of the Great; and at present it is justly reckoned one of the finest cities in the world. It is ten miles in circumference, though great part of the ground within the walls is laid out in gardens; and in the beginning of the present century it was said to contain three hundred thousand inhabitants; at present that number is diminished by fifty thousand. It stands upon the little river Olana, and has the advantage of two navigable canals, with the rivers Adda and Tesin, the first of which was the work of the celebrated Florentine painter and architect, Leonardo de Vinci. The citadel of Milan is a regular fortification, and one of the strongest in Italy. The narrowness of the streets, in some places, spoils the beauty of the city, and their paper windows give their noble houses a mean appearance. Here are twenty-two gates, two hundred and thirty churches, ninety convents, one hundred religious fraternities, and one hundred and twenty schools. The nobility appear with great splendor, and the manners of the inhabitants are more easy and free than in any other part of Italy. The cathedral of Milan is an astonishing Gothic pile of marble, five hundred feet in length, and two hundred in breadth: its roof is supported by one hundred and sixty white marble pillars, each three fathom round. It is filled with a prodigious number of statues; and though its foundation was laid in 1386, since which it has been constantly building and ornamenting, yet it is now far from being finished. The treasury of this church is of an immense value; and the crystal case, inclosing the body of St. Charles Borromeo, is esteemed invaluable. Next to the churches, the colleges founded by St. Charles Borromeo, and Frederic Borromeo, where sixteen professors teach gratis, deserve attention.

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The palaces of the archbishop and the viceroy, and some others of the Milanese nobility, are very magnificent; and the revenue of the great hospital, which is said to contain four thousand patients and poor, and is a very noble structure, amounts to above twenty thousand pounds sterling a-year. In short, the bare mention of all the buildings and curiosities in Milan that deserve public attention, would require more room than we can spare. We cannot, however, omit mentioning, that at a small town called Mousa, on the river Lambro, is preserved the famous iron crown with which the ancient kings of Italy, and afterwards the emperors of Germany, who had pretensions upon Lombardy, were crowned. It is so called from an iron ring on the inside, though the crown itself is of gold, and enriched with jewels. It is by much too small for the head of a grown person. Its height is about three fingers; and it has neither points, nor rays, nor ornaments of any kind [d].

The Milanese, though subject to an arbitrary government, still preserve their senate; but they are under the controul of a governor, or vicar-general, which office is now in the house of Modena. This governor fills up all the great offices of power and profit. The military governments of the city and citadel of Milan are independent of each other, and every town or city of consequence in the duchy has a common council, out of which twelve acting magistrates are chosen; but these are subordinate to the imperial governor.

Pavia. The Pavese, which is the second division of the Milanese, though great part of it now belongs to his Sardinian majesty, is called the Milanese garden, for its beauty and fertility. Its chief city is Pavia, anciently called Ticinum, from its situation on that river, and lies twenty miles to the southward of Milan. It was formerly the capital of the Longobardic kingdom, and is still remarkable for the broadness of its streets, the beauty and richness of some of its churches, and for its university, founded by Charlemagne, and for several other literary institutions. Here is a bishop's see, which was once the richest in Italy, but is now dependent on the pope: and upon the whole the city is gone to decay, its trade being ruined through the exactions of the government. The few objects within it worth the public attention, belong to the clergy, or monks; and the church and convent of the Carthusians are inexpressibly

[d] Busching's Geography, vol. iii. p. 48.

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noble, the court of the convent being one of the fineſt in the world, and ſurrounded by a portico ſupported by pillars, the whole a mile in circumference.

The chief town of the Lodeſan is Lodi, famous for the richneſs of its paſtures, which produce the celebrated cheeſe, erroneouſly called Parmeſan. It lies on the Adda, and contains a caſtle, fifty-three convents, colleges, and chapels, with about twelve thouſand inhabitants, who carry on a trade in a kind of porcelain. It is a biſhoprick, and the city is ſpacious and well built. The ancient Lodi, though once a flouriſhing city, is now a place of no note, having been deſtroyed, out of enmity, by the Milaneſe, though it was afterwards repaired by the emperor Frederic Barbaroſſa.

Cremona. Crêmona is the chief city of the Cremoneſe, and lies forty-five miles ſouth-eaſt of Milan. It ſtands on the north ſide of the Po, which joins, by a canal, with the Oglio. Though it is five miles in circumference, and in general well built, with ſpacious ſquares and broad ſtreets, it is neither rich nor populous. It has a bridge of boats over the Po; and beſides the cathedral, which is magnificent, it contains ſixty-two convents, churches, and chapels, and five alms-houſes. The reſt of the diviſions of the Milaneſe require no particular deſcription, though, upon the whole, the country is beautiful and rich by nature, with a peculiar ſalubrity of air, ſo that almoſt every foot of it is improveable. Notwithſtanding its preſent ruinous condition, it can raiſe an army of thirty thouſand fighting men, and its revenues amount to three hundred thouſand pounds ſterling.

Ancient hiſtory of Milan. Anciently the duchy of Milan, containing the north part of the Old Liguria, was called Inſubria, from its inhabitants the Inſubres, who were conquered by the Romans, as thoſe were by the Goths, who in their turn were driven out by the Lombards of Gaul and Germany, about the year 572. Didier, or Deſiderius, the laſt king of the Lombards, was taken priſoner by Charles the Great, who put an end to the Longobardic kingdom, and appointed the governors of Milan. Thoſe governors being diſtant from the court of their maſters, who were the ſucceſſors of Charlemagne, ſoon affected to be independent, a circumſtance which brought upon that country a ſevere chaſtiſement from the emperor Frederic Barbaroſſa; for he levelled the walls of Milan to the ground, about the year 1152. The hiſtory of that emperor is foreign to our preſent purpoſe; but under him lived Galvian [b], a nobleman,

[b] Paulus Jovius apud Stephanum, p. 5.

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descended from Otho, a Milanese, who, together with William, prince of Montferrat, served in the crusade, when Godfrey of Bouloign took Jerusalem. Galvian killed, in single combat, a Saracen general, whom he stripped of his helmet, which was adorned with a serpent swallowing a youth, and this became the badge of the victor's family. His grandson Galvian having the courage to oppose the emperor, was taken prisoner, and carried in chains to Germany, from whence he made his escape, and returning to Milan, died in the service of his country. From him descended another Otho, who was born at Invori, a small village near the Lago Maggiore. His family, at the time of his birth, was but low, and all their possessions were confined to four inconsiderable villages in the neighbourhood, of which Invori was one: according to Paulus Jovius, they formerly had possessions near Milan itself; but their house had gone to decay, through the misfortunes of the times. Otho soon distinguished himself by the strength and beauties of his mind and body. When he grew up, he went to Rome, where he was received into the family of cardinal Octavian Ubaldini, an eminent prelate, who was employed in the greatest posts. The cardinal being sent ambassador to France, carried Otho with him as his private secretary, an employment which he discharged with great address; so that the cardinal considered Otho as a person destined for something that was very great. Mean while Torriano, a Milanese nobleman of great ambition, putting himself at the head of the popular faction in the Milanese, drove into exile Leo Peregi, the bishop of Milan, and and having put to death, or banished, all the Milanese nobility, established a democracy. Octavian, who was himself of a noble Tuscan family, some years before had been prevented by Torriano from endeavouring to carry out of the treasury of St. Ambrose's church at Milan, a carbuncle, or jewel of great beauty and value, which he pretended to reserve to adorn the papal tiara. On this account he conceived an implacable enmity to Torriano. By virtue of his legatine powers, he nominated Otho to the archbishoprick of Milan, and his nomination was confirmed by pope Urban IV. Octavian's intention, by this nomination, was to humble the power of the people, which Otho effectually did. Milan was at that time divided between two factions, headed by Torriano, and Francisco Sepri, which last detested Torriano's cruelty and haughtiness [c]. Otho was designed by the pope to crush both. Torriano

A D. 1212.

Archbishop Otho.

[c] Stephanardo Vicomercato, apud Murat. tom. ix,

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being at the head of the popular faction, no sooner heard of Otho's nomination to the archbishoprick than he immediately seized upon the archiepiscopal palace and all his effects, and employed them in forming the canal from Pavia to Milan; but the party of the nobility having now obtained a head from the pope, in the person of Otho, began to form cabals, and write letters to their friends in Milan for reuniting their strength. Otho, who had the temporal, but not the spiritual revenue, which the pope received for himself, having got together the face of an army, advanced towards the Lago Maggiore, and took possession of Arona, a strong post near that lake. Upon this motion, Torriano marched all his troops out of their garrisons, and with his general Palavicini, shut up Otho and his party both by land and water, in Arona, so closely, that he was obliged to abandon the place, and to leave his party to make the best terms they could for themselves. After this exploit, Torriano demolished the castles of Arona, Anghiari, and Brebia, but soon after died. He was succeeded by his brother Philip, who procured himself to be named podesta, or pretor of Milan, for ten years; and taking advantage of the civil dissensions at Como, took possession of that principality. Notwithstanding his successes, the party of the nobles, or patricians, under Otho, daily gained ground; and Philip had recourse to all kinds of arts and alliances to confirm his authority, by matching his relations into the noble Milanese families, and, to please them, by dismissing Palavicini from his command in the army. Palavicini, incensed at this affront, became the declared enemy of the Torriano party. About this time Charles of Anjou, brother to St. Lewis, king of France, was called into Italy by Urban IV. to make head against Manfred. In his march he was received by Philip Torriano with great distinction and hospitality, and furnished with clothing, arms, and other necessaries for his army, to induce him to declare against the nobles; to ingratiate himself the more with Charles, he made Embarra, a Frenchman, governor of Milan. Soon after Philip died in great reputation for his courage, though he appears to have lost ground in the affections of his people.

Rise of Torriano.

Philip was succeeded by Napi, or Napoleone, one of his own family, but a sworn foe to the nobility, whom he proscribed and put to death on all occasions. Succi, the head of the Vistari family, was then prince of Lodi, and befriended the distrest Milanese nobles for which reason he was besieged in his capital by Napi, who took it, and put him to death, with as many of his friends and family as fell into his hands, bestowing the sovereignty of Lodi upon the

History of Napi Torriano.

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family of Tisiraga, the enemies of the Vistari. By this time Palavicini, the head of the Milanese exiles, was dead, and they repaired for protection to William, marquis of Montferrat; upon which Napi passed the Tesin, and stormed Vigevano, to strike a terror into the marquis. These vigorous proceedings roused Clement IV. who had succeeded Urban IV. in the papacy, and he both interdicted and excommunicated Milan, and all the Milanese of Napi's party, so that all the churches in that city were shut up; his holiness, at the same time, enjoined the inhabitants to return to their allegiance under archbishop Otho.

A.D.1265.

He loses his popularity.

Napi had now lost a great deal of his popularity by his brutal conduct, and the inhabitants were not proof against the papal fulminations. Otho, on the other hand, was now the main prop of the nobility; the marquis of Montferrat not daring longer to patronize them, and being supported by the pope, he discovered a great and an enterprising genius; so that the very mention of his name was observed to strike terror into Napi. The exiles, at this time, had rendezvoused near Vercelli; to the government of which Napi nominated his nephew Paginini, a young man, resembling himself in all his bad qualities, and his hatred of the nobility. It was easy for the nobility to perceive that his intention by this nomination was to drive them out of Vercelli; and while Paganini was on his march to his new government, they opposed him in a body, and put him to death. Paganini's body was carried to be buried at Milan, and the news of his death so greatly exasperated Napi and Embarra, that they are said to have put to death all the friends and relations, of both sexes, of the noblemen who fell into their hands, as victims, upon the tomb of Paganini, and to have sent them in waggon loads to be buried with their ancestors. It was even with difficulty that Musca, Napi's son, prevailed on his father, by swearing that he would put himself to death if his suit was not granted, to pardon a physician of the noble party. Napi, however, perceiving that his cruelty was every where detested, threw the whole blame of it upon Embarra, whom he expelled from his government, in which he had grown extremely unpopular by his vices. To keep well with Charles of Anjou, who was now on the throne of Naples, he sent his brother Francesco, with a magnificent attendance, to congratulate him upon his successes. Francesco was graciously received by Charles, who bestowed upon him the honour of knighthood, with a considerable commission in his army; and, upon his return to Milan, he eclipsed Napi himself in the splendor of his appearance and the manner of his living. At this time the party of

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of the nobles under Otho was reduced to the utmoſt diſtreſs; he himſelf, and his friends, having ſpent all their ſubſtance, wandered about from place to place, his holineſs being unable, through the ſituation of his affairs, to to give them aſſiſtance. Otho, however, who betrayed no marks of deſpondency, ſtill found reſources in his own courage and conſtancy, which ſo greatly re-animated the ſpirits of his party, that they choſe for their general Squarcini Burri, a man of great eminence and courage, whoſe daughter was married to Matthew Viſconti, afterwards called Matthew the Great. At the ſame time they renewed their confederacy with the marquis of Montferrat, who was ſon-in-law to the king of Spain. The marquis agreed to this confederacy, chiefly with a view of making himſelf maſter of the Milaneſe.

Napi had in his pay ſeveral bodies of French and Germans, which had followed the count of Flanders into Italy, and, after the death of their leader, choſe to ſerve in the fruitful plains of the Milaneſe rather than under Charles in Naples. To counterbalance their experience in military diſcipline, Burri was ſent on a ſolemn embaſſy from the marquis, to perſuade Ferdinand to aſſiſt the exiles with a body of troops. As Ferdinand had then great differences with Charles, Burri obtained the aſſiſtance he deſired, which conſiſted in ſix hundred horſe and a body of foot, who landed at Genoa, and from thence marched to join the marquis of Montferrat. This reinforcement from ſo powerful a prince, re-eſtabliſhed the hopes of Otho and the Milaneſe exiles; and they undertook the ſiege of Vigevano, then poſſeſſed by Napi. The ſiege at firſt was carried on merely by the archers and croſs-bow men, who drove the defendants from their walls; but theſe being afterwards provided with wooden defences, Burri thought fit to abandon the ſiege, and to paſs the Teſin, that he might carry the war nearer to the gates of Milan. Upon his retreat he was attacked by a ſally from the garriſon, but with ſo little caution, that the Spaniards, facing about, muſt have got poſſeſſion of the town, had not the portcullis been ſuddenly let down. Many of the garriſon, however, were put to the ſword, and, after that, the exiles and Spaniards deſiſted from their attempt; but in their retreat they ſurpriſed a ſtrong poſt that was held by the Milaneſe and the Comeſe. Otho and Burri becoming maſters of this poſt, treated their enemies with the utmoſt humanity, and gave them their liberty; but withal exhorted them to reinſtate their nobles and the archbiſhop. This lenity rendered Otho and Burri wonderfully popular at Milan and Como, to the great mortification of the Torriani. Purſuing

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ing their advantage, they entered the territory of Lomellino, and from thence proceeded to that of Sepri, and at last made themselves masters of all the open places in the neighbourhood of Milan.

Napi all this time was not idle; he drew together his forces, and summoned his allies, the Parmesans, to join him, and, at the same time, a great body of French mercenaries were advancing to his assistance. The latter, however, whose rendezvous was at Carrati, were so little upon their guard, that they were surprised by Otho and Burri. Most of them being taken prisoners, were stript of their baggage and arms; but the victors in their turn, fall into the like disorder, gave their captives an opportunity of recovering their arms; while Napi suddenly attacked them so vigorously, that they lost all the advantage they had obtained, and it was with difficulty that the Spanish horse escaped across the Tesin. Napi might have pursued his victory with great effect, but being afraid of ambuscades, was content with obliging his enemies to repass the river. We are told, however, that he exercised great severities against the party of the nobles who had joined Otho, and whose possessions lay within his jurisdiction.

Otho defeated.

Is befriended by the pope.

Clement IV. was still pope, and to him Otho again applied for assistance; his suit was seconded by the cardinals, who thought his holiness could not begin his reign more auspiciously than by restoring Otho and the Milanese nobles to their rights. Upon this application, Clement wrote in very strong terms, threatening the Torriani with his indignation if they did not instantly admit the archbishop and his friends into Milan; and, upon their continuing obstinate, he shut up their churches, and laid them under excommunication. By this time Napi began to be hated by the Milanese, who exclaimed at his rebellion against the pope. This clamour induced him to appoint an embassy for mitigating the pope's anger; but his holiness not only refused the ambassadors access to his person, but commanded them instantly to depart out of the papal territories, upon which they repaired to the court of Naples, to prevail with that king to become their intercessor with his holiness. Charles readily accepted this office, and appointed ambassadors of his own to the Roman pontiff, who was prevailed on to admit those of the Torriani into his presence; on pretence that they had been always zealous votaries to the Holy See, and enemies to the emperors. In the audience which succeeded, both the Neapolitan and the Milanese ambassadors represented Otho as a mere freebooter, at the head of a party of robbers, and launched out into such invectives against him, as greatly disgusted the car-

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cardinals, who were most of them his friends. Otho was, at that time, at the court of Rome; and being present at this audience, was permitted to reply to the charge against him, which he did by recriminating upon the cruelty, craft, and ambition of the Torriani. Both parties being heard, his holiness declared, that he would send a legate into Lombardy to adjust all differences between them; in which case he promised to relieve Milan from its excommunication. Otho attended the legate to Milan, where Napi behaved with so much address and dissimulation, that the city was relieved from its ecclesiastical censures, but without his suffering the archbishop to intermeddle in any affairs, either of church or state, every day producing some new evasion of the pontifical decree. In the mean time pope Clement died, and a vacancy of the pontifical dignity succeeding for some months, Napi applied to the emperor Rodolph, whom he invited into Italy, to be crowned at Milan. This invitation was accepted with great readiness; and Rodolph constituted Napi his governor and vicar-general in Lombardy, sending to him at the same time a fine body of German horse, the command of which was given to Cassoni, Napi's nephew.

Otho, perceiving the juggling of Napi, threw himself at the feet of Gregory X. who had now succeeded to the papacy; and Gregory not only promised to confirm all that his predecessors had done in his favour, but intending to visit his native country of Piacenza, he took Otho with him, and paid a visit to Milan, in his journey. He was received there by Napi with so much respect and pomp, that, in order to compromise matters between him and Otho, he raised Raimond, nephew to the former, to be patriarch of Aquileia. There seems on this occasion to have been great management on the part of the pope (A), he knew the consequence of having Napi in his interest, and of breaking the connexions between him and the emperor; and it has been said, that he gave his consent that Otho should be assassinated privately at Piacenza, in the pope's own house. This design being discovered to Otho by a waiter at a tavern, he fled out of Piacenza by night, and retired to Lyons, where the council being finished, he returned to Italy. It is, however, improbable, that his holiness was accessary to the design of assassinating Otho; because the latter, upon

Dissimulation of pope Gregory X.

(A) Muratori observes, in his notes upon Vicomercato, apud Murat. tom. ix. p. 81. that the Torriani were at that time under no necessity of privately assassinating Otho, because they had publicly rendered it lawful to kill him if he should attempt to return to Milan.

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his return from Lyons, again put himself under his protection. But it is generally agreed, that Gregory shewed no resentment at the decree for putting Otho to death, in case he should return to Milan; and that he ever afterwards considered him as a troublesome creditor, teazing him for the performance of his own and his predecessor's engagements. Outwardly, however, his holiness paid so much respect to Otho, that the nobles of his party, which was every day gaining ground in Milan, flocked to the papal court upon its return to Italy; but, to the inexpressible astonishment of Otho and his friends, when the pope was preparing to enter Milan, he received an order to stop at Biello, a town near Vercelli, lest his return to Milan should disturb the public tranquillity in that city. Otho was obliged to comply with this bitter command, and concealed his resentment, but without losing his courage. Gregory was received in Milan with a profusion of honours; and his horse was led by Napi and Francesco, under a magnificent canopy, supported by twelve young Milanese noblemen. Before he departed from that city, he made a long apology to Otho's friends, that the state of affairs in Christendom did not admit of his doing Otho justice, because of the power of the Torriani, which was equal to that of the greatest kings. In short, he advised them to be patient under their misfortunes, but without giving them any other hopes of redress, than that he would find a more proper opportunity to settle their affairs. The truth is, Otho and his party were considered at this time as Ghibelins; and the Guelphs looking upon the Torriani as their leaders, had actually submitted to be their slaves. The same humour prevailed in other parts of Italy; which was now filled with noble exiles. At the head of the Guelph party were the pope, Charles king of Naples, and the Torriani. All the comfort Otho could obtain during his long and painful exile, was an order from his holiness, to be reinstated in part of his revenues, as archbishop. But, as Jovius observes, he had such an invincible fortitude of mind, that his hopes increased at the time when other exiles despaired. While he remained at Biello, pope Gregory, who had sided with Guelphs or Ghibelins as it suited his interest, died at Arezzo.

A.D.1276. His death united the party of the Milanese exiled nobles, who flocked to Otho, and chose for their leader Godfrey count of Langusco, a noble Pavian, inveterate enemy of the Torriani family. The latter was at this time, at the summit of power, equally courted by the pope, the king of Naples, and the new emperor of Germany; and by their situation

Otho recovers his credit.

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ſituation they actually held the balance of all Italy. Languſco was rich and powerful, and took into his pay many German and other mercenaries, at the head of whom he advanced towards the Lago Maggiore; all the towns through which he marched, opened their gates to receive him, through the intereſt of the Viſconti family, which was ſeated in that country. Amongſt other places, the important towns of Arona and Anghiari ſubmitted to the exiles; and Otho himſelf, at the head of a conſiderable detachment, made an irruption into the county of Sepri, now belonging to the city of Milan, lying between the Teſin and the Olon, all which country he entirely reduced. The power of Napi was now confined within the walls of Milan, as he had loſt ſo conſiderable a territory without almoſt ſtriking a ſtroke. He ſummoned all his allies to his aſſiſtance, and drew to the field the military chariot of Milan, in token that he was determined to conquer or die. He added to the fortifications of the city, and he gave the command of it to his brother Franceſco, who baniſhed ſome ſuſpected citizens, confined others, and obliged the reſt to give hoſtages. He himſelf took the command of the main body; and ſent his ſon Caſſoni, with a body of German horſe, to check the advance of the enemies. He then marched towards Anghiari, and encamped on the banks of the Guaſara, which empties itſelf into the Lago Maggiore; while Godfrey, Otho's general, took poſt on the oppoſite ſhore. Napi's army marched in two diviſions; the firſt commanded by Caſſoni, who expecting his father was at hand to ſupport him, attempted to paſs the river. He was oppoſed by Godfrey, who, in making a noble defence, was carried down the ſtream, and made priſoner. By this time Napi came up with his diviſion, and then the rout of the exiles became general. Theobald Viſconti, the father of Matthew, who was afterwards called the Great, and thirty-four nobles, were taken priſoners: and it is ſaid that Napi ſhed tears of joy, on ſeeing the noble actions of his ſon in the engagement. His victory being complete, he ſent to conſult his brother Franceſco how he ſhould diſpoſe of his priſoners; and he adviſed him to cut off their heads. This barbarous advice was oppoſed by Caſſoni, who was for milder meaſures; but the Germans having loſt their general Lauſer, in a ſingle combat with Godfrey, demanded his blood in revenge; upon which Godfrey, Theobald, and the thirty-four nobles, had their heads ſtruck off, and they were ſent from the field of battle piled up in a common waggon.

He is again defeated.

This defeat greatly affected Otho, who was Theobald's uncle, and ſerved only to increaſe the barbarities perpetrated by

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by both parties on each other. When Otho, who was at some distance, received the news of it, he seemed to preserve his usual firmness of mind; and though he shed some tears to the memory of his nephew, he told his friends, that he did not doubt the Torriani, as a punishment for their barbarity, would soon experience a fatal reverse of fortune. In a few weeks after this event, the people of Como, provoked by the repeated cruelties of their potesta, Accursio Cutica, one of Napi's creatures, took arms, and imprisoned Accursio, whom they threatened to put to death, unless Napi would set at liberty one of their countrymen, Simon of Locarna, whom he had made prisoner some years before, and confined, like a wild beast, in a den. Napi, having a regard for Accursio, gave orders to set Locarna at liberty; as not thinking he could long survive the severities of his imprisonment. He obliged him, however, to swear never to carry arms against the house of Torriano; but, he no sooner found himself at liberty than he declared, that he did not think himself obliged by an oath that had been extorted from him by cruelty; and from that hour he devoted his life to revenge. Locarna, being a man of great interest, brought great numbers to join Otho against the Torriani, and he was followed by all the people of Como. Otho was still at Vercelli, where he had fixed his head-quarters. Understanding that the Torriani had been so elevated by their late victories, as to be very remiss in guarding the important fortress of Sepri, and taking advantage of a dark night, he passed the Tesin, and made himself master of the place. This success gave great lustre to his arms, and in a few days he extended his quarters to the neighbourhood of Milan. Napi immediately took the field with a chosen body of veterans, and the German mercenaries under his son, and the rest of his troops and auxiliaries had orders to follow him with all expedition. He was inexpressibly mortified to understand, that an enemy, whom he had so often subdued, and whose cause he lately thought irrecoverable, should again give him disturbance; and he bent the whole of his resentment against Otho, who, upon his approach called in all his parties, and entrenched his army under the walls of Sepri, which he kept behind his back, with a good garrison, to retire to in case of necessity. Otho was too strong to be attacked in his trenches; but Napi, in order to draw him out of them, sent for his battering machines, which he applied to the walls of Sepri itself: but the garrison made such a gallant resistance, that his troops were not only dispirited, but even seized with a panic. Then Otho called a council of war, wherein it was unanimously

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mouſly reſolved to take advantage of the conſternation of Napi's troops, and charge them before they could recollect themſelves. This reſolution was executed with ſo much vigour, that his army was entirely defeated; nor could either Napi or his ſon, who was at the head of the German cavalry, rally them, ſo greatly diſcouraged were they with the reſiſtance of the beſieged. Otho did all he could to ſtop the carnage, and it was owing to him that the loſs of the Milaneſe was ſo inconſiderable, Napi and Caſſoni, upon reviewing their army, found it ſtill ſo ſtrong that they determined immediately to renew the fight while Otho's troops were in a ſtate of ſecurity from their late victory. Early in the morning, therefore, Napi hazarded another attack with great ſucceſs. His German horſe took Otho's cavalry unprovided, and having put them to flight, the infantry were eaſily defeated; and thus, ſays Jovius, it is difficult to ſay whether, within the ſpace of a few hours, they acquired moſt glory or ſuffered moſt diſgrace. Otho, after having expoſed himſelf to the greateſt dangers, put himſelf at the head of his cavalry, and retired to Como.

He retreats.

The inhabitants of that place fearing the reſentment of Napi, whom they had deſerted, refuſed to receive him within their gates, but furniſhed him with all kinds of neceſſaries, and with ſkilful guides, who enabled him to make his retreat towards Lago di Lugano; ſo that he reached a ſtrong camp at Zornigo, a ſmall village, with a wood in his rear. There he remained for ſome days in ſafety, and ſent expreſſes to all his friends, to inform them of his ſituation; but being obliged to decamp for want of proviſion, he moved to Canobi, a plentiful town, on the borders of the Lago Maggiore. At firſt the inhabitants refuſed to receive him; but Otho repreſented his caſe ſo pathetically, that they not only admitted him within their walls, but devoted themſelves to his ſervice. It was no ſooner known that Otho was ſafe at Canobi, than the Milaneſe exiles again flocked to his ſtandard; and Napi's ſoldiers being contented with ſtripping their priſoners, great numbers of them, though naked and half-ſtarved, rejoined their leader; amongſt others was Locarna, who followed him by the tract of his carriages. Otho's ſpirit ſeemed to grow with his difficulties and diſtreſſes; and though he had been five times vanquiſhed in battle, he prepared to make another attempt. The reader is to obſerve, that he was at this time ſixty-five years of age, and almoſt deſtitute of money; and that the fate of war had deprived him of moſt of his friends and followers. His conſtitution, however, was healthful; and enured to all kinds of fatigues: he looked upon defeats and diſap-

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disappointments to be so many incentives to fresh attempts. The wonderful vigour of his mind raised him friends, even amidst the Alps and Appenines, where many noble families, who lived in a kind of independency, furnished him with horses, arms, cloaths, money, and all kinds of carriages: he was even joined by numbers of volunteers, who were fond of serving under so extraordinary an old man, particularly from Vercelli and Novara. The marquis of Montferrat himself, notwithstanding his former defeats in the same cause, having reduced Alessandria and Tortona, entered into a fresh alliance with him. This prince somewhat resembled Otho in his character of perseverance, and retained in his pay the remains of the veteran Spaniards, who had been sent him by his father-in-law. Experience had taught him that there was a necessity for a naval force to drive the Torriani out of Milan. The care of providing and commanding vessels was committed to Locarna, who acquitted himself perfectly well in both capacities, while the marquis marched towards the Lago Maggiore, at the same time that Anghiari was attacked by the fleet under Locarna, on board of which Otho was. This place was soon reduced; but the garrison retired to the citadel, which, after a short resistance, surrendered likewise. The marquis of Monferrat had by this time reached the Lago Maggiore, and both by land and water laid siege to Arona, which they plied so hard with their machines and engines, that the garrison capitulated to surrender if the place was not relieved in three days. This capitulation was scarce signed, when news came that Cassoni was advancing at the head of the German horse and the Milanese veterans. Upon this intimation, the marquis drew up his army to the best advantage, and was joined by all the hands that could be spared from the ships. Cassoni, seeing the advantageous posture of his enemies, and that their best troops were posted in the front, drew up his men so as to flank Otho's army with the worst of his troops, but supported by one wing of his German horse; so that by making a circuit, they broke into the rear of Otho's army, with terrible shouts, and even fell into Otho's camp, putting all to the sword. This attack obliged the marquis to alter the disposition of his battle; but it was now too late, for Cassoni charged him so vigorously with the front line of his cavalry, that his army was completely broken, though with no great loss, because the ships received his fugitives. The marquis's tent was taken on this occasion, but he himself retired in pretty good order, with his cavalry, to Pavia; as Otho and Locarna did, with the remains of their infantry, to Como and Novara.

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Novara. Upon the whole it appears, both from Sigonius and Stephanardus, that the marquis behaved with great pusillanimity in this battle, and that, in fact, he fled without striking a blow.

The Comese had revolted from the Torriani, and put themselves under the protection of Locarna, but without declaring in favour of the Milanese exiles. On the arrival of Locarna at Como, great debates ensued, whether the Comese should not immediately declare for Otho, and call in his army to protect them against the resentment of the Torriani. This consideration was enforced by motives of compassion and generosity; and notwithstanding the opposition by the faction of the Viti, it prevailed through the address and eloquence of Locarna. The Comese, on a sudden, declared in favour of Otho, and the exiled nobles; but their two chief magistrates obstinately opposed the resolution. Otho, on the other hand, was favoured by the bishop, who was of the Advocati family. Both parties, at last, came to blows; but that which was headed by Locarna drove their antagonists, after a vigorous conflict in the streets, into the castle, and from thence out of the city, both their magistrates being taken prisoners. After this action, the people levelled to the ground the houses and towers of the Viti; and Otho, who remained still at Novara, was invited to Como by letters from the magistrates, who were now all of them in his interest.

He is joined by the Comese and other states.

From that day Otho's cause prospered, and that of the Torriani began to decline. Otho was received at Como by the bishop, who paid him the greatest honours, and lent him money for recruiting his forces. Locarna was seconded by Lucteria Rusca, the head of the Comese Ghibelins; and Otho's troops now bore the imperial eagle in their standard. He had learned, by repeated experience, that the court of Rome fought to make him subservient to its own ambitious designs; and that he was far safer in trusting to the emperor, who he knew was sufficiently able to protect, but not to displace him. The Comese, who were then very powerful, having declared for him, their example was followed by most of the populous towns lying on the borders of the Lago Maggiore, and in the neighbourhood; so that he soon saw himself, once more, at the head of a considerable army. He was joined by Ricardo Languſco, brother to Godfrey, count of Languſco, who had been killed in the same service. Ricardo, who was highly exasperated against the Torriani for his brother's death, and had brought with him some chosen troops, was declared general of the army. Otho did not

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fail to harangue the Comese in the most animating and grateful terms; and was answered by the bishop of Como, who undertook, in the name of the inhabitants, to stand by his rights to the utmost. Otho then took leave of the Comese, and marched to Icini, at that time a noble and populous town, but now not to be met with in the maps; and here he was joined by the inhabitants. The news of his progress gave so little alarm to Napi, that he told some of his guests, at an entertainment, that his executioners would now have abundance of work in hanging up the rebel Comese. He then gave orders for the march of his army, having, as usual, sent out his son Cassoni with the German horse, who seized upon Canturi, lying within five miles of Como. After various marches and countermarches, while Otho was at Leuco, a priest, mounted on a swift horse, arrived from Decimo, or Decio, to inform him, that his enemies under Napi, and the heads of his party, were at that place, where they behaved in the most riotous, disorderly manner, observing no kind of discipline, but plundering the inhabitants. The priest added, that Cassoni and the German horse were still at Canturi; and that it was his opinion, by marching in the night-time, the army under Napi might be surprised and destroyed. Otho looked upon this information as a good omen, Decio having been the place where he received his education and holy orders. Being informed by his scouts that Cassoni was still at Canturi, and thereby freed from all dread of those formidable enemies, he lost not a moment in giving orders for the march of his troops. Affecting now to act only in an ecclesiastical capacity, he appeared in his sacerdotal habits, preceded by a silver cross, and committed the whole care of the expedition to Ricardo. The march succeeded perfectly well, and the scouts reported that a profound silence reigned all about, and within Decio. They marched without lights, and arriving about the dawn of day, they broke into the town with such fury, that Napi had scarce time to put on his armour. All that Pontio, who had the chief command under him, could do, was to rally a few half-armed troops; but he was attacked by Ricardo, who put him to the sword, with most of his party, while Locarna and Rusca attacked the other division under Napi himself. Here the engagement was warm, but entirely to Otho's advantage. Several of the heads of the Torriani were killed, and it was with great difficulty that Otho could save Napi, who was taken prisoner, from Locarna's vengeance. Many young noblemen were, at the same time, made captives,

He defeats Napi and the Torriani at Decio.

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moſt of them the deſcendants, allies, or relations of the Torriani family; and all the honour of this glorious day reſulted to the Comeſe (F).

Few victories obtained in the heat of a civil war, and after ſuch provocation on the part of the vanquiſhed, have been more moderately proſecuted than this was: an inſtance of moderation, undoubtedly, owing to the wiſdom and policy of Otho himſelf, who ſought all opportunities to prevent bloodſhed. Locarna and Ruſca had the charge of Napi, and the moſt illuſtrious priſoners, whom they carried to the caſtle of Baradello, near Como. Locarna, ſeeing his principal foe in his power, cauſed him to be ſhut up in a cage, where, being deprived of every thing that could put an end to his life, his hair and nails grew to a moſt enormous length. It is ſaid, that he ſubmitted quietly to his fate, but that he interceded for a favourable treatment of his ſon and nephew, whom his authority had carried witn him to the field; in which they were accordingly indulged. *Moderation of Otho.*

The news of Napi's defeat and impriſonment arriving at Milan, Oldred, who had been left governor of the city, ſummoned a council of the magiſtracy, and ordered the people to take arms; but his authority was very little regarded. Nothing was now to be heard amongſt the citizens, but the praiſes of Otho and the exiles, for the moderate uſe they had made of their victory, and the greatneſs of the defeat, which had cut off, or impriſoned, all the heads of the Torriani party, and rendered it impoſſible for them ever to recover their power. In ſhort, Oldred found ſuch a diſpoſition in the citizens, that he was obliged to take refuge in the caſtle for ſafety. Caſſoni was ſtill at Canturi, where he had an imperfect account of his father's defeat; and not knowing the particulars, returned with his army to Milan, where he was in hopes of finding his father, or ſome of his friends. Being informed of the truth, and refuſed admittance into the city, he broke open the gates, forced his entrance, and marched, at the head of his troops, to the market-place; but not before his rear *Caſſoni obliged to abandon Milan.*

(F) Such is the account given us by Paulus Jovius, who was himſelf a Comeſe, of this battle, or rather ſurprizal, which makes ſo eminent a figure in the Milaneſe hiſtory: but Muratori, tom. ix. p 92. in his notes upon Vicomercato, obſerves that the match was very unequal, and that the Othonians (as they are called) were far ſuperior to their enemies in number. Vicomercato, likewiſe, hints that Pontio was not killed, but taken priſoner.

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had been attacked by ſome of the townſmen. Caſſoni, not diſcouraged, erected his family-ſtandard in the market-place; but none repaired to it, when he invited the inhatants to aſſert their ancient liberties; finding, therefore, all his efforts fruitleſs, he retreated to Lodi, and being denied admittance there, went to Cremona, and from thence to Parma.

A.D.1277. The ſame day on which Caſſoni fled out of Milan, Otho was invited into it with all the demonſtrations of zeal and loyalty on the part of the inhabitants. After his entry into Milan, which was very pompous, he made a ſpeech to the citizens, ſo full of wiſdom and clemency towards his enemies, that he entirely removed their apprehenſions, and they committed the government of the city to his hands. He appointed count Ricardo to the government of Milan, and made Locarna his general, or (as he is called) the maſter of his horſe; theſe being the two perſons to whom he principally owed his ſucceſs. He then founded ſome religious houſes, and inſtituted certain feſtivals to commemorate the anniverſary of his victory, ſome remains of which the Milaneſe are ſtill ſaid to retain. It is ſomewhat remarkable, that, on the morning of Otho's victory at Decio, Bonacoſa Burri, the wife of his nephew Matthew, afterwards called Matthew the Great, was brought to-bed of a ſon, who, from a cock crowing at the time of his birth, was called Galeazzo.

Into which Otho is received.

He reduces the remains of the Torriani.

Otho being now ſettled in peace and proſperity, exerted his endeavours to reduce the remains of the Torriani faction, who had taken refuge in Mount Orfano, ſo called from its ſtanding alone in the middle of a large plain. As the place was found by Otho to be impregnable, he was forced to block it up, and, after ſuffering ſix months famine, obliged it to ſurrender. Otho offered his protection to the garriſon, but they choſe to leave the Milaneſe rather than truſt to his clemency. Their departure left him at liberty to apply himſelf to his civil and eccleſiaſtical functions, in both of which capacities he excelled all princes of his age; he rewarded all his friends in the moſt generous manner, and left nothing unattempted that could reclaim his enemies.

While he was intent upon theſe duties, he found himſelf involved in a freſh war. The Viſtari having, by his means, been reſtored to the government of Lodi, their opponents called in Caſſoni, Godfrey, and Raimond of Aquileia, to their aſſiſtance; and being joined by auxiliaries from Cremona and Parma, invaded the Milaneſe. Caſſoni having taken and plundered ſeveral towns upon the banks of

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of the Adda, passed the Lambro; and the danger seemed so threatening to the Milanese government, that they unadvisedly drew out their chariot of war, and marched to Santo Donato. Some authors pretend, that, in the mean time, Otho put himself at the head of a flying party, and advanced to Cassano, a town on the Adda, to restrain the incursions of Cassoni; but perceiving him stronger than he imagined, he was obliged to fly to a neighbouring village, where he was saved by hiding himself in the steeple. Whatever may be in this report, it is certain, that the army of the Milanese, who attended the chariot of war, were defeated by Cassoni, and about twenty of their nobility were made prisoners. Cassoni, elated by this victory, carried his incursions to the very gates of Milan. Otho manifested his usual constancy on this occasion, and, without betraying the least symptom of fear, he made all proper dispositions for the defence of the city. Those precautions defeated Cassoni's sanguine expectations, that the friends of his family would declare themselves in his favour within the city; so that he was obliged to repass the Adda, and to lay siege to Bergamo. His retreat gave Otho a breathing time, and he invited the marquis of Montferrat again to join him with his troops, so as to put the success of the war on a short issue. The marquis acceded to his proposal, but upon pretty high terms, for Otho was obliged to pay him down a large sum in ready money, to give him a considerable subsidy for five years, and to declare him general of all his troops against the Torriani. This bargain being concluded, the two prefects, or podestas, of Milan, who happened that year to be Antonio Languscо of Pavia, and Lucterio Rusca of Como, raised an army, and drew out the chariot of war. On this occasion Otho, that he might oblige his friends, reduced the service of the prefects from twelve to six months. Nothing happened for some time but a few skirmishes: at last the marquis of Montferrat resolved to pass the Adda, and to carry the war into the heart of the enemy's country.

Success of Cassoni.

Otho joined by the marquis of Montferrat.

Archbishop Otho was then in the field, opposed by Raimond Torriano, patriarch of Aquileia. Two churchmen being at the head of different parties, it was proposed by the Bergamese, as well as their opponents, who were studious of peace, that they should confer together on that head. This proposal produced a peace, which was by no means agreeable to the marquis of Montferrat; for the Milanese of both factions having then an opportunity of intercourse, ran into each other's arms, so that the two camps seemed to be but as one, till the marquis, by his

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authority, broke off their intimacy. This interposition, however, did not interrupt the negociations for peace, which was at last concluded on the following terms: that the castles of Bepriano and Vapriano should be delivered into the hands of Conrade, an eminent lawyer, who appeared there as mediator, and the college of merchants, as being indifferent parties; that the Torriani should recover their estates, castles, and houses; but that their places of strength should be put into the hands of citizens, who had never espoused either side, and that the prisoners of both should be dismissed without ransom.

Otho's failure in good faith.

As this peace was concluded chiefly by the intervention of the marquis of Montferrat, and Conrade, Lucterio of Languscò, and Locarna, refused to agree to the last article, pretending that their prisoners in the castle of Baradello were their own property by the right of war, and that none could dispose of them without their consent. Notwithstanding this allegation the marquis set at liberty all the prisoners of the Torriani faction who were in his custody. Otho, on the other hand, lay under inexpressible difficulties; he knew not how to disoblige the friends and relations of his family, who, by the peace, were obliged to give up all the lucrative grants they had obtained of the estates of the Torriani; and, at their instigation, he absolutely refused to ratify the terms. Thus the Torriani were restored neither to their country nor their estates, nor were their friends in the castle of Baradello delivered. This failure of good faith seems to have been the greatest stain that Otho ever incurred in his person or government, and opened the mouth of calumny against him, insomuch that his enemies made a handle of it for gaining over great numbers of the neighbouring princes and states to their party.

Death of Napi.

About this time Napi died in the midst of filth and nastiness, being consumed by vermin in the castle of Baradello, where he had lain nineteen months and twenty-three days. Some say that he was dragged out by the heels, and buried in a ditch, like a beast of burden; while others affirm that he was decently interred. Other prisoners of his family and party soon followed him in the same manner. Those barbarities increased the public detestation against Otho; so that Raimond, the patriarch of Aquileia, prevailed with the Venetians and the neighbouring states to furnish him with two thousand horse, and as many foot, who were joined by the German veterans, the Cremonese, the Parmesans, and the Lodese, under Cassoni, not to mention a great number of the Milanese themselves, who were discon-

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discontented with Otho's government, on account of the injustice done to the Torriani, by which their country continued to suffer. Their defection, which was voluntary and plausible, alarmed Otho, who immediately raised an army, summoned his allies to his assistance, and expended great sums of money in warlike preparations. Having called upon the marquis of Montferrat to join him with his troops, he declined the service by several frivolous excuses, that he might augment Otho's difficulties. It is probable that he had never lost sight of his views on the Milanese. According to Jovius, he had carried his wife to pay a visit to Otho at Milan, where she was entertained with so much splendor, and received so many noble presents, that she was incessantly urging him to aspire to the sovereignty of that magnificent city. The marquis easily inclined to her suggestions, and had even gone to Spain, where he brought that king into his views, and returned with three hundred men at arms, with a body of light horse and infantry. This step, together with his evasive excuses, gave Otho some suspicion of his design, and he employed his nephew Matthew, who had now acquired a great character in the management of business, to sound him, and to give him a large sum of money to induce him to take the field. Matthew's arguments had so much weight, that the marquis, prevailed on partly by the gold, and partly by a sense of shame, drew out his troops, and joined Otho and the rest of his allies at Vapri. The whole formed one of the most numerous and best appointed armies that had been seen in Italy for some years, consisting of thirty thousand foot and six thousand horse, including above two thousand men at arms. This formidable army, and the expedition with which it had been brought to the field, daunted Cassoni. He had depended on the backwardness of the Milanese, who, he imagined, could not be brought to declare against his family. Seeing Otho's army advance, he perceived that he must either repass the river, which he could not do without exposing himself to great danger of defeat, fight Otho upon very unequal terms, or suffer himself to be shut up in Vapri. He disdained the thought of either retreating or acting on the defensive, and resolved at once to fight his enemy. Before he executed this desperate resolution, he made a short speech to his German cavalry, and, putting himself at their head, attacked the Spanish auxiliaries with so much fury, that he killed their standard-bearer; but, being at last surrounded by numbers, he was himself killed, and his army completely defeated, most of them being either drowned in

Cassoni defeated and slain.

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passing the Adda, or falling in the field. This battle confirmed Otho in his government, and was fought four years after that of Decio. Cassoni was nobly buried at Vapri, where his tomb is still to be seen.

Practices of the marquis of Montferrat.

The Lodese having been very active in favour of Cassoni, their territory was invaded by the marquis of Montferrat, and ravaged with so much cruelty, that they were obliged to purchase their peace from Otho. He then attacked the Cremonese; but this attempt produced a confederacy against him amongst the Piacentines, the Parmesans, the Mantuans, and the Reggians, who supported the Cremonese. The war was thereby protracted for some time; but at last peace was concluded for a hundred years, by which the prisoners on both sides were to be released, and the Torriani fugitives were to be suffered to have refuge in the cities and territories of their friends. The marquis, through those successes, and his Spanish alliance, made at this time so great a figure in the affairs of Lombardy, that he no longer doubted of becoming master of Milan, as Otho was now grown very old. To pave the way of his ambition, he practised with the Comese, who chose him for their governor, or potesta, for ten years; but with an express reservation as to the prisoners in Baradello, whom he was to leave in the power of the people of Como; and, by his oath, he was, at the request of the people and the Ruscan party, faithfully to make war with all their enemies as occasion should require. Having made this great acquisition of power, he returned to Milan with a large retinue, where he renewed his intrigues, and employed all kinds of practices to depreciate Otho in the eyes of his subjects. His manners, however, were ill suited to such an undertaking, for he was as arrogant in his behaviour as he was insatiable in his avarice, which had involved the Milanese in prodigious expences. This rendered him unpopular amongst them, and the more, as he claimed all the glory of the late battle of Vapri, and took such steps as left it no longer doubtful that he was aspiring to the sovereignty of Milan.

Are disappointed.

The first step he took in direct opposition to Otho, was his espousing the interest of the Soracini, a family which was extremely obnoxious to the Visconti, and had always opposed Otho and his friends. He next procured Poggio, one of his favourites, to be made potesta of Milan, where two factions started up, one in the interest of Otho, and the other in that of the marquis. The latter, to strengthen his party, had, by the force of gold, procured the deliverance of Guido Torriano out of the castle of Baradello.

The

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The Comese reproached their friends at Milan with his escape, which gave infinite disquiet to Otho. He now plainly saw that the marquis was striking at the foundation of his authority; but he wisely resolved to dissemble, and he entertained the marquis with as much affability and complaisance as ever. By this prudent behaviour he made great discoveries of his rival's intentions, and was enabled to guard against all his secret machinations. It is probable that Otho, on this occasion, employed other means to divert the marquis from his dangerous designs; for this last was most critically called back to Vercelli, on account of a civil war breaking out in his own marquisate. Upon his retreat Otho immediately summoned a meeting of his friends, and giving his nephew Matthew his orders, directly mounted on horseback, and advanced in armour to the potesta's palace, from whence he drove Poggio out of the city. A new potesta was nominated in his room; the Soracini were driven into exile; and their palace was levelled with the ground; others of the Montferrat faction, being less obnoxious, were banished ten miles from Milan; and thus Otho's government and credit were entirely re-established in that city.

Otho's alliance with the emperor.

That he might prove himself to be in all respects a complete politician, he endeavoured to gain permanency to his power, by applying to Rodolph, emperor of Germany, for his protection, and inviting him to receive the crown of Italy at Milan. Rodolph was a wise and a wary prince: though he had before inclined to favour the Torriani, he now accepted of Otho's offer; and, without going to Italy, took him into his alliance. He not only promised to assist and protect him, but sent him some troops of German horse to serve him as his life-guard; a present which was at that time of the utmost consequence to the princes of Italy. The marquis of Montferrat, over-awed by this great alliance, laid aside, for that time, his ambitious projects against Milan, and maintained a war against the people of Tortona and Alessandria.

Quarrel between the Milanese and the Comese.

In the mean time, a breach happened between the Milanese and the Comese, which unexpectedly revived all the hopes of the Torriani. The services performed by the Comese to the Milanese, encouraged the former to presume a little too much upon their own importance. Having made some demands concerning limits, which they pretended belonged to them of right, and which the Milanese disallowed of, they immediately took arms, and invading Lucca, possessed themselves of that and several other towns belonging to the Milanese. Upon this provocation, the latter declared war, and raised a considerable army to do themselves

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selves justice, the command of which was given to Matthew, who attacked and defeated the Comese, and carried off a large booty in prisoners and plunder. The Comese complained most bitterly of this treatment, which they said was more barbarous than what they had reason to expect from the most enraged enemies. Their resentment was aggravated by the consideration that they had some time before chosen Matthew for their potesta, and general of their army, and conferred on him many extraordinary honours. The remembrance of these circumstances, and of the great things the Comese had done for Milan, worked them up to to such a pitch of indignation, that on a sudden they entered into a conspiracy against the Visconti family; and not only set at liberty Musca and Herecci, the two heads of the Torriani family, whom they had detained in prison ever since the battle of Decio, but raised them to be their potestas, and furnished them with arms and money.

Condu& of the marquis of Montferrat.

The marquis of Montferrat was not wanting to support the Comese in this war, and all parties in the confederacy breathed nothing but fury and destruction to Otho and Matthew. The power and reputation of the marquis rendered him a most formidable enemy; and the animosity of the two young Torriani, whetted by eight years imprisonment, was incredible. The event of this war proved unfortunate to Matthew, to whom the archbishop had resigned all his power, both civil and military. The Torriani and the Comese expelled him out of Milan; and Otho dying soon after, they became again masters of the city. Matthew was obliged to take refuge at the imperial court, where he was in high favour under the emperor Rodolph, who made him his vicar-general over Milan, Como, Novara, Varcelli, Alessandria, and Tortona.

A.D.1295. Otho was a singular instance how far perseverance and intrepidity can conquer repeated misfortunes. Though he never had been bred either a soldier or a politician, yet he excelled both in the field and the cabinet; and died without feeling any other disease than the decay of nature, amidst his friends and kinsmen.

Death and character of Otho.

Matthew was born in a village near the Lago Maggiore, on the very day that the emperor Frederic is said to have been put to death by his natural son Manfred. His father Theobald died when he was young, and he became the favourite and companion of of his uncle Otho, amidst all his difficulties and distresses. In strength of body and firmness of mind, as well as in constancy under every vicissitude of fortune, he exactly resembled Otho; but exceeded him in clemency and civil virtues. During the course of his life he

Succeeded by Matthew the Great.

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he at one time or other ſubdued all his enemies; but never was known to take a ſevere revenge upon any. He was expelled out of Milan, through the practices of the Torriani, by Alberti Scotti of Placentia, and other Italian princes, who had debauched his mercenaries. Guido Torriano became maſter of Milan. He was, as we have ſeen, received by the emperor Rodolph; but upon his death, which happened ſoon after his expulſion, he was, with a few friends who attended him, reduced to great difficulties; nor did he receive any aſſiſtance from the emperor Albert, who ſucceeded him. Upon the arrival of the emperor Henry the VIIth in Italy, the biſhop of Conſtance repaired to Milan, and demanded of the inhabitants that the emperor ſhould be crowned in their city with the crown of Lombardy. This demand met with ſome difficulty; and while he was at Aſti, Matthew and the archbiſhop of Milan having joined together againſt the Torriani, repaired to him, and ſwore fealty. The caſtle of Vigevano was then held by Guido Torriano[c]; but it was ſurpriſed by the emperor; which forced Guido to humble himſelf at Novara, and make an apology for what had paſſed. Then the emperor croſſed the Teſin, and ſent beforehand his harbinger to prepare for his reception in Milan. His approach was exteremely diſagreeable to Torriano; and his imperial majeſty having reaſon to ſuſpect he would be oppoſed, proceeded with great caution; but having entered the city, he found ten thouſand men drawn up under arms, a ſtep which Torriano ſaid he had taken to oppoſe Matthew and the archbiſhop. The emperor, however, proceeded with ſuch moderation, that he effected a reconciliation between all the three parties, and obliged them to embrace each other. Next day he harangued the people from his tribunal, and publiſhed this reconciliation. There was afterwards, ſome diſpute between the inhabitants of Milan and thoſe of Mouſa, concerning the place of his coronation. But at laſt their own crown was carried from Mouſa, where it commonly was kept, to Milan, and the ceremony was performed in the church of St. Ambroſe.

The emperor crowned king of Lombardy.

Henry being now king of Lombardy, a conſultation was held about granting him a ſubſidy, and Matthew voted for giving him forty thouſand florins, and the empreſs ten thouſand. Torriano, to make his court more effectually, propoſed to grant him a hundred thouſand; a propoſal which won the hearts of the Germans, but loſt the affection of the Milaneſe. Henry, after his coronation made

[c] Iter Ital. ap Murat. tome xix. p. 891.

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no fewer than one hundred and sixty new knights. Matthew Visconti was, at this time, at the head of the Ghibelin interest in Milan; but Torriano knew so well how to make his court to the emperor, that the other was under a cloud at court. Before his imperial majesty left Milan, he made a demand of the remainder of the subsidy which had been voted to him, amounting to fifty thousand florins. This produced great commotions in Milan; and Torriano having, under frivolous pretences, refused to attend him to Rome, gave some suspicion of his loyalty. This was confirmed by the great number of soldiers entertained by Torriano, and the emperor demanded a hundred hostages for the good behaviour of the inhabitants during his absence; a proposal which met with great difficulties on all hands. Of those hostages, Galeazzo, Matthew's eldest son, was one; and Francesino, the son of Guido Torriano, was the other. Though their fathers were of opposite factions, yet both of them hated the Germans, and they had a private conference, in which they mutually agreed not to attend the emperor. This agreement was concealed by Galeazzo, but betrayed by Francesino. When the day of the emperor's departure came, the hostages refused to attend him, unless their expences should be defrayed; upon which demand the emperor sent Nicholas, his chief minister, to demand of the senate, that they should be paid by the public. The senate refusing to agree to this proposal, they were locked up by Nicholas, who, upon making his report to the emperor, advised him to put them all to death. Henry rejected this cruel proposition, and the senators were set at liberty. He took new precautions, however, against any surprize; but indeed the Milanese, at this time, were ripe for any desperate attempt against the Germans; and, understanding that there had been a compromise between the Visconti and the Torriani, they put themselves in arms.

Matthew arrested, but recalled.

Matthew and his son were by the emperor ordered to be arrested. Matthew was too wise to expose himself and his friends to danger, and therefore presented himself without armour to the emperor. Torriano, on the other hand, fled to his own palace, which he had fortified, and the storm broke upon him and his friends. Their houses were besieged and rifled, and many of them were put to death. Mean while Galeazzo was by his father ordered to surrender himself to the emperor; but he had declared for the Germans against the Torriani, and put himself at the head of a great body of his friends. His appearance, in all probability, saved the Germans and the emperor from being cut in pieces, as the main body of the imperialists lay without

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out the city. The Germans by his aſſiſtance prevailing, would have put to death all the Guelphs, and the followers of Torriano, had it not been for the moderation and wiſdom of young Galeazzo, who diverted their rage, by giving up the houſes of the Guelphs to plunder. This behaviour of the Viſconti ſaved Milan from deſtruction, and they did all they could to put a ſtop to the licentiouſneſs and avarice of the Germans; efforts which rendered them obnoxious to the latter; and they prevailed upon the emperor to baniſh the father to Aſti, and the ſon to Treviſo. Thus the Germans were for ſome time entirely maſters of the city; from which the Torriani were now expelled. Matthew, however, and his ſon, found friends about the emperor, and both of them were recalled, with great honour.

The emperor is crowned at Rome.

According to Jovius, while the emperor was at Aſti, Matthew, in the diſguiſe of a countryman, made his way to his perſon, and falling at his feet, implored his protection, which his venerable appearance, being then above ſixty years of age, ſoon procured, notwithſtanding the oppoſition of all his enemies that were preſent. As to Guido, being old and infirm, it was with difficulty he eſcaped out of Milan, and his family loſt all its poſſeſſions. Henry then gave to Matthew the ſupreme command of Milan under himſelf; and after having taken all neceſſary precautions for its ſafety, he ſet out for Rome to be crowned. Matthew, from that time, dedicated himſelf to the imperial intereſts. Being ſupported by three ſons, men of the moſt conſummate abilities in the arts both of war and peace, he entirely broke the Torriani faction, and acquired ſo many ſplendid victories, that the voice of all Italy beſtowed upon him the epithet of the Great. But the envy which attended his glorious actions raiſed him a great number of enemies, he being now maſter of almoſt all Lombardy. Robert, king of Naples, having taken part with the pope, declared himſelf the protector of the Guelphs in Italy, and Matthew, as being their head, was excommunicated. Meanwhile the emperor Henry died by poiſon; but Matthew, not diſcouraged by that incident, nor the other croſs events which happened to him, ſtill continued to make head againſt the Guelphs, whom he defeated in three battles.

Matthew excommunicated.

The firſt was fought at Aldino, the ſecond on the banks of the Arbe, and the third at Monte Catino, where the brother of the king of Naples was killed, and Luchino, Matthew's ſon and general, gave ſignal proofs of his warlike genius. Marc, another of Matthew's ſons, headed the

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the Spinolas, the Dorias, and the other Genoese exiles, and shut up Robert himself in Genoa. Upon this occasion, Bertrand Vasco, the pope's legate, renewed the sentence of excommunication against Matthew, and, in order to exasperate the people against him, laid the city of Milan itself under an interdict. This had its effect; for the inhabitants being shut out of their churches, and deprived of all sacred rites, immediately nominated twelve ambassadors to Bertrand, to avert the pope's indignation. Most of these ambassadors were enemies to Matthew, some of them of his own family, and others under the greatest obligations to his friendship, particularly Garbagnati, and Cribelli, the last, a man of great interest in Milan, but of a restless unquiet disposition. Matthew, on the other hand, was powerful in his family, his dependencies, troops, and riches; but being now very old, he applied himself chiefly to aggrandize his numerous progeny; an aim which still increased the number of those who envied his good fortune. The deputies who had been sent to Bertrand, reported, that he was at the head of a great army; but that they could not prevail upon him to withdraw his censures, unless the inhabitants expelled Matthew, and returned to their old form of government. This report threw the populace into such a ferment, that Matthew was obliged to apply for assistance to his son Galeazzo, who at that time commanded in Placentia, and who, assembling his army, marched directly to Milan. Galeazzo was at that time in high reputation all over Italy for his valour, and very popular at Milan on account of his splendor and liberality. He no sooner arrived in the city than his father's enemies were confounded. The twelve deputies at first shut themselves up in their houses; and at length took advantage of a dark night to escape out of the city. They were no sooner gone than Galeazzo, who was endued with great natural eloquence, called an assembly of the citizens, where he so effectually laid open the designs of the Guelph faction, that he brought all the citizens over to his own party, and resettled the tranquillity of the government.

His death. Matthew, now seventy-two years of age, being restored to his country and government, was too wise to think of continuing in power, which he formally resigned to his son Galeazzo, by putting into his hands the imperial standard: he then repaired to the altar, attended by all the clergy who durst follow him, where he made a solemn profession of his religion, and took an oath that he never had done any thing that could merit the censures he lay under, through the enmity

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enmity of a proud and vindictive churchman. Next day he repaired to Mousa, and there he repeated the same professions. Soon after he was seized with a fever, and ordered himself to be transported in a litter to Crescentini, where he was attended by his four sons. His dying advice was replete with piety and wisdom; and he had the happiness of expiring in their embraces. Such was the devotion, or superstition of the age, that the place of his interment was kept long secret, lest, dying excommunicated, his body should be torn from the grave by the implacable churchmen.

END OF THE THIRTY-THIRD VOLUME.

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